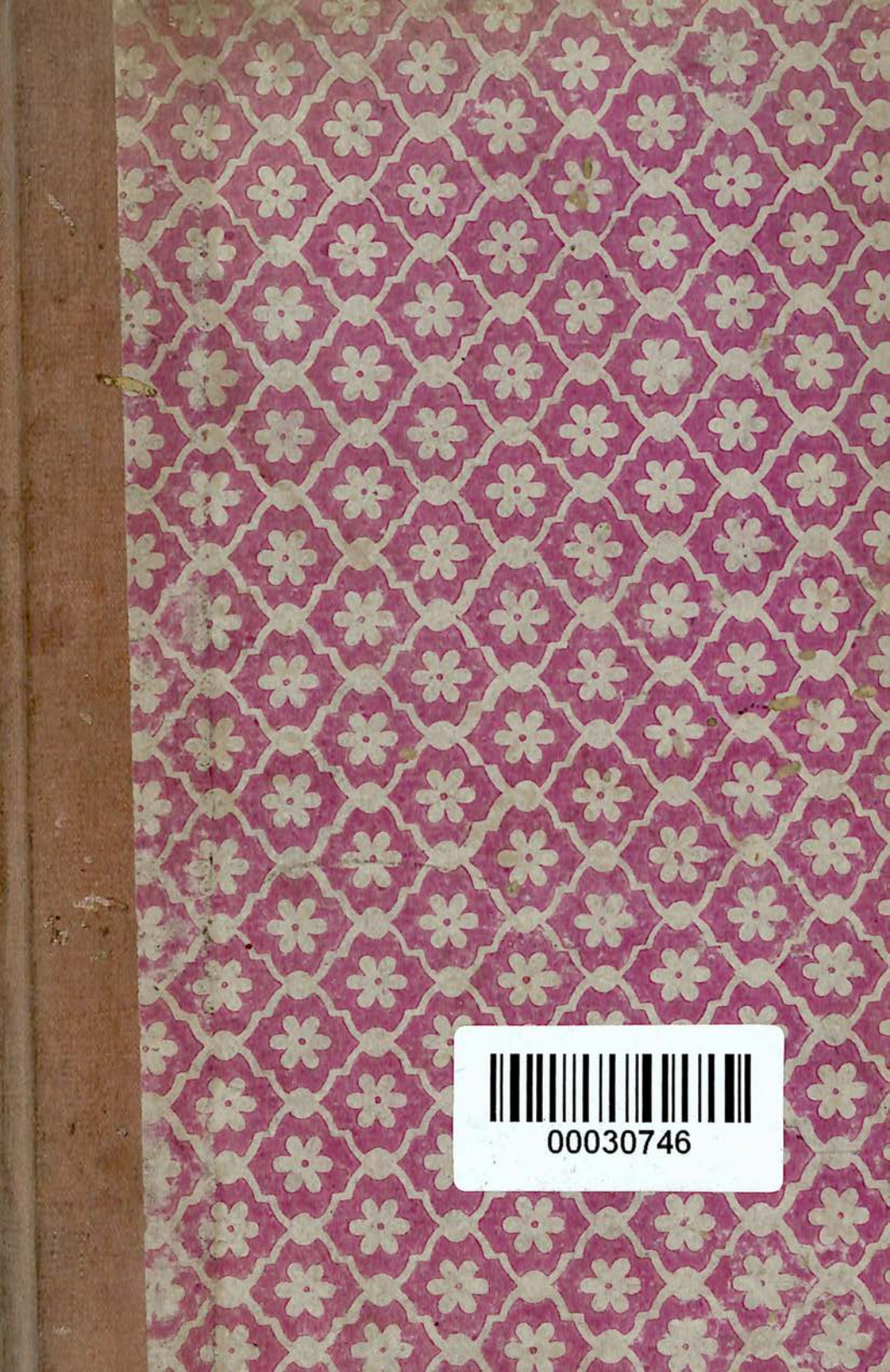
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THE

HISTORY OF NORMANDY

AND OF

ENGLAND,

BY

SIR FRANCIS PALGRAVE, K.H.
THE DEPUTY KEEPER OF HER MAJESTY'S
PUBLIC RECORDS.

30746

VOLUME I.

GENERAL RELATIONS OF MEDIÆVAL EUROPE;—THE CARLOVINGIAN EMPIRE—THE DANISH EXPEDITIONS IN THE GAULS—AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ROLLO.

Narratione autem historica (ait Augustinus) cum præterita etiam hominum instituta narrantur, non inter humana instituta ipsa historia numeranda est; quia jàm quæ transierunt, nec infecta fieri possunt, in ordine temporum habenda sunt, quorum est conditor et administrator Deus.

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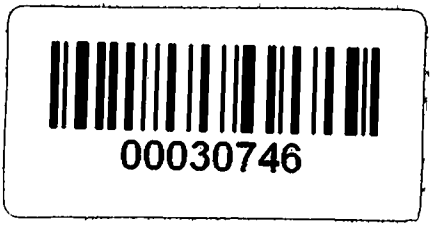
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PREFACE.

THE circumstances leading me to undertake the present Work are fully explained in the third chapter of the Introduction. I have therein also given a summary of the different eras or periods which my design, as now modified, comprehends. The text of the fourth Book, or third Volume, containing the history of the Conqueror's three sons,—Robert, Rufus, and Henry,—in Normandy, in Palestine, and in England, is printed, and I am making every endeavour to complete the second, or intervening volume, as speedily as possible.

When I commenced, I did not contemplate a narrative history upon so extensive a scale as that which now appears; or rather, I proposed to myself a set of concurrent works (the History being one), so planned as that they should fit into each other,—mutually explanatory,—deducing and illustrating the mediæval history of England, not only as a Sovereign state, but also as a member of the Western Commonwealth, and exhibiting men and morals under different aspects,

varying the treatment according to the subject-matter; yet all combining into one course of instruction with my other works more particularly devoted to our Constitutional History, or containing the original muniments or materials for the same.

The History of England, properly so called, the recital of English events and affairs, was first composed with the intent that it should continue the History of the Anglo-Saxons, in about six volumes of the same size.—Essays upon Literature, Science, the influence of the Church, the antagonism of the World, the Fine Arts, Guilds and Fraternities, Commerce, Literature, the Crusades, general views of the French Provinces more peculiarly connected with England, and the like, were sketched for the purpose of forming another work accompanying the History.—Useful information relating to legal or political institutions, (themes in themselves rather arid,) might, I thought, be popularly introduced through the medium of fictitious narrative.—Lastly, retaining a vivid recollection of the delight which, when younger, I had received from Southey's *Chronicle of the Cid*, I gratified myself by the supposition that there were passages in our English annals susceptible of being presented in a similar style; and I began a "Chronicle of John Lackland" accordingly.

None of these subsidiaries to the narrative history, however, satisfied me.—In order to mitigate the inherent dogmatism of disquisitions, I introduced in the Essays many historical anecdotes; but by plucking out the interesting characters and dramatic incidents, the History became impoverished for the enrichment of the Essays, and I therefore found that I could not afford to spend my means upon them.

Sir Walter Scott having exhausted his pleasurable stores in his *Tales of a Grandfather*, thus ruined his *History of Scotland*. He anticipated that both works would be equally read; but it may be doubted whether one in a hundred of the innumerable readers who, as children, were enraptured by the fascinating, yet most instructive passages of history collected for their amusement in the *Tales*, have, according to the author's expectation, "perused with advantage the graver publication designed for their use, when their appetite for knowledge should encrease with encreasing age."

In *The Merchant and the Friar*, I employ Roger Bacon as the expounder of Mediæval Science, but the action of the story is conceived for the purpose of explaining some important passages of our ancient Constitution. One principal ob-

ject sought, was to depict the High Court of Parliament, during the period when service in the Upper House was deemed onerous, and the attendance in the Lower, though not altogether undesirable, was still reckoned a duty which many would shift off, just as we now endeavour to escape being put on juries, or becoming members of the Parish Vestry. The attributes of the Mediæval Parliament, moreover, require to be viewed under a different aspect to that which they now assume, (the Council being an integral organ thereof,) a Senate, and also a Supreme Court of Justice, to which the Subject could apply for actual redress of injuries—the poor man's Court, where the Englishman might sue in formâ pauperis without sustaining the poor man's degradation. It was the union of judicial and political characters in Parliament—the administration of remedial justice—which endeared that unparalleled Assembly to Old England: an attribute which has been completely ignored by foreigners, and never sufficiently acknowledged by ourselves. I therein also have attempted to correct the astounding misconceptions concerning trial by jury, and to substitute sober truth for the romantic fictions which exhibit a procedure—according to its present course and principles

scarcely older than the Tudors—as a judgment by the Peers of the accused, the inheritance of Alfred's wisdom.

An unpublished work of the same class,—three generations of an imaginary Norfolk family,—elucidates the relative positions of landlord and tenant during the transition-period of military and villain tenures, Wat Tyler winding up the catastrophe. But when this tale was completed it became evident to the manufacturer that he had spoiled sound materials.—Moral or social discussions, grounded upon past or contemporary history, rarely, if ever, make any beneficial impression when clothed in a garb by which existences and inventions are confounded. Any incontestable misery pourtrayed in the Socialist Novel, which pricks the conscience of the Capitalist, he refuses as an invention; and any invention which he can deflect so as to suit his own views, he adopts as a reality. Historical novels are mortal enemies to history.—*Ivanhoe* is all of a piece—language, characters, incidents, manners, thoughts, are out of time, out of place, out of season, out of reason, ideal or impossible.—When, on the waters of the gentle Don, there glided the Swan with *two* necks; then Gurth, with the brass collar soldered round his *one*, so tight as to be incapable of being

removed excepting by the use of the file, tended swine in the woodlands of Rotheram.

King John's mock black-letter Chronicle finally convinced me that modern antiques of every kind dispel all reverend notions of antiquity. The sensation of the sham is invincible. In the most perfect resuscitation of Henry the Third's "Early English," the tooling of the well-tempered town-made chisel inscribes "Victoria and Albert" upon every stone.

These adjuncts being discarded, I have absorbed any useful matter or reflections which they contained or suggested into this present history, thereby rendering it more diversified. Other considerations contributed to widen the field beyond the boundary I originally intended to occupy. Having in the history of the Anglo-Saxons introduced William the Bastard claiming as the heir-testamentary or expectant of the Confessor, I did not, according to my primary scheme, intend to deal with him in his earlier years; but when I worked upon the reign of William the Conqueror in England, I found I could not make out a satisfactory story otherwise than by presenting the same as a continuation of his previous life and fortunes. The like observation applied also to his advisers and companions, very particularly

to Lanfranc, the great restorer of the Church of England; and therefore the necessity of a history of the Duchy of Normandy became apparent. Such a history has hitherto been a desideratum in the English language; nor has this subject been sufficiently treated by the French. I would wish on all occasions to acknowledge the deep obligations we owe to our French fellow-labourers: but in Sismondi's history, Normandy constitutes but a very small episode; and the writers of less reputation, who have written special histories of Normandy, however useful they may be as pioneers, have not evinced the merits characterizing the French school.

The richness of our Anglo-Norman history is so exuberant that I could not bring myself to compress the vintage into a juiceless residuum. Therefore, renouncing the hope of prosecuting the work to the Tudor era, I finally determined to restrict myself to such a portion or portions as my times would allow:—not stintedly, but upon a scale commensurate with their value;—hence the bulk which the work has acquired.

Arnold was blamed for the length of his volumes. I would reply to the like objection, should it be raised, in Arnold's words: "I am "convinced by a tolerably large experience, that

"most readers find it almost impossible to impress "on their memories a mere abridgment of history: "the number of names and events crowded into "a small space is overwhelming to them, and "the absence of details in the narrative makes it "impossible to communicate to it much of in- "terest. Neither characters nor events can be "developed with that particularity which is the "best help to the memory, because it attracts "and engages us, and impresses images on the "mind as well as facts." Not merely are meagre abridgments devoid of interest, but, under the existing circumstances of society, they become snares for the conscience, seducing men to content themselves with a perfunctory notion of history, and, when occasion calls, to act upon imperfect knowledge.

Historical truth never can be elicited save by comparison. Particularly is this labour of comparison incumbent upon every one who, in his sphere, may be called upon to legislate or influence the duty of legislation, a duty perhaps involving the most fearful responsibility which can devolve upon any human being; for the function of the Lawgiver is the highest exercised by man. Human institutions are rarely, perhaps never, beneficial or mischievous, simply in themselves;

they become beneficial or mischievous by their relation to other institutions; and therefore when presented to ratiocination without these concurrent circumstances, they only mislead the judgment, substituting words and phrases for real knowledge. No one book, however excellent, can teach you singly and alone. History requires no less study than Law. We cannot dabble in its practical application. Would you take upon yourself to pay down your purchase-money for an acre of land, upon your knowledge of conveyancing derived from Blackstone's Commentaries?

The publication of a work which has occupied the best part of my life is not unattended by considerable anxiety. In every stage it has been spoken: that is to say, written down by dictation, and transcribed from dictation. Advantages and disadvantages, counterbalancing each other, attend this mode of composition. The sound of his own voice encourages the speaker to express his mind more fully than when he is sitting before his desk.—The single amanuensis represents a whole audience. But a speaker may also be seduced into many liberties of speech, and tempted to indulge in digressions and fancies which would not have occurred to him if penning his silent thoughts in solitude.

I therefore appear somewhat in the character of a lecturer, who prints his lectures as they have been reported under his direction. He addresses pupils who belong to him, who interest him, whom he exerts himself to teach, trying to render his lessons intelligible and agreeable, varying his modes of expression according to the spur of the moment or the play of thought, and throwing in occasionally a word, when he judges by the aspect and manner of his hearers that an explanation, or modification, or an awakening of attention, is needed.—Hence the composition has acquired a species of familiar and colloquial character; and the Author trusts he shall obtain the indulgence granted to those whose position he assumes.—May he not hope to be excused as an instructor intent upon his duty, however imperfectly he may have succeeded?

Fully am I aware that I may be thought, on some occasions, to have neglected "the dignity of history."—But is any peculiar fashion of diction required for history? Wordsworth has for ever dispelled that notion with respect to poetry. Nor can history, otherwise than according to a remote analogy, be considered as a work of art, or subjected to normal rules. The notion of historical dignity may be as safely rejected as the

doctrine of dramatic unity. The more clearly the story is told, the better it will be understood; the more amusingly, the better it will be recollected. The more the author has thought upon the subject, the more will he kindle congenial thoughts in others. Trite truths are often the most weighty; hackneyed incidents the most influential;—any manner or device, any mode whereby you can stamp them with a new form, renews their instructive value.—Tone, idiom, language, allusion or illustration, whatever tends to rouse observation, to stimulate perception, or aid the memory, adds to the power of instruction, in which consists the real dignity of history.

Any writer treating the dark or middle ages has a much more delicate as well as difficult task to perform than the historian engaged upon the antecedent periods of classical antiquity. His materials are more abounding, their compass and variety greater, therefore the greater danger of redundancy and confusion. The theme, and every point connected therewith, has been made painfully polemic and contentious.—The classical historian is supported by general prepossessions on his behalf: he has more than the old Prize-fighter used to crave, a clear stage and no favour; he has already got a clear stage and favour be-

sides. All his readers go with him, so far as the subject is concerned. There may be great differences in historical theories, various estimates of character, conflicting opinions respecting the tendencies of institutions, or the political lessons to be derived therefrom: but, in essentials, opinions are universally consentaneous—all worship in the Parthenon, and crown the tomb of Leonidas; all agree in admiring Greece and Rome, their mythology, their literature, their poets, their heroes. The unpleasant groupes of the picture are lightly touched, depravity euphemized, vice condonated, nay, rites and objects of worship, images of pollution which the archæologist dare not describe, elicit a conciliatory apology as primeval symbols of the powers of nature.

With respect to the mediæval era the case is exactly reversed. A dead set has been made against the middle ages, as periods immersed in darkness, ignorance, and barbarity. But most of all have these censures been directed against mediæval Christianity,—"an abject superstition, "tending only to the depression and debasement "of the human mind."—According to the representations promulgated by a celebrated authority of the last century, who, in this Empire, has contributed more than any other, to direct public

opinion upon such subjects—"the barbarous na-
"tions, when converted to Christianity, changed
"the object, not the spirit of their religious wor-
"ship. They endeavoured to conciliate the favour
"of the true God, by means not unlike to those
"which they had employed in order to appease
"their false deities. Instead of aspiring to sanc-
"tity and virtue, which alone can render men
"accceptable to the great Author of order and
"of excellence, they imagined that they satisfied
"*every* obligation of duty by a scrupulous ob-
"servance of external ceremonies. Religion, ac-
"cording to their conception of it, comprehended
"*nothing* else; and the rites, by which they per-
"suaded themselves that they should gain the
"favour of Heaven, were of such a nature as
"might have been expected from the rude ideas
"of the ages which devised and introduced them.
"They were either so unmeaning as to be alto-
"gether unworthy of the Being to whose honour
"they were consecrated, or so absurd as to be a
"disgrace to reason and humanity. Charlemagne
"in France, and Alfred the Great in England,
"endeavoured to dispel this darkness, and gave
"their subjects a short glimpse of light and know-
"ledge. But the ignorance of the age was too
"powerful for their efforts and institutions. The

"darkness returned, and settled over Europe more "thick and heavy than before."

These calumnies,—which, if excused, are only excusable by the plea of insuperable ignorance,—not unfrequently exalted into fanatical hatred, have been produced by various causes, some so subtle that they escape us whilst we are recognizing them, others discrepant amongst themselves, all nevertheless tending to the same conclusions. Sagacious Fleury warns us that Christian antiquity was first decried in Italy. He dates the sentiment from the era of the revival of letters. The depreciation of the dark ages originated, according to Fleury's indication, from the disgust excited by the barbarisms of mediæval latinity:—the Scholar's enthusiasm, and the pedant's conceit, combining with intellectual and moral tendencies adverse to religion. The agents he signalizes are a Politian, a Valla, a Poggius, a Bembo: men of critical taste, dubious faith and profligate lives, who cultivated the elegances of literature amidst the atheism of Padua, the paganism of Carregi, and the rank debauchery of the Vatican. But Fleury stops short in his deduction. In proportion as refinement advanced in modern Europe, so did most good men participate in the same ethos, swayed by that engouement for classical literature, which

rendered every name and thing connected with the mediæval periods baroque or absurd, whilst to heathenism, education and intellect yielded the deepest homage.

La Fable offre à l'esprit mille agrémens divers—
Là tous les noms heureux semblent nés pour les vers;
Ulysse, Agamemnon, Oreste, Idomenée,
Helène, Menelaus, Paris, Hector, Enée.
O le plaisant projet d'un Poëte ignorant,
Qui de tant de héros va choisir Childebrand!
D'un seul nom quelquefois le son dur ou bizarre
Rend un poëme entier, ou burlesque ou barbare.

All classes responded to these modish sentiments. Dom Rivet and Dom Clemencet, Dom Montfaucon and Dom Mabillon endeavoured to shew that they were not strangers to good company; and, in order that they might not lose caste in the *Academie des Inscriptions*, or the *cercle*, spoke occasionally with fastidiousness of the dark ages.—Fenelon himself could find no better medium of inculcating the lessons of good government to the heir of the throne than through the adaptation of an Homeric fable.

Abstractedly from all the influences which we have sustained in common with the rest of the civilized commonwealth, our British disparagement of the middle ages has been exceedingly enhanced by our grizzled ecclesiastical or church-

historians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, men who instead of vindicating the Reformation, by the advocacy of reverence for holy things, obedience, love, charity, sought to establish righteousness through vengeance, and in all ways rendering evil for evil. "Hate your enemies" is with them the Law and the Prophets. These "standard works," accepted and received as Canonical Books, have tainted the nobility of our national mind. An adequate parallel to their bitterness, their shabbiness, their shirking, their habitual disregard of honour and veracity, is hardly afforded even by the so-called "Anti-Jacobin" press during the revolutionary and Imperial wars. The history of Napoleon, his Generals and the French nation, collected from these exaggerations of selfish loyalty, rabid aversion, and panic terror, would be the match of our popular and prevailing ideas concerning Hildebrand, or Anselm, or Becket, or Innocent III. or mediæval Catholicity in general, grounded upon our ancestorial traditionary "standard ecclesiastical authorities," such as Burnet's *Reformation*, or Fox's *Book of Martyrs*.—They are wrong when on the right side, false, when true.—The Judge drunken with party-fury, pronouncing the deserved sentence upon the guilty culprit, is equally a mur-

derer with the criminal whom he condemns:—cruelty may be reprobated so as to generate merciless malignity; idolatry, rebuked in a spirit of blasphemy; superstition so derided as to blot out belief in Omnipotence—never was any literature more calculated to derogate against the glory of God and destroy good will towards man.

But the most wide pervading and influential impulse to these sentiments emanated from philosophical France. The wit, the knowledge, all the acquired talents and mental gifts bestowed upon her men of letters, during the era of the *Encyclopédie*, were devoted to their sincere vocation, their avowed object, their pride—the subversion of Christianity. Every branch of instruction, themes and subjects in themselves the most innocent, the most agreeable, the most beneficial, were thus consistently and unceasingly employed, and none more successfully than mediæval history.

The scheme and intent of mediæval Catholicity was to render Faith the all-actuating and all-controlling vitality. This high aspiration failed, such a state of society being absolutely incompatible with the Kingdoms of the world. Nevertheless, so far as the system extended, it had the effect of connecting every social element with

Christianity. And Christianity being thus wrought up into the mediæval system, every mediæval institution, character, or mode of thought afforded the means or vehicle for the vilification of Christianity. Never do these writers, or their School, whether in France or in Great Britain, Voltaire or Mably, Hume, Robertson, or Henry, treat the Clergy or the Church with fairness; not even with common honesty. If historical notoriety enforces the allowance of any merit to a Priest, the effect of this extorted acknowledgement is destroyed by a happy turn, a clever insinuation, or a coarse inuendo. Consult, for example, Hume when compelled to notice the Archbishop Hubert's exertions in procuring the concession of Magna Charta; and Henry, narrating the communications which passed between Gregory the Great and Saint Austin.

By a peculiar ingenuity of disingenuousness, they convert the efforts made by the mediæval Church for the repression of vice and immorality into accusations against her. The woful examples of profligacy, avarice, worldliness, corruption, and depravity, abounding during the middle ages (as they do amongst all men and in all ages), brought forward so prominently, occurring in a state of society offering far greater temptations

than our own, and affording far fewer opportunities of concealment, are recorded by the Pontiffs, who warred against the delinquents—by the Canons of the Councils legislating against the iniquities, by the good and holy men who deplored the scandals and the sins of their times. Those who adopt a similar plan act as a foreign traveller might do, were he to gather from the metropolitan Police reports, and the trials at the Old Bailey, the peculiar characteristics of the morals of England.

But about the period when the doctrines of the French philosophical school were vigorously propagated with all the charms of novelty in England, the *rehabilitation* of the Middle Ages was preparing by a young Fellow of St John's, and a Collector of virtù, equally unconscious of each other's proceedings, and of the great moral revolution they were destined to cause. The future Bishop of Dromore, visiting at the house of a country friend, saw, lying on the floor beneath a bureau, an old, ragged, dirty, paper book, of which the housemaid had torn away half for the purpose of lighting her fires. Curiosity led him to rescue the remaining leaves from destruction: and whilst the gentle antiquary was editing the treasure of Minstrelsy he had acquired, the

Connoisseur was fitting up a tiny lath and plaster toyshop and raree-show in a suburban village:—Percy published the Reliques: Horace Walpole opened Strawberry Hill.———The term Gothic, in Addison's times the most intellectually degrading that could be applied, has become the symbol of admiration. The poetry of the Middle Ages is studied with delight; some respect is paid to Mediæval Philosophy, more to Mediæval Divinity: Mediæval institutions, manners and customs, are favourite sources of popular literature. The overcharged and overwhelming imputations of gross ignorance have received the most complete refutation. Yet in the same manner as the opponents of the Middle Ages have condemned them for their virtues, so have their defenders extolled their faults, justified their sins—Chivalry, not unjustly stigmatized by Arnold as embodying the spirit of Antichrist—the atrocities of the Crusades,—even that most fatal error, the breach of the second commandment,—and elevated them to an ideal excellence which the world never saw, of universal piety, content, and happiness—"merrie old England."

May 2nd, 1851.

ERRATA AND CORRECTIONS.

Page 13, Marginal note, line 3, *for* Teutonic *read* historic.
69, line 8 from bottom, for *Julia bona* read *Insula bona.*
148, line 12, *for* Sithiu *read* St Quentin, and *dele* Saint Quentin line 12.
202, lines 6—9, *for* Roundhead or Cavalier, Papist or Protestant, &c., *read* "Roundhead" or "Cavalier," "Papist" or "Protestant," &c.
240, line 10 from bottom, *for* temptations *read* temptings.
406, line 6 from bottom, *for* Henry the Fowler, son of Otho the Great, *read* son of Otho the Illustrious, and father of Otho the Great.
608, Marginal date line 2, *for* 862, *read* 885.
610, Marginal date line 2, *for* 885—896, *read* 885—886.
709, line 12 from bottom, *for* Charles-le-Gros, *read* Charles-le-Gras.
718, line 3, *for* and faithful expositors of traditions, *read* yet a faithful exposition of traditions.

INTRODUCTION.

GENERAL RELATIONS OF MEDIÆVAL HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

THE FOURTH MONARCHY.

§ 1. FEW similes possess such truth as that most trite one—*the Stream of Time*—or rather the simile is the abstract idea of Time, presented to our sensuous perceptions, in the only form intelligible to the human mind. Every human being is only a bubble upon the surface of the water, conducted onwards, not according to his own choice, or in proportion to his own strength, but unconsciously, irresistibly, obeying the impulse given alike to him and to all others who have preceded him, even from the first Father of our race. Every event befalling the individual man or human society, every act and action produced by the instruments, often most strong when weakest, most subtilely instigative when most obscure, appointed to influence, direct, or govern the fortunes of their brethren, is comprehended in the eternal scheme, whereby the

The Stream of Time.

whole creation, Spiritual and Material, ever was, is, and will be an unity in course, object and destiny.

The events appearing to us consecutive, are essentially consentaneous: indistinct and transient disclosures of the decree, foredoomed before all Time, and not to be fulfilled until Time shall pass away:—dim glimpses of the changeless sky, caught between the vaporous margins of the driving clouds. Eternity is the perfect union,—utterly baffling to the human understanding,—of unceasing energy and absolute repose; and the impossibility of conceiving this union compels us to make a deceitful distinction between efficient causes and final causes. The intentions we denominate final causes are eternally in operation: the beginning and the end are simultaneous in the designs of Him who is Alpha and Omega, the First and the Last.

But our intellect can only receive the idea of succession: no rest was intended for man: there can be none, till the power of Death shall be destroyed, and Heaven and Earth dissolved. No one generation can be severed from any preceding generation: we are all partners. Blessings and Curses are portions of our inheritance. The Father's sins are visited upon the Children; whilst again, the Children are benefited by graces not their own: the mercy as marvellous to us as the judgment.

History therefore becomes a continuous drama, wherein each scene conduces to the next, each act has its peculiar catastrophe, tangled into each other's chain, all inseparable. History is only another aspect of Time; and Time never stands still. Our grammar teaches us falsely: there is no such tense as the present, nor is the present tense admitted into the most philosophical of all languages; the only speech of man subsisting uncontaminated by any ideas resulting from the false worship of material idolatry, or the intellectual idolatry of false knowledge. To Man, all is either past or future: our mortal individuality has no other existence except in our recollections or by our anticipations. Before we think the thought, the Present, the indivisible moment has departed for ever, and merges in all precedent eternity.

But whilst the Stream, so truly depicting the sequence of mundane events, maintains the invincible downward course, it is otherwise with the agencies granted or permitted to Human Will—the consequences of the actions resulting from Man's responsibility. The current does not work alone: there are other forces which you must consider,—the forces originating in man's disobedience or obedience,—his seeking evil or good, his rebellion or his submission. You may reach the springs of the gushing waters, trace out the rills and rivulets as they swell

and coalesce and fall into each other, delineate the feeders, map out the bights and bends, measure the banks and boundaries; but you must do still more.

Mark the turning of the tide: a semblance, though an imperfect one, of the manner in which the opinions and secret operations of the human mind become manifest in the stream. First, a slender and scarcely perceptible thread ascends, quietly and gently, yet most steadily and undeviatingly, through the centre, occasioning the smallest counter-current, discernible merely by the slightest undulating ripples or the floating weeds.

But this thread speedily opens wider and wider, expanding, winning upon the main current, which narrows more and more, yielding to the intrusion, until the fluvial course is evident only in the diminishing currents on either brink, and these at last disappear, and the tide is wholly turned; so that an Observer, who had never previously visited the river, or whose knowledge was limited to a portion of the banks, might well mistake the antagonistic counter-current for the regular stream.

Moreover, other causes may perplex him: the level of the stream, altered by the summer's drought or the winter's flood: the brackish or turbid springs rising from below, embittering or darkening the purer and clearer element, all may mislead him in his judgment; yet still the river will flow on, in perennial strength, nou-

rished by the descending clouds, branching, eddying, spreading, dividing, until the waves return to the ocean, hollowed by the Hand which separated them from the waters above the firmament.

The Four Empires.

§ 2. Even if the scheme of history deduced from the Four temporal Empires, as the progress of human events has been revealed by the Prophetic Vision, possessed no other authority or recommendation than the character of a technical or artificial system, calculated to assist the Master in imparting the lesson and the Pupil in retaining the instruction, none other so useful, convenient and consistent, could be found.

Revelation the foundation of Universal History.

Say rather, no other historical theory can be devised, enabling us to teach or study, however erringly, the deeds, the institutions, and the unfolding destinies of mankind. Indeed it is not our knowledge, but our ignorance, which compels us to adopt this philosophy. We have no choice, save between the light and the darkness; for, with respect to the pristine ages of the world, we know nothing historically true, beyond the facts whereunto Holy Scriptures bear their witness. The same Ineffable Wisdom, speaking in them, has also annihilated every other authentic record of those remote eras, or covered the memorials, if any exist, with an obscurity which no acuteness can dispel. If the Enquirers, who, within the deserted temples of Misraim, interrogate the dumb oracles, imagine that an

answer is returned, it is merely the echo of their own voice: the reply tells them only what they have told. If they fancy they see a living form amongst the monster idols, it is only the reverie of an opium-dream. The offering they have placed upon the altar is taken up again by them as their reward: they go out bearing the sacrifice they brought in, and nothing more.

Languages totally lost by the interruption of oral tradition.

No language, and the mystic characters of Egypt are as a language, has ever been recovered after the interruption of oral tradition during one entire generation. Like the electric fire, transmitted through the living chain, hand grasping hand, if there be any break, the transmission ceases: let hand drop from hand, the ethereal energy is lost. In these latter days, all our conversance with ancient speech results mediately or immediately from living tradition. Each scholar has been an auditor: the living lips have spoken to the living ear: each learner has received the doctrine from a living teacher; and, teacher in his turn, there has never been a dead silence. No languages are so truly living as those which have been consecrated to prayer and praise. The Hebrew has never died; it is a living language: the Greek has never died; it is a living language: the Latin has never died; it is a living language. No hour has ever passed wherein their voices have not been heard; and, if this enquiry be pursued philologically, it will be found that

even when the continuous line of descent appears to have failed, some other of the cognate dialects, some other testimony derived from the Tower of Confusion will still become the interpreter which we require.

With the exception of those races governed by a revealed or special providence, marked out thereby as lessons or as warnings—none more prominently amongst the uncovenanted, none more instructively, than that wonderful people, who, grounding their laws, their judgments, their usages, their entire policy and entire faith upon the first Commandment with promise, have been rewarded by a national longevity unparalleled in the world; for inasmuch as they amongst the Gentile Empires alone have collectively deserved the blessing, by them alone has the blessing been earned;—all the history we know, all we really need to know, all we can ever really know, is inseparably bound in and wound up with the spheres of Assyria, Persia, Greece and Rome. In and by their successive developments, every other power has been, or is preparing to be, ruled, affected, or involved.

The Fourth Monarchy continued in the European Commonwealth.

§ 3. Rome's cruelties, baffling conception by their infinity, her vices, so detestable that no tongue can risk the pollution of holding them up to infamy, her absolute hatred against God, received their chastisement; but her dominion was not extinguished. Races the most adverse, who

divided her provinces amongst them as a spoil, who executed vengeance against her temples, who led her children into captivity, who insulted and loathed her imbecility and baseness, nevertheless humbly knelt before their Captive as the dispenser of their temporal power. Not of the blood of Rome, they claimed to be her heirs, engrafting their heroic ancestors upon the stem of the Cæsars.

Development of the Romano-Barbaric policy.

This devolution of authority from Rome, this absorption of Roman authority by the Barbarians, this political, and more than political, this moral unity, this confirmation of a dominion which they seemed to subvert, this acknowledgment of the authority they defied, is the great truth upon which the whole history of European society, and more than European society, European civilization, depends.

Rome, working in dark unconsciousness, prepared the nutriment for the Kings who were to arise out of her State. Claudius, by that harangue which we read deeply graven on brass, in the great Capital of Celtic Gaul, taught the soundest lessons of legislation. The ascription of the ancient Gaulish families into the Senatorial rank gave them an interest in their own country and in the Empire. The universal concession of Roman citizenship removed the badges of humiliation, the sources of grudge and jealousy; yet, as in all human institutions, there was a

weakness counterbalancing the strength, an error neutralizing the wisdom. These privileges excited in the Provinces a tendency to separation, of which those bold, great, venturous, and often wise men, whom we too abusively call the Tyrants of the Lower Empire,—fully availed themselves. What possible reason have we to perpetuate the stigma unjustly conveyed by that term? Did the Empire offer any standard of legitimacy except success? Postumus was as legitimate in his great Empire of the Gauls as Aurelian. Can we deny that Carausius was the true Cæsar of Britain?—The provincial Emperors were in fact national Sovereigns; they founded the Thrones of Western Christendom.

The so-called Tyrants, the predecessors of the Dynasties of mediæval Europe.

The Romans had been gradually approximating to the Barbarians: the Barbarians, with even more alacrity and power, were wresting the dominion from the Empire. Were not the majority of the Emperors barbarians by name, by race, by lineage, by language, by character? These purple-clad Barbarians swayed the fortunes of the world. Long had this political commixture of races existed. The Romans taught their Vassals to become their Lords. They educated Goth and Celt and Teuton and Iberian for the Imperial throne, when they, the *Gens togata*, rejoiced in the submission voluntarily rendered by barbarian Sovereigns, who sought to encrease their own magnificence by accepting the Regal

name and the Regal insignia from the Roman power. The first real king in Germany, Ariovistus, became King by the gratitude or favour of the first of the Cæsars.

Veneration commanded by Rome.

We have all read how the Gaulish Warriors were stayed in silent awe before the Senate, assembled in that Forum which they were about to destroy. The columns rose in glory, again to fall; but the same veneration hovered amongst the ruins, continuing to hallow the cruelties, the depravities, the feebleness, the decrepitude of Rome. When the barbarian Sovereigns established themselves within the sacred boundaries of the Empire, when the Ostrogoth held his court at Verona, and the Frank encamped in Gaul, they honoured the very Sovereigns over whom they had usurped. Flushed with victory, the Barbarians scarcely dared to own, even to themselves, that they were rebels against the ancient Mistress of the World. Her fear was yet upon them.

There are appointed seasons of crisis, when it pleases Him through whom Kings reign and Princes decree justice, to withdraw the authority He has imparted. The commission by which they rule is cancelled. Then, all sovereignty collapses, obedience is gone, command utterly lost. Kings and Princes, crownless though crowned, naked though invested with the royal robe, shiver, powerless before the blast. But except during these periods,—amongst which we reckon not

the established ascendancy of democracy, a regency the most despotic of all Monarchies, for Monarchy is irrespective of the number who may exercise the sovereignty, provided there be a sufficient coercive unity and singleness of spirit in the government — but except during these periods, man inclines far more readily to obedience than to independence. Yielding to the natural law, the instinct of submission clings to him. He succumbs pleasurably to the feeling, or rather the duty, of personal or hereditary respect—Such is the moral force of historical traditions, as they have been called by those politicians and writers who weakly endeavour to revive them by book antiquarianisms and æsthetic artificialities. And this duty honours him who renders the service as much as, nay even more, than the object to whom the duty is rendered.

Opinions and opportunities, war, policy, pride, necessity, co-operated in the transmutations whereby the Fourth Monarchy was vested in the Kingdoms which sprung from Rome; transmutations effected by simultaneous decomposition and consolidation. The Barbarians had healthy minds, rough, honest, devout. Ancient traditions taught the Franks to claim the Romans as their kinsmen. The fair-haired Germans of the Rhine traced their ancestry to the banks of the Scamander and the fugitives of Troy. Our Cymric tribes, as is familiarly known, asserted the like origin.

Supposed kindred between the Barbarians and the Romans.

The simple faith, accrediting such traditions, may have been fully as consonant to historical reasoning as the sceptical dogmatism of civilization, by which they are inexorably denied. An Anglo-Saxon Monk, deducing Cerdic's lineage from Noah through Woden, is, upon his theory, if you judge him merely by the logic of historical evidence, wiser than the philosophic historian, who commences his investigation by scorning at the common origin of mankind.

Traditional Genealogies, their truth and authenticity amongst primeval nations.

Amongst primitive races, whether flourishing in past ages, or lingering in our own, history is not distinguishable from genealogies. They reckon by generations, not by eras: man dealing with man, not deceiving himself with abstractions. It should seem that the literate mind is incompetent to judge fairly of the mind working through other instruments of thought. Our employment of writing, as the sole means of preserving knowledge, enfeebles the power of memory, and causes us to forget the powers of memory. Accustomed only to the cultivated plant, we do not sufficiently estimate the vigour of the natural growth. Could we penetrate into the inward mind of classes or races appearing to us the most stolid or degraded, we should know, that, vile as they are rendered in our sight by the squalor and stench of savage life, their capacities, perceptions and sensibilities, are identical with our own. The soul is not measured by the facial angle. The

Autochthon of Tasmania understood his law of real property and his canons of descent, as clearly as any English conveyancer; and his appreciation of his land's value was no less shrewd than that entertained by the Settler who cleared him off by gun, bloodhound, and poison. Genealogies entrusted to memory, known *by heart*,—that most forcible expression—are written in a living record, compared to which the Herald's Roll is chaff and straw. Flattery cannot interpolate a link in such pedigrees—not to be confounded with fabled dynastic lists:—ignorance cannot corrupt the manuscript: hostility cannot destroy the testimony, except by the total extirpation of the witnesses. Writing preserves ampler facts and transmits more accurate details; yet, in these instances, without affording greater certainty.

Comparison between Teutonic facts preserved by letters, by symbols and by memory,—

A very singular concurrence enables us to estimate the comparative trustworthiness of literate tradition, symbolical tradition, and oral tradition. Three remarkable migrations of the human race in these latter ages, have followed in close succession:—the settlement of the Northmen in Iceland and Greenland, and their occupation of America, so transient and so mysterious:—the Aztecs in their mighty march, descending to the plains of Anahuac;—and the wave of population which spread to the farthest verge of Australasia.

The Northmen engraved the letters of the historic song on the Runic stave.—Mexico em-

—as exemplified amongst the Northmen, the Mexicans and the New Zealanders.

ployed conventional imagery.—The Maoris, aided only by the rudest contrivance, the notched stick, trusted to memory; and so accurately are these gentilitial facts recollected, that throughout their Island, the tribes, separated by distance and disjoined by enmity, agree completely in their tale. Here, however, we appeal to these national traditions simply as moral persuasives, acting upon Celts and Teutons, and becoming more peculiarly efficacious at the period when the Barbarians were amalgamating themselves with the Roman world. Every Leader of a Barbarian tribe, every Aspirant to dominion, every Barbarian who wore the diadem in a province of the Empire, consecrated his authority and legalized his sovereignty by the recognition of the Cæsars, and till he obtained that ratification, whether express or implied, he hardly relied upon his sword. These transactions colour the whole history of the Lower Empire. We quote not the examples proving the foregoing propositions, having done so elsewhere; neither can we here moot the contending arguments.

Barbarian Sovereignty legitimated by Roman authority.

There may have been double-dealing in such negociations; diplomatic skill, finesse, evasion: always the display of force, and frequently the direct exercise of force; but the territorial partition amongst the Barbarians had been long commencing. As is the case in all earthly dominions, the sentence of condemnation, though suspended

in execution, had been irrevocably passed upon Rome during her period of resplendant prosperity and glory. All conquering, all colonizing Empires,—colonization being only conquest disguised by a plausible name—increase by the appropriation of new elements, which, ultimately, separate either by direct and outward impulse, or through the inward fermentations and corpuscular attractions of human society.

The demarcations which the Romans assigned to the local governments created by them, had been regulated by the anterior organization of the Gaulish States and Tribes; and the Tyrants only obeyed the call of the Provinces, in which a new nationality, partly grounded upon race, was displaying itself. The Provinces sought to be independent, without ceasing to be Roman. The Barbarians and Romans had long needed each other, and had mutually abated their respective claims and pretensions. The Empire was becoming Romano-Barbaric; each party tried to profit by the other; neither was sincere. When the Chieftains, Rome's mercenaries, Rome's colonists, Rome's enemies, sued for the dignity of Consul or the title of Patrician, the Sacred Majesty of Byzantium might dread to refuse; but Byzantium could not do otherwise than grant, and the Ostrogoth or the Frank knew the worth of the distinction he craved. He honoured himself by the subserviency, protected himself by the

delegation; and this proud prostration of the strong before the weak, affords the clearest proof that the vassal fully understood the advantage which his obedience conferred.

Contemplate the heroic Chieftains of the Barbarian dynasties, each assuming the semblance of the Cæsars, and wise in that assumption. They profited by the provincial nationality which had been growing up during the tyrannic era. Postumus had been preparing the way for Tetricus, and Tetricus for Clovis—Clovis the Sicambrian, hailed as Consul, worshipped as Augustus. Thus did Leuvigild, the Visigoth, triumph in the Imperial policy; and in Britain the same principles spread over from the Gauls. Our Anglo-Saxons hastened into the communion of the Empire.—Ethelbert impressed the Roman wolf upon the rude Kentish coin—Edwin raised the Roman Standard—Athelstan is enthroned as the Basileus of Albion and the surrounding islands.

Roman insignia and titles assumed by the Barbaric Sovereigns.

In the employment of these titles and symbols; sound political prudence guided the clear-sighted Barbarians. Pageantry is a portion of Royalty which cannot be safely discarded; and such pageantry, such adoption of Roman insignia and imagery became the constant assertion of their authority; for they thereby declared that they applied to themselves the doctrines of Imperial Sovereignty. To estimate the real importance of these proceedings, we need only advert to the feel-

Importance of symbols of authority.

ings excited by analogous demonstrations in more recent times. The Cross-fleury and Martlets of the Confessor in the Howard bearing, cost the Earl of Surrey his life. Elizabeth never forgave the display of the English quarterings by her rival. France never liked the Lilies in our shield; not even when she had blotted them out from her own. Republican France, Consular France, inherited the sympathies of the Monarchy. The abandonment of the Fleurs-de-Lys, though indicating nought beyond the most obsolete of claims, was received as a message of kindness by the Great Nation: whilst at home, many politicians of no mean capacity doubted the prudence of maiming the Royal title, and discarding the honours for which Old England combated at Cressy and Poitiers.

But in truth any depreciation of these Roman titles and "trappings" is the expression of modern prejudice, rather than of antient feeling. Such regalia and regaline adornments were not the gays and gauds of a savage, aping civilization, but essential characteristics of the Monarch: the purple robe, transmitted by Anastasius to Clovis together with the diploma, gave him seizin of the consular dignity: the diadem, placed upon the head of the anointed Monarch, through the gift of the Emperor, conferred upon the Sicambrian the prerogative of Augustus.

§ 4. Amongst the most instructive lessons we

Rome never conquered by the Barbarians—A fact first brought forward by Guizot.

derive from the history of discoveries, is the tardiness of their revelation, the eye sightless, the ear without hearing, the nerve without tact, until the inward perception be roused. This condition of progress in practical art and physical science applies to all branches of human knowledge. We praise the patient skill which uncovers the strata of the palimpsest, and admire the strange enthusiast, who, braving the lethargic atmosphere of the Academic library, ventures in, and draws forth the precious Manuscript from the stagnant pools, whose silent waters engulph the untouched treasures collected by Bodley or Laud, Junius or Rawlinson, Gale or Moor or Parker: yet fully as new and important is the information obtained from the trite, well-known, and familiar authorities, which have only waited for the Interrogator, asking them to make the disclosure.

Facts pregnant with most signal truths have, until our own times, continued uninvestigated and unimproved; though plain and patent, presented to every reader, fruitlessly forcing themselves upon our notice, against which historians were previously constantly hitting their feet, and as constantly spurning out of their path.

Such is eminently the case with that due conception of the Eternal City's destiny, which the illustrious historical investigator, now the honour and the reproach of France, has presented

with equal modesty and emphasis. Rome never was permanently conquered—never accepted the Strangers' yoke—never became subjected to the Barbarian. Rome alone continued purely Roman after the Imperial presence departed. Province after province was lost: plague, pestilence, fire desolated the City, the habitations shrunk away within the walls, a fierce and corrupt aristocracy, a depraved and cowardly populace, composed the community which defiled the Seven Hills; but the succession was unbroken, and Rome was Rome, and is Rome still. The glorious laurel-crowned phantasms of her ancient grandeur hovered amongst her ruins. Combining with her present degradation, the recollections of the past imparted inspiration and bitterness to the most polished Poet of the Anglo-Norman age.

Degradation and baseness of mediæval Rome.

Par tibi Roma nihil, cum sis prope tota ruina:
Quam magni fueris integra, fracta doces.—
Non tamen annorum series, non flamma nec ensis
Ad plenum potuit hoc abolere decus.—
Urbs felix, si vel dominis urbs illa careret,
Vel dominis esset turpe carere fide.

Rome's outward aspect, her form and feature, vindicated her nationality. The Rome of the first Gregory—of Honorius, of Saint Leo, of Hildebrand, displayed the continuous transmission of ancient sentiment, living tradition, and proud and haughty spirit.

The Fine Arts, as such, had perished: the Sculptor's skill had been entirely repudiated by

primitive Faith. No majesty of expression, no loveliness of form, no magic of conception, no exquisiteness of taste, no delicacy of execution could in the firm minds of the early Christians atone for the impurity of the idols: they were without excuse.—Scarcely ever has there been an unmutilated statue of a Heathen deity excavated within the Roman territory. The effigies are ruined in the ruins. The fourteen fragments of Parian marble dug up in the baths of Nero, and now composing the Venus, the glory of the Medici, testify equally to the uncompromising zeal inculcated by the apostolic age, and the skill of the restoring artist, fostered by the patronage of those who, in the golden age of revival, derided the simplicity of the Apostles.

Nevertheless, the Romans clung to the memorials inherited from their forefathers: the Basilica repeated the forms of the Imperial structures: their architecture, however rudely, gave an outward testimony of the national sentiment. Such buildings declare that they are the productions of a people, who, fallen from their high estate, repelled the intrusion of a stranger. Mediæval Rome might be viewed as the palace of a decayed but noble family, retaining the tokens and symbols of ancestry, contrasting with naked walls and earthen floor. Of all the cities in Western Christendom, Rome was the only one in which Gothic architecture never obtained

Traditional preservation of Roman architecture in Rome during the dark ages.

naturalization: that mystic and imaginative creation, so inseparably allied in popular opinion with mediæval Catholicism, was excluded from the Capital of the Christian world.

Thus also the palace of Crescentius, inhabited generations afterwards by Rienzi, strangely compacted of ancient fragments, and standing desolate upon the shores of the Tiber, still displays the anxiety which the "Brutus of the revived Republic" felt to shew that he dwelt as a Roman. His medals tell far more than the pages of history. Crescentius usurped the state and insignia of the Empire.—In like manner, with national, if not religious consistency, the national feeling overcoming the religious sentiment, the ancient ensigns, consecrated almost as the tutelary deities of the Legions, the Wolf, the Minotaur, the Dragon, the Eagle, came forth from the Capitol, and inaugurated the Teutonic successors of the Cæsars.

Obscurity of the municipal history of mediæval Rome.

Like the other Italian Republics, municipal Rome sustained incessant changes in her communal organization; but dull darkness shrouds her rude, convulsive, and turbulent destinies.

How fortunate was fair Florence in her Chroniclers: their gifts, their talents, their industry, their knowledge: the tender affection of Malespini; the earnest pathos of Dino Compagni; the graphic inspiration of Villani, and the rich fund of information which renders him the second in

order of the great European Historians of the mediæval period—England gave the first, Matthew Paris the Monk of Saint Alban's; and Flanders in her Froissart, the third—Rome had none like these amongst her sons. Uncouth diaries, meagre annalists, scattered and fragmentary muniments are the failing and imperfect sources of Rome's local and peculiar history. Few, indeed, comparatively, of the renowned names which have illustrated Italy, imperial Italy, mediæval Italy, or modern Italy, whether in literature, or poetry, or science, or arts, or arms, can really be assigned to that City which has given the intellectual impulse to the civilized world.

Antiquaries have painfully retrieved some indications of Rome's mediæval magistracy. Senators, Consuls, Patricians, glance and retreat before us. The authority of the municipal rulers was continually disturbed by popular dissensions, and disgraced as well as enfeebled by the baseness, levity, avarice and venality which rendered the people—the dregs of the dregs of Romulus—the very proverb and bye-word of the nations. Nevertheless, mean and mendicant as Rome had become, the honour of opinion was continued to her; men bowed before the Community they despised, just as a Tiberius or a Caligula, brutalized by vice, was still an Emperor. Rome still enjoyed a preeminence which none could contest. The brazen Wolf dwelt in the Capitol, and the four

Moral preeminence of the City of Rome despite of her poverty and degradation.

letters, which, by an almost magic influence, convey the concrete idea of Rome's Empire, decked her monuments. Tattered and sordid and faded was her Imperial robe, still she triumphed —the Queen of Cities.

Unworthy of her trust, her trust was continued to her; and in the highest of her functions Rome retained her authority. Whether sincere or venal, whether prompted by veneration or suggested by faction, the Roman Municipality presented the Pontiff to the Primatial See of Christendom. That transcendent function, after many conflicts and contests and changes, became finally vested in the Cardinal hierarchy of the Roman Diocese; yet, whilst the popular concurrence subsisted, the postulation was the legal right of the Roman Commonwealth; nor did the demerits of the Patrons contaminate the Pontiff, unless he personally participated in them, or any how detract from his canonical authority as the consecrated successor of the Apostle. The foulnesses of the soil do not infect the fruit of the tree, which may ripen, sweet and nourishing, out of the impure earth by which the roots are surrounded.

Charlemagne's history enters into the history of all the European States.

§ 5. In physical Geography, the features of each district must be united to the rivers and mountain ranges beyond the square of the map. You must over-pass frontiers and artificial limits. Neither can the history of any particular State comprehended in the European Commonwealth

be studied profitably or properly, unless in connexion with the universal history of Western Christendom. Hence the great difficulty of treating Modern History. The utmost expansion given to the history of any particular State or Nation must necessarily fail to include the general information, needful as the complement of the specialty. Perhaps there are few branches of human knowledge concerning which it may be so truly said, that the Learner must be his own Teacher: and many portions of history, apparently the most familiar, offer the greatest difficulty when you attempt to grapple with them. Such is the history of Charlemagne. Every State which arose within the compass of his direct dominion has been shaped through his influence, however diversely, nay contradictorily, that influence may have been modified; whilst his moral dominion extended far beyond the geographical boundaries of his Empire. It was not arrested by Eyder on the North or Ebro on the South, nor even by the waves of the British Channel. The Anglo-Saxon Empire ran parallel with the Carlovingian Empire until the Norman Conquest, that junction which completely let in all the principles appropriated by the Northmen, when they themselves accepted the doctrines and policy proffered by the Institutions of Roman France.

The ideal Charlemagne.

It seems Charlemagne's fate that he should always be in danger of shading into a mythic

Monarch—not a man of flesh and blood, but a personified theory. Turpin's Carolus Magnus, the Charlemagne of Roncesvalles; Ariosto's *Sacra Corona*, surrounded by Palatines and Doze-Piers, are scarcely more unlike the real rough, tough, shaggy old Monarch, than the conventional portraitures by which his real features have been supplanted.

It is an insuperable source of fallacy in human observation as well as in human judgment, that we never can sufficiently disjoin our own individuality from our estimates of moral nature. Admiring ourselves in others, we ascribe to those whom we love or admire the qualities we value in ourselves. We each see the landscape through our own stripe of the rainbow. A favourite hero by long-established prescription, few historical characters have been more disguised by fond adornment than Charlemagne. Each generation or school, has endeavoured to exhibit him as a normal model of excellence. Courtly Mezeray invests the son of Pepin with the faste of Louis-Quatorze; the polished Abbé Velly bestows upon the Frankish Emperor the abstract perfection of a dramatic hero; Boulainvilliers, the champion of the Noblesse, worships the founder of hereditary feudality; Mably discovers in the Capitulars the maxims of popular liberty; Montesquieu, the perfect philosophy of legislation. But, generally speaking, Charlemagne's historical aspect is

derived from his patronage of literature. This notion of his literary character colours his political character, so that in the assumption of the Imperial authority, we are fain to consider him as a true romanticist—such as in our own days we have seen upon the Throne—seeking to appease hungry desires by playing with poetic fancies, to satisfy hard nature with pleasant words, to give substance and body to a dream.

The real Charlemagne.

All these prestiges will vanish if we render to Charlemagne his well deserved encomium:—he was a great Warrior, a great Statesman, fitted for his own age.—It is a very ambiguous praise to say that a man is in advance of his age: if so, he is out of his place: he lives in a foreign country. Equally so if he lives in the past. No innovator so bold, so reckless and so crude, as he who makes the attempt (which never succeeds) to effect a resurrection of antiquity.

Charlemagne's practical character.

We may put by the book, and study Charlemagne's achievements on the borders of the Rhine: better than in the book may the Traveller read Charlemagne's genuine character pictured upon the lovely unfolding landscape:—the huge Dom-Minsters, the fortresses of Religion: the yellow sunny rocks studded with the vine: the mulberry and the peach, ripening in the ruddy orchards; the succulent pot-herbs and worts which stock the Bauer's garden,—these are the monuments and memorials of Charlemagne's mind.

The first health pledged when the flask is opened at Johannisberg should be the Monarch's name who gave the song-inspiring vintage. Charlemagne's superiority and ability consisted chiefly in seeking and seizing the immediate advantages, whatever they might be, which he could confer upon others or obtain for himself. He was a man of forethought, ready contrivance and useful talent. He would employ every expedient, grasp every opportunity, and provide for each day as it was passing by.

The educational movement resulting from Charlemagne's genius was practical. Two main objects had he therein upon his conscience and his mind. The first, was the support of the Christian Faith: his Seven liberal Sciences circled round Theology, the centre of the intellectual system. No argument was needed as to the obligation of uniting sacred and secular learning, because the idea of disuniting them never was entertained.

His other object in patronizing learning and instruction was the benefit of the State. He sought to train good men of business: judges well qualified, ready pen-men in his Chancery; and this sage desire expanded into a wide instructional field. Charlemagne's exertions for promoting the study of the Greek language—his Greek professorships at Osnaburgh or Saltzburgh—have been praised, doubted, discussed, as something very paradoxical, whereas his motives

Charlemagne's cultivation of the Greek language—how misunderstood.

were plain and his machinery simple.—Greek was, to all intents and purposes, the current language of an opulent and powerful nation, required for the transaction of public affairs. A close parallel, necessitated by the same causes, exists in the capital of Charlemagne's successors. The Oriental Academy at Vienna is constituted to afford a supply of individuals qualified for the diplomatic intercourse, arising out of the vicinity and relations of the Austrian and Ottoman dominions, without any reference to the promotion of philology—We find the same at home. If the Persian language be taught at Haileybury, it is to fit the future Writer for his Indian office. He may study Ferdusi or Hafiz if he pleases, but the cultivation of literature is not the intent with which the learning is bestowed.

Theory of Charlemagne's elevation to the Imperial authority.

Apply equivalent reasonings to the event common to all Europe, and in which all Europe is concerned—the gathering-knot in the annals of modern Europe. It has been said that the restoration of the Empire by Charlemagne was a great idea; but his elevation to the Imperial dignity is denaturalized by conventional historical phraseology.—The erudite Jurist of Germany gives you his treatise *de fictâ translatione Imperii*—a title-page conveying a double misinterpretation of the truth. No feigned or poetized pageant was Charlemagne's Imperial elevation, not a fiction fostered by school-boy sentiment, or artistic

enthusiasm, or scholastic pedantry, but a reality of realities. Neither was the transaction a translation of the Empire, for the seat of the Empire was still referred to Rome; nor a restoration of the Empire, for the Empire had never ceased. Strange that Historians should have encouraged each other in the error that the Empire, extinguished, as they say, in Augustulus, was now restored.—Restored!—never had it been suspended, either in principle, maxims, or feelings. The shattered, pillaged, dilapidated Empire was still one state, one community: the nations of Christendom were bound together by one common Faith: they accepted Religion, according to the etymology of the term, as the real connecting bond, tempted as they might be by the seductive error that the Church needed the protection of the Secular arm.

Distracted Christendom fell miserably short in practice, nevertheless the idea of religious unity was firmly inherent. This principle then subsisted like an instinct, upon which men acted unconsciously, without effort and without thought. But new thoughts were now awakened and new efforts roused: the usurpation of Irene endangered the very existence of the Empire: how could a female wear the Imperial diadem? Moreover, Christendom had to dread a rival Empire,—the Empire of Islam, under one Chief, one Caliph uniting temporal and spiritual authority;

Charlemagne elevated to the Imperial authority for the purpose of continuing the Imperial succession.

and was not one Emperor equally needed for Christendom? Hence Charlemagne's call:—*Ne Pagani, insultarent Christianis si Imperatoris nomen apud Christianos cessasset*—Pope and Clergy, Bishops and Abbots, Franks and Romans, advising, as they best might, with the people and communities of the West, acknowledged the Son of Pepin as the Cæsar, and invested him with the Imperial authority, bestowed by the Church, consecrated by the Church, but yet antagonistic to the Church of which the Emperor was the defender.

Charlemagne failed to perpetuate a dynasty. There was a deadly worm curling around his sceptre; but he fulfilled his vocation by imparting a new energy to the drooping genius of the Fourth Monarchy. Henceforward the Imperial principles of government, the doctrines, sentiments, jurisprudence and policy of Rome, became still more intimately kneaded into the Teutonism of the Western Commonwealth, causing the fermenting elements to enter into new combinations, and imparting that aspect and idiosyncrasy which distinguishes the civilized European from the other families of mankind.

Monarchical character of Modern Europe grounded upon Roman policy.

§ 6. We, therefore, all live in the Roman world: the departed generations are not distinguishable in these reasonings from ourselves; the "dark ages" and the "middle ages" are merely bights and bends in the great stream of

Time, which we contemplate from the bridge by which the river is arched over. Rome conferred upon the Sovereigns of Modern Europe their principles of prerogative, their attributes of majesty. The powers of the State were concentrated in the Monarch by the *Lex Regia*, he the sole Legislator, though acting by advice; he the supreme Magistrate, delegating his powers. The Comites, the companions of Augustus, installed their successors in the palace of Clovis. European aristocracy is plumed by the stately nomenclature of the declining Empire. The Romans bestowed upon us that Institution so directly antagonistic to Teutonic ethos, nobility created by the Sovereign's grant. Every Duke and Dukedom, every Count and County, testifies to the Roman influence, and confesses the Barbarian's exulting appropriation of Roman spoils. No King of the Cherusci or of the old Saxons, no Marcomannic or Alemannic Sovereign, was ever the fountain of honour.

Policy of the Empire, how perpetuated in the European Commonwealth.

The titles, the dignities which adorned the Monarchy, participating in the splendour of the Throne, and adding to that splendour, are Roman in their origin: the civil hierarchy of Modern Europe, though quaintly gorgeous in heraldic glory, was grouped by Roman hands.

Dignities and Nobility.

Rome penned the oath of fealty, Rome trammelled her Conquerors by her doctrine of allegiance. The policy pursued by Rome towards

Feudality.

her dependents, who sought to avert her hostility or purchase her more dangerous aid, who sheltered themselves beneath her destructive power: the reception by Numidian or Parthian of the Crown, the Sceptre, the purple robe—that policy, conjoined to the territorial dotations of the Legions, and assimilating therewith the trusts and duties of the Leudes and the Vassi, prepared for mediæval Europe the inheritance of feudality.

Moreover, the Roman legislation, leaving undisturbed in the provinces all ancient customs of occupation and cultivation of land, readily entered into combination with Teutonic usages. The popular stigma of the Middle Ages, Villainage, was the universal law of the Roman Empire, nor did the barbarian invaders make much alteration, though they changed the forms; and, on the whole, diminished the oppressions and bondage which the coloni, the husbandmen, the servile peasantry of the Empire, sustained.

Villainage.

Whatever there be of system or consistency in mediæval feudality, whatever renders feudality a jurisprudence, chiefly results from the doctrines of the Empire. We read the history of Anglo-Norman England in Cisalpine Gaul. How does the expulsion of the English Thanes sink into insignificance compared with the feudality of Sulla!—*Veteres migrate Coloni.*—One hundred and fifty thousand land-holders expelled from their possessions to gratify the murderous Le-

Feudal jurisprudence mainly Roman.

gions. It is from the Imperial jurists, from Code and Pandect, that you recover the pristine maxims and principles of feudality: it is from the technical nomenclature of the Civilian that you enucleate the Feud's very name.

Influence and perpetuation of the Civil Laws.

The jurisprudence of Rome had been respected, and partially adopted by the Barbarians, even before they established themselves within the Empire. In many provinces the authority of the Roman law was never intermitted. As time advanced, the civil law gained even more rapidly upon the Teutonic legal forms, legal customs, legal principles; upon "Dooms," and "Weissthumer," upon "Morgen-gesprach" and "Sachsen Spiegel;" so as to efface them in many States and Kingdoms, and to modify them in all. No European Lawyer has failed to profit by Rome's written wisdom. The Roman municipalities and colleges of operatives and artificers, shooting forth their offsets, and consecrated by Christianity, covered Europe with those Guilds, Corporations and Communities, which fostered her social prosperity.

Municipalities, Guilds, and Corporations.

Great Councils, Parliaments, &c.

The Atlantic does not divide European society—Rome presented to Europe the platform of her great Councils: but for the Imperial administration of the Empire combining with the Synods and Councils of the Church, never would the European Commonwealth have known her Diets, her States-General, her Cortes, her

Parliaments, her Congresses, her representative Assemblies.

Romance and Chivalry.

When they built the Cloister and raised the Dungeon Tower, virtue was learned from Rome's lessons; her Sages heard as the revered teachers of temporal wisdom; her Legends inspired the nation's fancy; her Warriors were contemplated as the bright examples of prowess and valour; her Poets, her Historians, her Mythographers, her Fabulists furnished the Gothic Minstrel with the choicest subjects for geste and lay.—Alcides: the Fleece of Colchis: Alexander: the tale of Troy-divine. Amidst the ruins of Rome, Frank, and Goth, and Lombard listened to the awful tales of magic and enchantment, suggesting the very substance and character of Romance. In her annals, the Knight sought his pattern of courage, adventure, and strenuousness; and if there be such a sentiment as Chivalry, that sentiment in all the purer and nobler forms was nurtured and disciplined by Rome.

Arts and Architecture.

Roman taste gave the fashion to the garment; Roman skill the models for the instruments of war. We have been told to seek in the Forests of Germany the origin of the feudal system and the conception of the Gothic aisle. We shall discover neither there. Architecture is the costume of society, and throughout European Christendom that costume was patterned from Rome. Unapt and unskilful pupils, she taught

the Ostrogothic workman to plan the palace of Theodoric; the Frank, to decorate the Hall of Charlemagne; the Lombard, to vault the Duomo; the Norman, to design the Cathedral.

Above all, Rome imparted to our European civilization her luxury, her grandeur, her richness, her splendour, her exaltation of human reason, her spirit of free enquiry, her ready mutability, her unwearied activity, her expansive and devouring energy, her hardness of heart, her intellectual pride, her fierceness, her insatiate cruelty, that unrelenting cruelty which expels all other races out of the very pale of humanity: whilst our direction of thought, our literature, our languages, concur in uniting the Dominions, Kingdoms, States, Principalities and Powers, composing our Civilized Commonwealth in the Old Continent and the New, with the terrible People through whom that Civilized Commonwealth wields the thunderbolts of the dreadful Monarchy, diverse from all others which preceded amongst mankind.

Chapter II.

THE ROMAN LANGUAGE.

Origin of Language not the subject of human philosophy.

§ 1. He who breathed into Man's nostrils the breath of life, first opened the lips of Man. Adam first spake when he was solitary. No human ear but his own could hear the sound of the human voice; called into action under the immediate tuition of the Power from whom the faculty emanated.

No new mode of Language since the confusion of tongues.

Never since the Lord scattered mankind from the Plain of Shinar, has any distinct mode of Language been evolved. Or, if we place the same consideration under its subjective aspect, each nation and family, the progeny of the Preacher of righteousness, received a peculiar speech, the means and token of their division, but conformable to the talents lent to them for their Creator's service and glory.

Henceforward, until we pass far below the commencement of the period which Palætiologists denominate the *historical period*,—a period so well understood in the philosophical sense as to require no other definition—all enquiries concerning the formation of languages must cease. Excepting from Revelation, it is a thorough delusion to suppose that by our unassisted reason we can ascend to any more ancient condition than the

World now exhibits, or to any past state of the World, for the purpose of discovering the causes which produced the present order of things.—If that knowledge be happiness, there is only One who can bestow it upon man. The materials for colligation possessed by Inductive Philosophy consist only of the facts collected from actual observation or verified experiment, (the latter being in truth merely another expression for observation), and these only admissible upon the assumption that all laws of nature governing the premises are taken into the argument,—that the same laws have acted uniformly during the whole process of operating causes,—and that all correlations have continued unchanged.—The soul cumbered in her veil of flesh, can by her own powers study nothing in material philosophy but the outward appearances, the phenomena which creation now presents, and the working of the laws of nature cognizable through sense, within the sphere appointed for our sojourn. Her striving to know more is rebellion. All essences; all modes of primordial production are completely beyond the compass of human understanding, and utterly unattainable by the researches of human science.

No inductions admissible in science except grounded upon observation and experience.

We must not fret at the limit thus assigned to scientific enquiry; Newton did not. Newton was content to abide by it.—Do not call it a miserable limit. It is the immovable limit of human intellect designed by Infinite Wisdom, and to which intel-

lect must succumb. It is with the mind as with the body. You cannot add one hair to the finite number of the hairs of your head. You cannot increase by one molecule the bulk of your members beyond their measure written in the Book when as yet there was none of them.—We gain nothing by hypotheses of causation, or by speculations concerning the origins of planetary systems, or the former structures of our Globe, or the successive introductions during unnumbered ages of the Earth's vegetations or inhabitants, excepting the exercise and the sport. When we indulge in the pastime, we become like small children striving to gather fruit out of their reach or climb.—We jump and jump, and one of us may be a little taller than the other, or jump a little higher; but the height of the leap is predetermined for each of us by the length and strength of our little limbs. To rise above the mathematical line where the propulsive forces of nerve and muscle are finally conquered by the Earth's attraction is impossible. And clutching our little fists with nothing in them, down we all come again empty-handed to the ground.

Period during which human languages were more flexible than at present.

§ 2. The phænomena of our Globe declare that the laws of nature, or the operations of secondary causes, physical or physiological, have not been invariably uniform or absolutely similar; some peculiar to the nascent world, all more intense; the collective life of all classes of animated

beings endued with the vigour and flexibility of individual youth. Species and their varieties seem to have been produced by an inward nisus which decreased with the advancing age of the world. The like with respect to languages. The process of linguistic formation did not suddenly terminate. A certain degree of vitality in language, now lost to us, was still subsisting; somewhat also of the generative energy of speech, until about the era when the Canon of Holy Scripture was closed by the last mysterious Book of Prophecy.

The miraculous judgment dividing and confusing the human speech into its present alliances and families, working with continued though diminishing cogency, long permitted the diversified classes and orders to retain so much affinity, that words and roots, now seemingly most wide apart, were in their inception so proximate as to enable us, even now, to determine their cognate origin. Can any three languages, cursorily examined, appear more alien to each other than the Cymric, the Latin, and the German?—any three, in which three speakers could less understand each other? —any three groups of words which presented severally, and without interpretation, would look more unconnected than *gwraig*, *virago*, and *frau*? —Yet they are one and the same. Advert to a slight permutation of letters in the first, a softening in the second, and restore the original ortho-

Ancient identity of Language now dissonal, still perceptible.

graphy to the third;—*frau* was first spelt *vrauch*, and their identity flashes on the mind.

No small portion of the pleasure accompanying Historical investigation, results from the stimulus afforded by the attempts to expound the dark riddles of past ages: the more difficult the problem, the greater the interest attending its solution. Imperfect are the data upon which the Etymologist investigates the early history of the great Teutonic and Celtic families, somewhat more extensive than the two words which include the whole pith of the Pictish controversy, but not very much more: he has to deal with scattered, scanty, and unsatisfactory materials, usually a name of town, mountain, or river, misheard by the stranger, mis-read by the author, or corrupted by the transcriber. *Bodenkos*, as we are told by Polybius, was the name given to the Po: *fundo carens*, is Pliny's interpretation. Metrodorus informs us that it was a Ligurian word. Is it not Celtic? for there was a town *Bodincomagus*—and we are asked whether *bodenkos* can be explained from the Celtic tongues? Read *bodenlos*—amend the penman's error, and you will have a pure German term.

Arnold's supposition that Βοδεγκος, given as the name of the Po, may be Celtic.

Then we have inscriptions, so curious, so tempting as to be susceptible of almost any direction which the Philologist may choose. Take, for instance, the votive monuments buried beneath the Eucharistic Altar of Notre-Dame, and brought

Gaulish Altars found beneath the High Altar of Notre-Dame.

to light again as trophies of triumphant Christianity. These stones, with their rude imagery, are coeval records of the language, the faith, the nationality of Paris, when Tiberius ruled the Empire. You see on one the Ship, the symbol of the Waterman's Guild, adopted as the armorial bearing of Lutetia, retained by Paris in her shield notwithstanding every vicissitude, every change of people, religion, state, and monarchy, the heraldic emblem which has outlasted the banner of Saint Louis. On another, you observe three birds: you may count their number—so does the inscription, which also tells you their species, *trigaranus*. And of what race were the Parisian Gauls? *Tri* is what its sound suggests, *three* in the Teutonic dialects, *three* in the Celtic, and how far shall we pursue the numeral through every branch of the Caucasian family?—And the *garan* is first cousin if not brother to the crane of the German, the crane of the Cymri, the crane of the Greek, and how many more?—And when we hear of the Gaulish fane, which, from its iron portals, was called *Isarnodor*, the sounds, so intelligible to the English ear, do not impart any certain information concerning the nationality of the tribes to whom they belonged.

Ambiguity of the linguistic evidence they afford.

§ 3. Fourteen centuries have elapsed since the authority of the Roman Emperors ceased in Britain, yet scarcely does the farmer's ploughshare ever furrow the soil where a Roman City has flou-

Efforts made by the Romans for the purpose of compelling the nations to adopt the Latin.

rished, or the stern Roman castramentation controlled the land,—whether the down or heath be still surrounded by the vallum, or the memory of the station preserved by the Notitia or the Itinerary,—without turning up the medals bearing the laurelled head, the weeping captive, the trophy, or the triumphal car, the tokens of Rome's sovereignty.—The husbandman's toil, the infant's busy hand, the excavator's pickaxe, the crumbling cliff, the rush of the rain, have constantly disclosed the Roman hoard during fourteen centuries; and yet that hoard seems as inexhaustible as if throughout the whole length and breadth of our Island the coin germinated in the ground. So vast are the quantities, that the imaginative Antiquary, baffled when he attempted to ascribe their multitude and dispersion to accident or chance, suggested the theory of design—the Romans, as our Archæologist tells us, purposely sowed and buried their mintage in the glebe, to the end that future ages might receive continual manifestations of their almost super-human power. Fanciful as the theory may be, accept it as an expression of the effect produced upon the mind by the irresistible instinct which impelled the Romans to build in all things for historical eternity.

Stukeley's supposition that the Romans buried their coins purposely as memorials.

Such have been the results of the endeavours made by the Romans to impose their language upon the vassal world. The mastery of language

is the mastery of thought. They strove for that mastery, gained it, kept it, keep it: they, dead and gone, that Empire still is theirs. They would fain compel the subject nations to adopt their Latian speech; and the conquered obeyed, accepting the enjoined conformity as a high privilege, a bond of union, the creation of a new nationality.

The general submission of the Provinces is rendered the more conspicuous by the exceptions. The Semitic races resisted the Japhetian influence: perish they may, but they cannot change. Proconsuls and Prætors of Numidia might promulgate their decrees in Latin; but though Carthage was deleted, Thimiliga and Themetra retained their Suffetes, their Judges, who prided themselves upon their ancient patronymics, Hanno or Asdrubal, whilst the community retained their primeval tongue. Augustine acquired the Latin as the language of education; but when the peasantry of Hippo were interrogated who they were,—"Canaanites are we—*Canaani-anachnu*,"—was the reply—unchanged from their Punic ancestry.

The influence of the Latin language resisted by the Semitic races and the Greeks.

Beggarly starving Greece, cringing beneath the yoke, flexible as the reed, complied grudgingly, unwillingly, awkwardly, partially conforming when sustaining the pressure, but casting away the dialect of her Masters whom she dared not call Barbarians,—though she thought so in her heart—as soon as the pressure was removed.

—Greece testified her deep disgust by the rejection of Latin literature. Love of knowledge might tempt a Greek to consult the Latin Historian. Convenience, duty, interest, or the desire of advancement, compelled the Græculus to study the Roman Jurist; but he would have nothing to do with the language of Rome as the source of intellectual pleasure. It is more than doubtful whether any existing Latin manuscripts, excepting the magnificent volumes of the Pandects, exhibit the hand of a Greek Scribe. Stamboul does not know less or care less of or for Virgil and Horace, than Constantinople under the Comnenian family.

But the partial repulse which the Latin received from the Hellenic and Semitic provincials, to whom we must also add the sturdy Celtiberians and the Celts of Armorica, was far more than compensated by the success attending the Roman policy in all other portions of the Continental Empire. All the primitive dialects of Tuscany, Liguria, or Umbria, all national tongues of the Transpadane regions, all the linguistic memorials of the Boian and Insubrian were consumed by the dominant language. The Latin penetrated into the deepest recesses of the Cottian and Rhetian Alps, became naturalized in Dacia, firmly implanted amongst the rude Sards, and covered the Gauls. The Teutonic languages of the Barbarians who inherited the Imperial

authority melted away before the language honoured by the purple—and the term *Latinitas* was adopted as the synonym of Western Christendom. The Ripuarian Franks assimilated themselves to the Romans: the Salic judges who administered the laws of Arbogast and Widogast attempted to record the Doom of the Mallum, like the Magistrate disciplined by the forensic labours of the Roman Colony; and the "Malberg glosses," so perplexing to the philologist, rendered the national code intelligible to the Barbarian, who sustained a new subjection under his native Sovereign.

Latinitas. the name given in the Middle Ages to Western Christendom.

Rarely, if ever, did the Barbarian Conqueror dare, when acting as a Ruler, to speak his native language: he endangered his Royal caste unless he comported himself like a Roman on the throne: the very sound of the Latin language implied supremacy and command. The Latin was the only recognized vehicle of official business in the Romano-Barbarian States: the Sovereigns of Teutonic blood promulgated their laws, asserted their prerogative, bestowed their bounties, or rebuked their people in the language of the Cæsars. Capitulars, Statutes, Rescripts, Charters, all public documents are written in Latin. Until the collapse of the Anglo-Saxon dynasty, no Chancellor of an Anglo-Saxon King or Basileus, ever repudiated the precedent derived from the Scribes and Notaries who had sat behind the

General adoption of the Latin by the Barbarian Conquerors.

gilded barrier at the feet of the Emperor. With this exception, if it be one—for we may conjecture that the vernacular Charters are authentic versions of a Latin text, nor are we certain whether the Latin texts of our Anglo-Saxon laws may not have been the originals,—the Latin continued to be the living language of the State, the instrument of reasoning, the predominating vehicle of thought. When the Norman ruled in England and the Capetian in France, the Latin language constituted the educational test and token distinguishing the plebeian orders from the aristocracy of rank and talent.

The Romana Rustica.

§ 4. Hitherto we have principally adverted to the effects produced by Sovereignty; but Rome was to be aided by auxiliaries more mighty than her wisdom. The Roman language was destined to conquer an intellectual Empire, through the medium and by the co-operation of the Peasant, the Colonus, the Freed-man, the Stranger, the Slave, the Jew, the Christian, the Bishop, the Priest, the Deacon, the Faithful, the Catechumen, the Confessor, the Martyr, invested moreover with varied forms, altered influences,—powers unpremeditated, unforeseen, unattainable by any device which human wit could have framed.

Whilst the *Urbane Latin*, the *Lingua Nobilis* of Quintilian, the Latin flourishing in the Augustan Age, was employed by all the cultivated

classes, there existed by her side a sister, a rival, and yet a friend, constantly making inroads upon the classical territory. This was the Language known as the *Sermo pedestris*, the *Sermo simplex*, the *Lingua Rustica*, or *Ruralis*, severed into various cognate dialects, plainer in construction, not accentuated as in the tribune; some sounds elided, others exaggerated, divested of many inflections now found in the Latin language, as the latter became modelled by processes to us unknown, and fixed by the rules which the Grammarians laid down. A remarkable characteristic of the Latin language in the earlier age was its mutability. The hymns of the Salian priests became, after an interval of five hundred years, utterly unintelligible to the Romans; and, though in an opposite direction, ten times more distant from Cicero's language than the Norman dialect of Master Wace's *Roman du Rou* is from Cicero.

Idea of the Lingua Rustica, afforded by the inscriptions, and the Daco-Roman dialect of Wallachia.

Some remains of the *Lingua Rustica* are extant in sepulchral inscriptions, which, however, exhibit this common parlance rather according to an amended or artificial form: that is to say, they shew an attempt to write Latin, but a Latin yielding to the pronunciation and idiom of the *Volgare* of the land. Not less remarkable is the existence of a Roman dialect in the parts of Dacia now constituting the modern Wallachia, where the language seems to have been perpe-

tuated from Trajan's Legions, settled as feudatories in the Kingdom of Decebalus. Strangely disguised by Greek, Turkish and Sclavonian intermixtures, the Romanian or Daco-Roman, nevertheless, still displays a close affinity to the South-Appenine dialects of Modern Italy. When cleared from these additions, the Daco-Roman language approximates to the Roman *volgare* spoken by Rienzi, soft and euphonic, though uncongenial to Dante's taste and dissonant to his ears. Anyhow, the before-mentioned specimens and fragments afford some notion of the Romana Rustica during the Imperial Age. Dante reckoned fourteen principal dialects of the *Volgare*, whilst, as he says, those of inferior consequence were countless. The Bolognesi of the *Strada Maggiore* spoke otherwise than those of the *Borgo San' Felice*. Italy was unquestionably circumstanced under the Roman domination nearly as she is now: a variety of dialects flourishing in each locality, concurrent with one predominating language, which, consecrated to literature, afforded throughout the Peninsula the means of common intercourse.

Influence of the servile and proletarian population upon language.

§ 5. Whilst the Romans triumphed in all the merciless insolence of baneful prosperity, another nation writhed in ceaseless anguish amongst and beneath them, the vast nation of slaves, the crime, the cancer, and ultimately the punishment of Rome, constantly recruited by fresh captives,

hundreds, and thousands, and myriads, and chiliads, and millions.—The delicate matron and tender damsel of Corinth, the grey-haired Senator of Epirus, the athletic Goth, the blue-eyed Teuton, the supple Sarmatian, the accomplished Lydian, the Greek emparadised by luxury and intellect, the Barbarian who had ranged in the free delights of mountain and steppe, forest and wave, swept away from every country which had been lacerated by the fangs of the Roman wolf, or torn by the beak of the Roman eagle, fit symbols of Roman power.

Each miserable importation, circumstanced like the Africans in European settlements, could only obtain an imperfect knowledge of the language of their tyrants. Filling every employment, from the lowest to the highest, swarming in every villa, congregating in every atrium, chained to every rich man's door, their modes of speech accustomed every ear to their locution and infected the vernacular tongue. This servile talk would readily combine with the vulgarisms of the mob, the proletarian populace of the great cities, but most especially of that foul Capital: the vicious pronunciations, the clipt vocables, the solecisms and blunders, the slang and cant, the obscenity and ruffianism, the corruptions of language corresponding to the debasement of the mind.

In the midst of this dinning tumult of tongues, the Classical Latin, the Latin of the standard au-

thors, the Latin of literature, the Grammar Latin, retreating amongst the higher orders of society, struggled for existence. So actively pervading were the deteriorated dialects at Rome, that constant exertions were required to preserve the children of good families from the vernacular which constituted the language of the masses. Latin did not come by nature at Rome, any more than Greek. Both were languages of education; both required to be bought and taught.—To this effect are the instructions given by Saint Jerome, in his most curious letter to Læta, containing a complete system of education: his precautions for securing the infant against the colloquial language of the nurse, being scarcely less stringent than those which might be considered needful for Calcutta at the present day. Saint Jerome was any thing rather than a precisian in style, but he was anxious that Læta's daughter should speak honestly, as fitted her station, a Christian gentlewoman.

Influence of these vulgar dialects at Rome. Latin taught to children of good families.

§ 6. A third powerful agency of mutation resulted from the employment of barbarian auxiliaries, half taught, well trained, very useful, though dangerous members of the Empire's military strength. The broken Greek of the Scythian Bow-bearer at Athens, was probably scarcely worse than the Latin mangled by the Illyrian or Tungrian Legionary. The promotion of their Chieftains to station and consequence did

The military dialect of the Barbarian auxiliaries.

not necessitate any increase in liberal cultivation. Merobaudes, the Frank, who held so high a command in the Imperial army, inscribing his despatches upon his waxen tablets, (supposing he could write), would produce a Latin, rivalling in purity the French of Marshal Saxe. A military dialect must thus have been formed in and about the camps and stations of the Empire; the more readily, from the circumstance that the Romana Rustica prevailed amongst the armies. Though in regular Latin,—or at least corrected into Latin by the Historian,—the camp-song chanted by Aurelian's soldiery sounds exceedingly like the burden of a Mediæval popular ballad.

The Ordoo Zabaun of Hindostan such a military dialect, also the Parler-*soldat* of the Grande Armée.

Nor are we without examples of similar medleys in more recent times. From the commixture of the Mahometan invaders with the Hindoos, arose the language which we call Hindoostanee, a name conveying no distinct idea; whereas its native denomination, *Ordoo Zabaun*, the speech of the Camp, the tongue of the Horde, commemorates its origin. In like manner, a military language, resulting from a rude and clumsy eclecticism, appeared in the *Grande Armée;* to which they gave the name of *Parler-soldat.* Its basis was the vernacular French of the Capital, but exceedingly deteriorated and amply vocabularized from the other languages of the mixed hosts whom Napoleon had assembled: this jargon became the medium of mutual communication

between Polish Lancer and Lombard Carabineer, Swabian Boor and Parisian Garde.

Changes produced by progress of Society.

§ 7. All the before-mentioned agencies and impulses were, however, subordinate to the primum mobile, the orb in which they were universally involved. The subject of language, the instrument, but also the restraint of thought, is endless. The history of language, the mouth speaking from the fulness of the heart, is the history of human action, faith, art, policy, government, virtue, and crime. When society progresses, the language of the people necessarily runs even with the line of society. You cannot unite past and present; still less can you bring back the past: moreover, the law of progress is the law of storms; it is impossible to inscribe an immutable statute of language on the periphery of a vortex, whirling as it advances. Every political development induces a concurrent alteration or expansion in conversation and composition. New principles are generated, new authorities introduced; new terms for the purpose of explaining or concealing the conduct of public men must be created: new responsibilities arise. The evolution of new ideas renders the change as easy as it is irresistible, being a natural change indeed, like our own voice under varying emotions, or in different periods of life: the boy cannot speak like the baby, nor the man like the boy: the wooer speaks otherwise than the hus-

Effect of political revolutions upon language.

band; and every alteration in circumstances—fortune or misfortune, health or sickness, prosperity or adversity, produces some corresponding change of speech or inflexion of tone.

English Constitutional language created by the Commonwealth.

In French, the language of the *Ancien Regime* has been revolutionized with the State. Bossuet or Fenelon, Montesquieu, Helvetius, and the Patriarch of Ferney all together, could not have supplied *incivisme* or *tricolor*. Our English Parliamentary or Constitutional language dates from the Commonwealth, since which period our political vocabulary has continued enriching itself by every alternation of party, or fluctuation of national feeling. We have gained so much upon the old Heroes of our language, that their panoply would be insufficient in the day of battle. Did we determine to employ in political discussion no other words or expressions than those warranted by judicious Hooker or sagacious Verulam, we should be utterly at fault. We might as well attempt to make observations upon Jupiter's Satellites with a Gorhambury astrolabe. The sonorous periods of old Whitehall would so stiffen and starch a despatch, that the subject-matter could never be opened. Nay, were Burke to re-appear in the House, and be restricted to the phraseology consecrated by his own oratory, he would feel himself no less ill at ease than if attired in his silk coat, silk stockings, hair-bag, buckles, and sword.

Acquisitions of knowledge, improvements in science, commerce, manufactures, and arts, are still more creative: you must invent new words and phrases in sequence of every new invention. Let the Teachers who, with the best possible intentions advise us to draw exclusively from the well of English undefiled, try to follow their own counsel, and they will find the water utterly inadequate to supply the consumption of a single steam-engine boiler. No European people may seem better able to depend upon their own resources than the Germans, possessing in their language such treasures of words, and retaining the most unfettered powers of combination; yet so delicate are the shades of ideas, that in order to express the productions of English ingenuity and the fruits of English partizanship, they are driven to borrow from our own poor and comparatively unphilosophical compound:—*Locomotive, Conservative* and *Radical*, are all taken in bodily, and printed in German type as testimonies, that from us, the things, the ideas, and the words have been derived.

Since the time of Royal Rome, Republican Rome had been seething with social and political revolutions. It is a mystery how the Latin settled into its present form between the dates of Numa and of Ennius. The grammatical cultivation of the language could not stop the utilitarian march of neology.—Old and successful

practitioners always dislike new modes of treatment.—Cicero could not abide these innovations. He complains how rarely good Latin could be heard, especially amongst the Roman Ladies: not half a dozen, he says, of whom his wife's mother Lælia was one, spake correctly. In like manner the corruptions of colloquial language, even in the tribune, excite Quintilian's complaints: and truly, if Cicero believed that the standard of language was to be found in any past era, he must have sorrowed at contributing himself to the formation of a new tongue. It would have been impossible for Rome to keep out from her own territory, the influence of the foreign nations with whom she was connected by war or by peace; who resorted to the Capital for the purpose of profiting by her traffic, her splendour, her contamination. Had the Ager Romanus been surrounded by a wall of brass, each generation would have been compelled in old age to learn a new language unknown to youth.

Censures raised by Cicero and Quintilian upon the popular corruptions of the Latin.

All around was in mutation: the Roman machinery of government and administration had been in continued development. The whole frame and organization of the Empire was constructed and reconstructed. No one could or would mind Quintilian in common life: the physician, the rhetor, the jurisconsult, the artist, the trader, were constantly inviting new words into Roman citizenship. The stanch conservative

Mutations of the Latin during the Lower Empire.

Patriot might object and protest against this influx—but the people, having heard him in respectful silence, admitted, without discussion, the strangers to the civic freedom. Hence arose the eight or nine thousand words now banished *en masse* by the Lexicographer beyond the end of his alphabet, stigmatized and disgraced as barbarous, and against which the Student is warned. This so called barbarous nomenclature is, however, completely different in character from the matter which forms the staple of mediæval glossaries. Very few of the words are derived from Teutonic roots, being principally adaptations from the Greek, technological terms, names of plants and other natural objects, and Latin words applied in unclassical senses, and inflected or expanded in unclassical but useful and significant forms. But whoever considers this Vocabulary without reference to classical authority, will acknowledge that it contains a most valuable addition to the old store, evidently created by the alterations which Roman Society sustained.

Christianity most influential in altering the Latin language.

§ 8. And this leads us to the result, that, supposing the Roman Empire had continued to subsist in unbroken succession, untouched by Barbarian power, Rome still purely and prosperously Roman, the Cæsars still Cæsars, no otherwise altered by effluxion of time than the London of Queen Victoria is altered from the

London of Queen Anne, yet the introduction of Christianity would have given a new language to the Roman World. Faint as the national Faith of the Romans had become, yet it nevertheless was a constituent element of their language and literature. When the oracles were silenced, the intellectual power of Paganism was vanquished—her intellectual genius prepared to depart:—Heathen art, science, and literature, were smitten with slow but irremediable atrophy. Now began the diffusion of the Gospel, preached at Rome by the poor to the poor. Of the teachers, many were Orientals, to whom the Latin was in all respects a strange language, a disagreeable language: alien to their customs, opinions, and habits of thought. They were scarcely acquainted with Latin Grammar, certainly ignorant of its elegancies. The Christian Church turned away from all the liberal learning of the Heathen; it was included in their sphere of unmitigated antipathies. For Heathen learning was permeated by that Idolatry which they hated with a perfect hatred, a feeling unallayed so long as primitive purity and fervour prevailed.

Teachers of the Gospel hostile to Heathen learning.

The application of this historical fact to the dealings of the dark and middle ages with respect to Science and Literature and Art, must be reserved. We now advert to these sentiments merely with reference to their operation upon language. The Apostolical Constitutions prohi-

Books of the Gentiles prohibited by the Apostolic Constitutions.

bited all books of the Gentiles, and the works of the Classical Writers were generally neglected by the Christian Church during the decline of the Roman Empire, even when not absolutely condemned.

Individuals might not all be equally uncompromising. Some, inclining to the ways of the world, viewed Classical Literature with greater toleration; but on one point, Christendom was compelled to act uniformly and consistently. Urbane Latin, Classical Latin, was not convenient for ecclesiastical ministrations. The forms of speech prevailing amongst the early Christian congregations are partially evidenced by the Catacomb inscriptions—a frequent intermixture of bastardized Greek, exhibiting also the adoption of the Greek character for Latin words. For all composition in the higher sense, the Epistle, the Apology, the Commentary, the vocabulary of Pagan Rome was inadequate. Neither the doctrines nor the ceremonies nor the mysteries of Christianity could be taught, celebrated, or performed otherwise than through a complete modification of the Classical language. Christianity, for her own high duties, created her own language, breathing a new spirit into the tongue employed in Liturgical compositions, Prayer or Collect, Hymn or Psalm.

Classical Latin inadequate to the wants of Christian Literature.

The rules of grammar were therefore relaxed, syntax disregarded, popular idioms introduced

whenever custom or sense required them.—"It is our business," says Saint Augustine, "to be intelligible. What care I for the ferula of the Schoolmaster? I despise him."—Saint Augustine was quite right. Few folks have occasioned more injury to literature than the martinets of language: those who think correctly must often speak incorrectly. A noun, never before introduced into genteel company, will shine a gem if you are bold enough to set it in the Dictionary. The mind supplies the want of grammatical coherence: the language of feeling cannot follow injunctions or seek for precedents: an unauthorized phrase embodies your sentiments and becomes the vehicle of your meaning, with a strength and a logical precision which the code imposed by an Academy quenches and destroys. Whenever the era arrives in which artificial rules for style or language are accurately laid down and painfully obeyed, then literature is approaching her climacteric; the Doctor's prescriptions accelerate the Patient's decrepitude. Quintilian aided the decline of Latin genius, the *Cruscanti* condemned Tuscany to hopeless ineptitude.

Saint Augustine justifies his grammatical inaccuracies.

§ 9. Classical Latin was peculiarly inapplicable to the most important literary labours of the Western Church during her earlier ages—the versions of the Holy Scriptures. As an exemplification, compare any passage of the Vulgate with the modern texts in which purity or

Translations of the Holy Scriptures, their influence upon language.

classical correctness has been attempted, Castellio or Beza—the Ten Commandments travestied in the style of the Twelve Tables. These translations exercised a most lively influence, not only upon the dogma, but the intellect of the Latins, and assisted in evolving many of the essential differences between them and the Orientals. To the Eastern Churches, Hellenic, Semitic, or mixed, the Holy Scriptures were readily accessible. They possessed the Septuagint, and also the ancient Aramean translations of the Old Testament; together with the original text of the New Testament, in the language of the majority. It was otherwise in the Latin Church: Greek was only understood by the educated minority, Hebrew and Chaldee hardly at all. Many translations of the Greek Scriptures were therefore made and circulated, but those of the Hebrew were innumerable. These productions, though prompted by sincere zeal, were inaccurate or imperfect; and the deficiencies of the current versions stimulated the Ezra of the Western Church to undertake his vast labour of love.

Peculiar need for translations of the Scriptures in the Western Church.

For obvious reasons, we here discuss the Vulgate merely as a literary monument. Translation, under any circumstances, is an intellectual process of considerable complexity. Trade hackwork is of course out of the question; but whenever the interpreter feels the obligation of throwing mind into mind, he must be

Translation, an intellectual labour.

able to give a true copy, though employing different pigments. Every language has its own mode of colouring thoughts, which cannot be transferred to another canvas, except by the substitution of equivalents; and this requires a peculiar talent, scarcely less rare than the endowments which qualify for original composition of a high order. Saint Jerome prepared himself for the task of interpretation, by his prayerful life-long application to Holy Writ. Without discarding the helps he could derive from his predecessors, he determined to work for himself and think for himself, making his Version honestly, substantially and completely from the originals. Hard and fast had Saint Jerome to labour. There were no Hebrew Dictionaries in those days, no Grammars, no Thesauri, none of the Desk and Closet-helps for philological study. No easy "Ladders to Learning," leaning against the library shelves. No well-stored cribs out of which you may pull the provender, all ready cut and dried for you, when you wish to cram and be filled. No wholesale warehouses where you can fit yourself out with erudition ready-made or second-hand. Saint Jerome had no means of acquiring the needful knowledge otherwise than by settling in Palestine, where, obtaining oral instruction, he learned the Hebrew, Arabic and Syrian or Chaldee tongues.

Saint Jerome acquires the Oriental languages by oral instruction.

In the whole compass of literary history, there is not a Chapter more interesting than that which could be made out of Jerome's correspondence concerning the Vulgate;—the criticisms which the Author sustained, disturbed even a Saint's temper. "If I had taken," says he, "to the making of mats or baskets, no one would have found fault with me." He had many troubles in journeys, in exertions for obtaining good manuscripts, and the like, but all such contrarieties weighed very little upon his mind, compared with the philological or literary difficulties he found in rendering the Word of God accessible to the multitude. He had to convey the truth, strength and simplicity of the Holy Scriptures, into a language, which, representing the original, would be so far conformable to the taste of the educated classes as not to offend by homeliness; but he could not help creating a new dialect: even the attention he paid to the collocation of words cut new channels for the Latin language.

Language of the Vulgate, its influence upon mediæval literature.

Our translations of the Holy Scriptures effected a great change in the English language after the Reformation. The Vulgate acted upon the Classical and urbane Latin in the same sort, but far more energetically. Not only did it become the main standard for ecclesiastical Latin, but for the general Latin of literature, inasmuch as the Holy Scriptures constituted the basis of all study. Scriptural Knowledge was transfused into the

"humanities" as the renovating life-blood. In the Catalogues of mediæval Libraries, the Books of the Holy Scriptures usually constitute the greater number of the volumes; and in their compositions the words and phrases of the Vulgate are so constantly interwoven as to shew that Saint Jerome's Latin was the language in which the writers thought.

§ 10. All the foregoing causes in their various stages, capacities, and developements, co-operated in diffusing the Roman dialects throughout the Empire. From the Latin, mediately or immediately, all the principal modern languages of the European Commonwealth, Cis-atlantic or Transatlantic,—excepting those of direct Sclavonian or Teutonic origin—are derived. All bore the Roman or Latin name: they never renounced their ancestry; never were considered otherwise than as subsidiary dialects. Four are the languages included in the Latin, said the Canon of St. Andrew's, "Church Latin, Italian, French, and Spanish."—*In lingua Latina continentur Ecclesiastica, Italica, Gallica et Hispanica*—or, if we adopt the slightly-differing classification which Dante has made, the *grammar* or *school Latin*, the "*Lingua del si*," the "*Lingua d'oc*," and the "*Lingua d'oil*," which last three denominations may fairly be assumed to represent the three great divisions of the Romance tongue.

Fordun's classification of the Latin dialects.

We avoid the controversy of absolute pri-

ority: that is to say, which of these dialects first assumed a regular form. Were there no other reason, the absence of evidence must ever render the discussion, eminent as those writers are who have engaged in it, utterly unprofitable. Even the accessible materials have scarcely received a sufficient degree of philological care. As matters now stand, we actually want an edition of the *Divina Commedia*, representing the text according to the grammar and orthography which the Poet himself employed. It is sufficient for our purpose to know that almost all the Barbarians, —Visigoth, Frank, Burgundian, Mæsogoth, Lombard, who settled in the Italian and Iberian peninsulas and the Gauls, forgot or disused their original dialects about the conclusion of the ninth Century.

The Visigoths were probably amongst the earliest who abandoned their ancestral language. Pelayo, in the cavern of Covadonga spake the Romance of Toledo, which was, as it still is, amongst the least altered of the daughters of Rome. The Franks rushed into the adoption of the Roman language. The Merovingian Sovereigns were shamed out of Teutonic barbarity. German was the mother-tongue of Charlemagne and Louis le Debonnaire, but Latin was equally familiar to them. The Court of the Carlovingians afforded small protection to Teutonic feeling when the Sovereign held his state upon

813. Canon of the Council of Tours, directing the Bishop

Gaulish or Belgic soil. The encreasing importance of the Romance language is indicated by a memorable Canon passed in the Council convened by Charlemagne at Tours, equally representing Eastern France and Western France, Austrasia and Neustria, Germany and the Gauls. The Bishops throughout the Transalpine Empire were enjoined to be diligent in preaching, and to take care that their discourses should be rendered either into *Romana Rustica*, or into *Theotisc* or *Deutsch*, to the end that all might understand. If there be any doubt as to the circumstances which suggested this regulation, they are soon removed. A singular combination of events and persons connected with a great European era, enables us to ascertain precisely the period when the chief body of the Frankish races, inhabiting the territory which afterwards became the kingdom of France, had in great measure, if not completely, abandoned their native Teutonic, so that the *Lingua Romana* ruled as their preponderating national language.

to preach in Romana Rustica, or in German.

After the dreadful battle of Fontenai in Burgundy, Fontenai near Vezelay, the field of hatred where Charles-le-Chauve and Louis-le-Germanique, combining against their brother Lothar and their nephew, the adventurous, unhappy Pepin of Aquitaine, gained a victory more destructive to themselves than to the vanquished, they held a Congress at Strasburg for the corro-

841. June 25. Battle of Fontenai between Charles-le-Chauve and Louis-le-Germanique against Lothar and Pepin of Aquitaine.

842. Feb. 14. Convention of Strasburg, Roman language employed in the diplomatic proceedings.

boration of the alliance. The proceedings were solemn: each monarch addressed his soldiery in his and their own tongue; that is to say, Charles in the *Lingua Romana*, Louis in the *Lingua Teudisca*, or *Deutsch*. The compact was then confirmed by mutual oaths; but in this stage of the transaction, the whole negociations being conducted with the most guarded diplomatic caution, the contracting sovereigns counterchanged. Charles swore in *Deutsch*, Louis in *Roman*. Lastly, when the armies concurred in the obligation, then the two nations severally made their declarations in their vernacular language, the army of Louis in *Deutsch*, the army of Charles in *Roman*. We know their very words, and we may equally discern in these pure and authentic specimens, respectively, the most intelligible High German, and the decided characteristics of the Roman language as exhibited in the translation of the Conqueror's Laws, which, though certainly not coeval, belongs to an early era of the Anglo-Norman dynasty.

Importance of these documents, exhibiting the Romance language fully developed.

Fontenai and Strasburg thus furnish one of the most important passages in Modern History: Germany and France arrayed against each other as severed states, distinct nations, the documents exemplifying each language fully formed, and transmitted to us, not casually or incorrectly, but by the best informed and most competent witness, nay, actor. The Chronicler who has pre-

served these precious evidences textually,—and so accurately, that, despite of the corruptions of transcribers which usually deform all similar fragments, scarcely a syllable is doubtful,—being Nithardus, grandson of Charlemagne through Bertha, his fair daughter, who contracted a clandestine marriage with Angelbert, the lay-abbot of St. Riquier, Count of Maritime France or Ponthieu, also a Chronicler. Nithardus, who succeeded to his father's dignities, was engaged in all the transactions and battles which he narrates. The history from which we transcribe is dedicated by him to King Charles, his cousin. Fresh dissensions arose: Nithardus vainly endeavoured to reconcile his kinsmen; and, unable to succeed, he quitted the Court in sorrow, and retired to his command, where a violent death—he was slain by the Northmen—prevented the completion of his most valuable annals. They end abruptly, and therefore without any colophon; but he notices an obscuration of the Sun (called by him an Eclipse) which happened whilst he was writing at Saint Cloud on the Loire—*dum hæc super Ligerim juxta Sanctum Chlodoaldum consistens scriberem*—on Sunday the fifteenth of the Kalends of November, whereby the date of the composition is fixed at about four years after the battle of Fontenai; this being the only concurrence of the same days between the battle and his death, so that he bears

Nithardus the Count of Maritime France, and grandson of Charlemagne—value of his historical testimony.

845. 18 Oct. Obscuration of the Sun noticed by Nithardus as having happened whilst he was writing.

witness to the events whilst they were quite fresh in his memory. Moreover, there is every reason to suppose that the addresses, oaths, and declarations, were prepared by Nithardus when fruitlessly endeavouring to tranquillize the fatal discord.

Modifications of the Roman dialects from pronunciation, &c.

§ 11. The propagation of language has been not unaptly pourtrayed by the Indian fig-tree: the branches dropping to the ground and taking root, the parent trunk surrounded by the progeny. The progress of the Romanesque languages was not entirely unobstructed; in some few spots the branches did not strike or vegetate, though we are unable to define the peculiarly uncongenial quality of the soil. How it happened that the *Sedici Communi* and the *Tredici Communi*, the neighbours of Verona and Vicenza, contrived to retain their Lombard-German, as they do to this very day—why they never would learn to talk Romance—no Philologist can tell; and this difficulty equally applies to some less noted Communities of the same blood, settled on the Italian side of the Monte Rosa. Moreover, many anomalies and unaccountabilities accompanied the growth, the flowering, and the fructification of the branches which flourished in the Empire. We can scarcely guess at the mental process leading to the general formation of the Romance vocabulary, rather from the oblique cases than the nominative: nor understand wherefore the Spaniard abbreviated *Do-*

minus into *Don'*, whilst *Domina* was decapitated into *'Na*, by the Provençal.

Physical differences of organization contributed largely to these changes; the susceptibility of the ear, the action of the tongue, agencies so obvious and yet so perplexing, not merely on account of their uniformity, but of their mutations—powers gained, altered, lost. As usual, ratiocination fails. Ask the Physiologist to explain why the modern Greek cannot follow his letter *Alpha* by a *Beta;* or why our Anglo-Saxon letter *Thorn*, once common to all the Teutonic nations, should now be rejected by all except the Icelanders and ourselves; nay, why the Dane, who could enunciate the letter *Thorn* or *Theta* before the Sceptre passed to the House of Oldenburg, should have lost the faculty with the new dynasty.

Mutations of the power of pronunciation.

With respect to the manner in which this cause operated, a familiar exposition may be afforded by the names of places. The Frank thickened the *Confluentes* of Rhine and Moselle into *Coblentz*, whilst perhaps before that Frank arrived on the borders of the Seine, *Julia bona* ran into *Lillebonne*.—The inhabitant of the Alpine valley elided *Augusta* into *Aosta;*—the Celtic Gaul condensed *Augustodunum* into *Autun;*—the Iberian amalgamated *Cæsarea-Augusta* into *Saragossa*. And thus the preference for one sound, the dislike of another, the rapidity or slovenliness of pronunciation, the slowness or

Examples of the alterations sustained by the Roman names of places.

liveliness of the speaker, helped to model each dialect of the Romance into its peculiar form. Yet never were the Latin words swamped by Teutonisms, or so altered or mutilated as to be undistinguishable. It is an easy *tour-de-force*, even now, to compose an Italian Sonnet or a Spanish Ode, in which every word should be purely Latin. All the languages thus developed continued true to their source. Some yet exist with scarcely any variation from their earliest age, such as the common dialect of the Sardinian peasantry. Others, more favoured, have expanded into richness, harmony, power. Science, art, and literature have only brought them nearer to their original parentage: the building has been enlarged with materials from the native quarry, and each addition has strengthened the pristine character.

Predominance of the Latin character in all the Neo-Latin Dialects.

The mutations distinguishing the Neo-Romane dialects from the ancient speech of Latium have been gradual and unintermitted, never concealing their identity. They have allied themselves to Rome's recollections, her poets, her historians, her laws. Vast as was the dominion of the Imperial Mother, they have exceeded that dominion. No longer bounded by the Ocean, they spread over the globe; and in Europe, Asia, and the New World an hundred million of those who profess the Christian faith, speak the languages derived from Rome.

Geographical diffusion of the Neo-Latin Dialects.

§ 12. The first amongst these dialects which became the language of literature, obtained an intellectual authority still retained by her, approaching to an œcumenical Empire. It is the language, concerning us most and nearest, as Anglo-Saxons, Anglo-Normans, or Englishmen, the language of our ancient jurisprudence and laws, the Romance, which, somewhat mistakenly called by the name of Norman, produced the French of the present age. Long before the Conqueror landed at Hastings, his language, the language of his fathers, the language of Roman Normandy, had prevailed in the Anglo-Saxon Court; so early that when Louis d'Outremer returned from England to ascend the Carlovingian throne, he could speak none other than that idiom furnishing the epithet indicating his fortunes. And the constant intercourse between Anglo-Saxon England and Normandy fostered the strange speech; the language of fashion, the language conciliating affections, introducing ideas, and clearing the way for the new dynasty.

Preponderating influence and power of the Langue d'Oil, the basis of the modern French language.

Early cultivation of the French language by the Anglo-Saxons.

Greeks and Romans marvelled at the strange and uncouth symbolical representation of the Gaulish Hercules, the Hercules Ogmius, the god of Eloquence, a decrepit old man, conquering without bodily strength, and leading the multitude by the chains of gold and silver fastened to their ears. The French have realized that symbol:—without exertion, without effort, but

The charm of the Romane French.

simply by the witchery of persuasion, the *Langue d'Oil* became pre-eminent over all her compeers, she won the love of the world, she well deserved it.—The German Ritterschaft of Otho the Great raised the war-cry in French, and the historians add, that they knew the language well. —"Son," is the address of the Norwegian Sage, who unfolds in his *Speculum Regale* the whole course of education and learning fitting the Merchant for his trade, the Priest for his ministry, the King for his duties; "learn Latin, learn French, for that is the widest speech of all."

937. War-cry raised in French by the Germans.

1200–1300. French cultivated in Norway.

Adopted by Brunetto Latini as the most popular vehicle for Literature.

The *Tesoro* of Brunetto Latini, almost identical with the *Speculum Regale* in design, and not very dissimilar in matter, was the wonder of the author's contemporaries, and his chiefest pride. Amidst the torments of the scorching plain, Dante hears the plaintive voice of his teacher still yearning after his earthly vanity:

> *"Sieti racommandato il mio Tesoro*
> *Nel quale io vivo ancora—e più non chieggio."*

But it was not in his own sweet *volgare* that Brunetto wrote the book of which the recollection touched his disembodied spirit—the ruling passion stronger than death—but in the dialect of the Trouveur, the most pleasureful to the reader, and affording the greatest means of circulation through its popularity. The brisk, active, industrious habits of the French aided this diffusion.—Amongst the Tartar hordes and in the

encampment of Kublai Khan, the traveller was surprized by the artificer or the trader greeting him in the language of the Capetian capital. The Crusades spread the *Langue d'Oil* throughout the East; and Athens conversed with the fluency of Paris.

Diffusion of the Langue d'Oil in Tartary, Greece, Syria.

The poetic literature of mediæval Europe received its most forcible and distinguishing impress from the Langue d'Oil, the language of Heraldry, the language of the Tournament, the language of the Geste, the language of Chivalry. The ancient and barbarous songs which delighted Charlemagne are forgotten: the traditions of Arthur might, in their pristine speech have still floated amongst the Cymric lineages; but without the aid of the Trouveur, never would the British lays have acquired their fascination: it was not until they became Romance that they were invested with their power. Teuton and Scandinavian yielded to the charms of France and the French tongue. Never, but for the model given by the Trouveurs of the *Langue d'Oil*, would the Germans have gained their national Epic. The title *Abenteuer*, prefixed to each song of the *Niebelungen Lied*, reveals the school in which the Suabian Minstrel was formed.

Influence of the Langue d'Oil upon the poetic literature of mediæval Europe.

Great as the merits of the Teutonic forms of speech may be, and admirable as the talents they have employed, yet the languages of

Increasing moral influence of the French language as the language of civilization.

Shakespeare and Milton and Schiller and Goethe, have failed to win the wreath belonging to the French tongue. National pride or national feeling must not be allowed to conceal this truth from us. The French language is our universal interpreter throughout the European Commonwealth. Justly may the French assert that their intellectual heroes constitute the advanced-guard of European progress. Their wit, their whim, their *verve*, their erudition, equally sparkling and profound, their grace, readiness, talent, their philosophy, their perfect trust in human reason, their complete emancipation from positive faith, all combine to give them that commanding station; and their language bestows the weapons wherewith they gain the victory. France created the emphatic name of *civilization*; and that language is amongst the most powerful of the efficient causes which promise or threaten to extend the Empire of civilization throughout the world.

The Latin Language, its decline as a vernacular tongue.

§ 13. Such has been the progress, the triumphant career of the Neo-Latin or Romance languages; yet the Classical Latin yielded slowly.

Latin retained in peculiar localities.

There appear to have been peculiar localities, the opposite counterparts of the *Sedici* and *Tredici Communi*, in which the Latin subsisted with a certain degree of purity: a *volgare*, in the strict sense of the term. Race, habit, fancy, thus preserved the spirit in particular places and amongst peculiar classes, when it was yielding to the

Lingua Rustica elsewhere. Some few fragments of this familiar Latin are remarkable in philological history. The Latin seems to have been peculiarly affected by the military: the joyous song of Clothaire's triumphant soldiers arose in the strains of Latin popular verse; and the nightly hymn of the sentinels of Modena, pacing round their ramparts, resounded with a touching melody never known to classical Rome. We can therefore scarcely discern the boundary-line, or mark the exact era when the Urbane Latin ceased to be the vernacular tongue. The Church never employed any other. Whatever might be the origin of the Priest, whatever his race or blood, he lived *sub lege Romanâ* alone. Whenever Western Christendom came together in her representative form, no language but that of Rome was heard, no Council ever debated, no Canon was promulgated in any peculiar or vulgar tongue. In the State, the Latin retained the same pre-eminence: Latin still continued to be the language of all official communications, the language of respect, the language of courtesy, and, till the conclusion of the Hildebrandine era, or longer, the educational language of Knight and Baron, Count and Marquis, Duke and Prince, and Queen and King.

Latin, the language of Church and State.

From the plainness of language and simplicity of construction, the Bible presented to the people in Latin would read very readily into

Influence of the Vulgate upon the New Latin dialects.

Romanesque: certainly St. Jerome's pen and mind contributed materially to the formation of the Romance dialects. As. amongst us in the times of the Commonwealth, Scripture language melted into the language of common life. The relative pronoun *che* or *que* has probably been introduced into the various Neo-Latin languages, mainly from the peculiar application of *quia* in the Vulgate. And for the etymology of the word of words, *parola*, *paraula*, *palabra*, we can scarcely find any source except the texts, in which the noun *parabola*, and the corresponding verb *parabolare*, are so emphatically employed.

Under these circumstances the Latin long continued intelligible amongst the common people, though they were unable to speak it correctly. An exact parallel to their condition in this respect may be found amongst the Italian or Provençal commonalty, by whom the discourse from the pulpit is fully understood, although the peasant who comprehends the preacher cannot speak a phrase in the language of the sermon. The era when Grammar-Latin became rather less accessible to the multitude can be ascertained with tolerable accuracy by the before-quoted decrees of the Gallican Councils, which direct the Bishop to homilize in the Vulgar tongue.

Latin retained to a consider-

§ 14. Subsequently to the Hildebrandine era the Romance languages swerved away more and

more from their mother, growing up, full formed, and handsomer, becoming better dressed, obtaining more regularity, more consistency, acquiring characteristics more pronounced, and at length a grammar of their own, systematic and well defined. They were now, to no inconsiderable extent, the languages of literature. Yet the Ecclesiastical or Grammar-Latin still commanded large provinces in the republic of letters and in the kingdoms of intellect: the decorous language of history and science, completely the language of philosophy; and, as employed by the schoolmen, the vigour of these profound thinkers invested the homely cloister and refectory Latin with admirable conciseness and precision. But it is in the ecclesiastical Liturgies, the most devotional of uninspired compositions, that the Western Church speaks with unrivalled pathos, simplicity, and grandeur.

able extent, notwithstanding the cultivation of the Romance dialects.

The revival of Letters rather checked than enlarged the dominion of the Latin language. Classical correctness and the ethos of modern society are incompatible elements. The elegancies of Latin are destructive of its practical utility: there was no surer mode of stinting the capacities of thought than the pedantry which restricted that thought to Ciceronian phrase. A building in which the plan, the elevation, the chancel, the tower, every portion, every column, all the mullions, all the capitals, all the pinna-

Dominion of the Latin Language checked by the precision resulting from the revival of Letters.

cles, have been correctly copied from an ancient original, has assuredly earned the worst possible praise: convenience, applicability and truth all neglected and sacrificed. Nevertheless, even at the present moment, the Latin, despite the debilitating influences of Bembo and Valla, still flourishes amongst the Hierarchy of the Roman Church, composing a multitude which if assembled in one city would at least equal the population of Rome, when the Labarum shone on the Imperial Standard.

Upon the languages of Teutonic origin the Latin has exercised great influence, but most energetically upon our own. The very early admixture of the *Langue d'Oil*, the never interrupted employment of the French as the language of education, and the nomenclature created by the scientific and literary cultivation of advancing and civilized society, have Romanized our speech; the warp may be Anglo-Saxon, but the woof is Roman as well as the embroidery, and these foreign materials have so entered into the texture, that were they plucked out the web would be torn to rags, unravelled and destroyed.—July and August are monuments of Roman domination which will endure when the last vestiges of Roman splendour shall have perished from the face of the earth. They are inscribed upon the signs of the Zodiac, and will perpetuate the memory of the founders of the

Thorough incorporation of the Roman element in the English language.

Roman Empire in the regions now covered with the forests of the far West, and in the Plains of Australia, until the European or civilized Commonwealth, the great Fourth Empire, the Kingdom strong as iron, shall have fulfilled her appointed course, and be dissolved into the miry clay.

Chapter III.

Scope and object of the present history.

Circumstances under which this work originated.

§ 1. The work now presented to the public results from labours spread over many years of my life, labours commenced neither arbitrarily nor unwillingly, but whereto I was conducted as a duty. I mention this circumstance as an apology for undertaking a task already treated so often and repeatedly by writers who have acquired traditional and popular respect, that any further investigation of an apparently exhausted theme might seem superfluous. Imperfectly as my designs have been carried out, whether in skill, scheme or execution, such utility as my historical productions may possess will consist chiefly in their being considered as forming a course of instruction, which, begun more than a quarter of a century ago, I can now scarcely expect to complete; comprehending, according to my original conception, the whole mediæval history of the Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Norman, Cymric and English races and nations, to the accession of the Tudor dynasty.

Value and importance of the English Records.

These designs originated out of an employment compelling me to concentrate my attention upon English history. Our English archives are unparalleled—none are equally ample, varied,

and continuous; none have descended from remote times in equal preservation and regularity, not even the archives of the Vatican. In France, the most ancient consecutive records are the *Olim* registers, as they are called, commencing somewhat scantily under Saint Louis, whereas ours date from the Norman Conquest. The French never possessed any of greater antiquity, for the notion that the French records were captured or destroyed by the English is a mere fable. The proceedings of the *Etats-généraux* cannot, of course, begin sooner than the first Convocations of this imperfectly federal assembly under the House of Valois: the earliest and rather meagre registers of Royal Ordinances were not compiled till the reign of *Jean-le-Bon*; and although the conventions of the Provinces were held from an anterior date, yet none of their records preceding the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries exist with any degree of completeness.

Preservation of the English archives, partly owing to the exemption of this country from hostility.

The very circumstances which have protected and produced the title-deeds and evidences of the English constitution, are features of English history. The material conservation of our English Records results in the first instance from the signal mercy shown to our country, so singularly exempted, if we compare ourselves with other nations, from hostile devastation, whether occasioned by foreign foes or domestic dissensions. Never since the Conquest has London

heard the trumpet of a besieging army: never has an invader's standard floated upon that White Tower wherein our Records are contained.

Thus spared from the calamities which might have consumed or destroyed our public muniments, their preservation equally exemplifies other prerogative characteristics of our history. Such is the early incorporation of the States and territories anciently composing the Anglo-Saxon realm into one solid government, the Sovereign possessing the same substantive rights throughout his dominions,—notwithstanding some slight anomalies rather apparent than real,—and those dominions obeying the supremacy of one common legislature; a process effected far more completely in England than in France, the kingdom whose circumstances, taken on the whole, were most analogous to our own.

Furthermore and in addition to this Imperial unity, are we distinguished amongst nations by the recognition of the principle that the national will should be ruled by the national law. Our high Court of Parliament was, from the beginning a remedial Court, a permanent tribunal, and not an accidental political assembly.

English Constitution grounded upon precedent and practice.

Our Constitution is not theoretically founded either upon Royal prerogative or upon popular liberty, but upon justice, a reasonable submission to the authority of the past. This principle of

justice necessitated a constant recurrence to precedent: *stare super vias antiquas*, the dead governing the living. What have our ancestors done?—our predecessors in the like case, or under the like emergency? In all our revolutionary conflicts, the main arguments employed by all contending parties were painfully and carefully adduced from the muniments of the Realm, —King or Clergy, Peers or Commons, Ministers or Parliaments appealing to the Roll, the Membrane, the Letter of the Law, upon which all their reasonings were to be grounded.

During the periods exhibiting the greatest turbulence, we therefore find an uniform system of interpellation, preferred in good faith to Record and to Charter. Widely as the interpreters of the texts may have differed, the text was reverenced by all. Hence, even in our own times, our oldest Records have never become obsolete: they were deposited in the Treasure-house of the State, not as archæological curiosities, but for their practical and living value. This, their material or bodily union and preservation, the effect of abstract constitutional principles, practically promoted and supported the same principles. Had a Castilian advocate in the reign of Philip the Fourth, wished, like a Selden, to quote the proceedings of the ancient Cortes, he could never have completed his constitutional pleadings. The protocols of the Spanish legis-

latures were dispersed throughout the Monasteries of the Kingdom, nor could they have been united by any exertion of research or labour.

Summary, indicating the succession of Constitutional Records.

We take up our title from Domesday-book. There is not such another *Cadastre* existing, whether considered in relation to the era in which the Great Survey was compiled, or the historical, local or personal information which the volume contains.

The reign of Rufus is a blank as to Records, though the deficiency is supplied by store of Charters.—One great Roll of the Exchequer belonging to Henry Beauclerc, the first of our constitutional Kings, is extant.—A chasm ensues, probably occasioned by the destructive convulsions of King Stephen's reign; but upon the accession of Henry Plantagenet the series of these Records recommences, and continues uninterrupted till they ceased in consequence of the recent legislative enactments, which suppressed the Exchequer of Receipt, the most ancient financial establishment in Europe. These great Rolls furnish most curiously minute specifications of the Crown's territorial possessions, together with a vast variety of personal details.—Every Landholder in England, and every Englishman, was in danger of coming to the pay-table. Therein the sources and particulars of the revenue are fully set forth; and they incidentally elucidate almost every branch of our laws and

policy during the transitional era of English history, when that system was maturing upon which our present Constitution is founded.

1189. Rolls of the Curia Regis, commencing upon the accession of Richard I.

With the accession of Richard Cœur-de-Lion appear the Rolls of the Curia Regis, the proceedings before the Justiciars representing the person of the King. Modern legal enrolments are strictly formal, lifeless, and arid: not so the ancient records, formal, but not arid, strict, but not stereotyped narratives, exhibiting plaintiff and defendant, prosecutor and criminal, judges and suitors, in a lively and living form. Let me here remark that the interest of our judicial Records is not local, or confined to this our Country: they appertain not merely unto England but to the English people, now so commonly denominated the Anglo-Saxon race, wheresoever dispersed, for here we have, above all, the germs and elements of the Laws obtaining in the Imperial and triumphant Republic of America, expanding from the Atlantic to the Pacific; and whose States, together with our vast Colonies, seem appointed to cherish the institutions of England beneath other skies, when, yielding to the inevitable destiny of all human dominations, the power and splendour of the British Commonwealth shall have departed.

1199. 27th May. Chancery enrolments beginning upon the day of King John's coronation.

On the Feast-day of the Ascension, the twenty-seventh day of May, one thousand one hundred and ninety-nine, the day when John Duke of Nor-

mandy was crowned King of England, begin the Rolls of the Chancery, the great Secretariat of the realm, the Chancellor being Secretary of State for all departments. Every instrument authenticated by the Great Seal, whereby the King declared his mind and will, was to be entered or enrolled upon these records. And here again we read a deeper doctrine than is expressed by the written words of the record. It is very certain that no such enrolments were made during the preceding reigns in England, nor do we find the like in any coeval European State. Now Hubert Archbishop of Canterbury, who was appointed Chancellor on the day of King John's Coronation, had been very active during the interregnum which ensued between the death of Cœur-de-Lion and the confirmation of John's inchoate title. He was one of the Commissioners or Justiciars deputed to England as soon as Richard died; and the Archbishop, by causing the English to become the men of John Duke of Normandy, had secured the accession of the new Sovereign. We therefore believe (as we have stated elsewhere in this Work) that this registration of State documents was connected with the views entertained by the Prelate, who declared how he anticipated that John would bring Crown and Kingdom into the greatest confusion. Henceforward, all constitutional transactions between Crown and Subject are both

essentially and formally legal covenants, King and people alike obeying the supremacy of the law. The Coronation Oath is deposited in the Chancery, to be produced against the Sovereign, should the compact be infringed.

The Chancery-Rolls furnish us with the writs and other documents, demonstrating, not collaterally or inferentially, but directly and positively, the composition of the Great Council of the realm. In subsequent reigns, the records of the Legislature enlarge into the regular series of Parliament-Rolls, Statute-Rolls, and Bills or Petitions, still continued, and made up, so far as the Statute-Rolls are concerned, in the old form and fashion. And thus do we possess the muniments elucidating the whole course of our Constitution as it arose. The instruments exist, coeval and sincere, giving the required testimony, equally with respect to the acting parties and the transactions in which they were engaged, and exhibiting at the same time the whole process of formation, not effected by forethought or design, but by constant exertions, struggles, labour, fortuitous events, contending parties, contending passions: granted, persisted in, diverted, frustrated, or overruled, affording lessons, which, the evidence being lacking, cannot be taught by the history of any other country in the world.

§ 2. The unsupported industry of Prynne and Selden, and the other great constitutional

Circumstances under which the

work entitled *The Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth* was composed.

lawyers of the preceding age, had been unable to advance beyond the preliminary examinations of the masses of documents absolutely needful for the accurate and systematic investigation of our constitutional history. Acting under public authority, I was entrusted with the formation of collections intended to comprize all the extant materials, elucidating the development and authority of the Legislature from the Conquest to the accession of Henry the Eighth, when the organization of the High Court of Parliament was settled upon the scheme which still obtains.

Upon the details of these works and collections, this is not the occasion to speak. It is sufficient to observe that the volumes I was enabled to publish under the sanction of the House of Commons, will, for the period which they include, afford an indispensable authority for the solution of various important constitutional questions, as well as incontrovertible testimonies of historical events, so that the general outline of the constitutional periods therein comprized may be traced in an authentic form.

Engaged upon these public works, it appeared to me that my official tasks would be insufficiently executed, unless, acting in my private and individual capacity, I accompanied the collections undertaken at the national expense, by what I may term a preface and a perpetual commentary. Ascending, therefore, to the earliest stages of

our history, I have, in the series of essays devoted to that object, endeavoured to elucidate the rise and progress of the English Commonwealth during the Anglo-Saxon period, proceeding by synthesis; examining in the first place, the duties, rights, and privileges appertaining to the various ranks and orders of society, the territorial organization which the country assumed in relation to the people, and the attributes of the authorities and tribunals federatively combined in our political Constitution. In the Work comprehending these enquiries, I have, therefore, attempted to demonstrate, so to speak, the political anatomy of the nation, and to connect that anatomy with the national physiology, describing the organs of national vitality, and elucidating the laws of that vitality. Hence the disquisitions upon the legal and social institutions of the Anglo-Saxons constitute the main portion of the Work, illustrated by comparison with those of other nations.

Many important questions, which in this present composition are noticed briefly, and presented rather as suggestions than as lessons, are in the first-mentioned Work discussed minutely and anxiously, supported by reference to the several authorities upon which my opinions have been formed. Here I may be permitted to crave the attention of the reader, in particular, to the five chapters in which I explained the origin of feudality, the Carlovingian Institutions, and above

Chapters 10, 11, 17, 18, 19, of the *Rise and Progress*, to be read in connexion with the present Work.

all, that doctrine upon which, as I believe, all real conception of mediæval and modern history depends, the deduction of authority from Rome: and the continuity by which the States composing the European or civilized Commonwealth (whatever may be their forms of government) are united into the Fourth Great Empire. Those who have attended to modern historical literature, know full well how acutely and copiously the Roman theory has been illustrated by foreign enquirers, and also by our own. It has been sifted and tried by discussion, by argument, and by contradiction; yet, perhaps, the most cogent proofs establishing the Imperial or Roman doctrine are found in the great diversity of principles prevailing amongst those who advocate the affirmative proposition. They have not combined for any sectarian or party purpose: they have all worked separately and independently, and, mainly agreeing in the historical inductions, have employed the same inductions in support of very different, nay, antagonistic sentiments. As for myself, never would I have ventured to discuss a question incidentally involving truths infinitely higher than the theories of history, had I not deliberately considered the adverse arguments, not merely those which have been offered, and particularly by that Friend whose opinions, knowledge, and judgment I prize in these subjects above all others: but many further objections

Doctrine of Imperial succession.—Various views of Dubos, Savigny, Guizot, Sismondi, Allen, Hallam, Mittermeier, &c.

which I clearly see could be cogently brought forward. If I have not attempted, as is often expedient, to remove the difficulties which might be raised by a hypothetical opponent, it is not, as far as I can judge, from having overlooked them. On this, and all other similar occasions, I have avoided any polemical or semi-polemical disputations, which, though they may confirm the writer in his own opinion, rarely have much effect except upon those who are predisposed in his favour.

History of the Anglo-Saxons.

§ 3. The object of my first-mentioned Work, the *Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth*, enforced the absence of biographical portraiture and narrative detail. A constitutional History must be substantially confined to results. All the creative or poetical elements of History are necessarily excluded. I tried to supply that deficiency by a concurrent volume, containing a complete though familiar and concise history of English affairs from the acquisition of Britain by the Romans, and her first incorporation into the Fourth Empire, until the Norman Conquest. But that book, the *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, besides many blemishes and errors in execution, is incomplete in plan. The faults of workmanship are my own: the incompleteness of the plan I share with all my predecessors. English History is the joint graft of Anglo-Saxon history and Norman history. The history of

Necessity of connecting English history with the History of Normandy.

Normandy is as essential a section of English history as the history of Wessex. We must adopt Rollo equally with Cerdic. The Norman dynasty is entirely ours.

I therefore now propose to reach the field of Hastings proceeding through another path, setting forth the history of Normandy from the first establishment of the *Terra Normannorum* as a settlement under the chieftains, who, indifferently denominated marquisses or counts, enlarged their dominions, encreasing and sustaining their authority, between and in spite of the two rival dynasties of France, the declining dynasty of Charlemagne, and the rising dynasty of the Capets, severally pursuing their course, wary and wise, bold and politic, improving every contingency, and singularly aided by good fortune. When the Capets finally established themselves upon the throne, the dominion founded by the Patrician Rollo expanded into the Norman Duchy, scarcely inferior in power to that Royal Crown to which the wearers of the Ducal Coronal rendered a nominal homage, whilst they exercised all the power of absolute sovereignty. It was not worth while even for the Conqueror to repudiate a bond unaccompanied by an obligation.

Family names employed by anticipation.

By anticipation I employ the term Capetian, for the purpose of designating Hugh Capet's family, as well in the ascending as the descending

line, and I occasionally do the like with respect to the Plantagenets. There is much convenience and no incongruity attending this practice. The progenitors of a great man belong to him as well as his progeny. The ancestors and descendants of Hugh Capet, the ancestors and descendants of Geoffrey Plantagenet, equally exemplify that firm pursuit of power, that permanent individuality of character whereby they are respectively rendered so conspicuous. A division of the earlier Norman history into two periods, corresponding with the two French dynasties, is rendered advisable, not merely by the relations between the two States, but also by the internal affairs of the country. Normandy, during the Carlovingian era, was an arena of conflicting interests. The portion which remains unexpired of that era from Charles-le-Simple to Louis-le-Faineant, is nearly conterminous in extent with the domination of the three first Norman Sovereigns, *Rou, Raoul, Rollo*, or *Robert-Rollo, William Longue-épée*, and *Richard Sans-peur*, who, towards the conclusion of his long reign of forty-four years, witnessed the dethronement of the Carlovingian line and the accession of the third dynasty. The before-mentioned Norman Sovereigns had assimilated themselves to the general population of Neustria, they, the Clergy, and a large portion of the aristocracy, as well as the other earlier Danish settlers or their representatives, were thoroughly

Conflict in the early part of Norman history between the Romanized and the Danish interests.

Romanized. This was the stronger party. The Pagan or Danish party was the weaker, but being supported from Scandinavia, was sufficiently powerful to trouble the Christian or Romanized interest. In the Capetian era, the conflict ceases: Normandy under *Richard-le-Bon*,—whose reign commences in the same year with that of Robert the Second, the son and successor of Hugh Capet, had lost all Northern or Danish nationality. They were then only a provincial variety of the French nation, and the Duchy had grown definitively into a member of the French monarchy. The first and second Books therefore of this History, entitled *Carlovingian Normandy* and *Capetian Normandy*, severally contain the before-mentioned eras, including other matters not strictly confined to Normandy, but needful for the connexion and illustration of the Norman story.

996. Normandy completely Romanized at the accession of Richard-le-Bon, or Richard II.

Observations upon the first two Books of this History. 1. Carlovingian Normandy. 2. Capetian Normandy.

§ 4. Whoever now composes the early histories of such countries as France or England, histories, so generally recollected merely as half-forgotten school lessons, has to contend against great disadvantages: all the freshness of the subject is lost, whilst many of the perplexities remain to be solved. He has also to dispel many grave popular errors, not by direct contradiction, cavil, or criticism, but by the propagation of truth; information must be imparted without dogmatism, controversy carried on by silence. It is, therefore, most difficult for the historian to deter-

mine. between what should be said and what should be left untold.

Difficulty of treating historical subjects familiarly but imperfectly known.

Upon first consideration, it seems almost superfluous to multiply details of things popularly or vulgarly known, and equally objectionable to pass them over; yet whoever has endeavoured to realize in his own mind events, institutions, men, motives and things, will often find himself compelled to abridge what others have considered leading passages of history, and at the same time to invest with apparently disproportionate importance the topics which his predecessors have disregarded. If an edifice has one principal façade, the views taken by different artists will be pretty nearly the same; but this is not the case with the history of nations. They are vast and complex edifices, consisting of diversified and irregular portions, presenting many fronts, each claiming attention for their use, ornament, singularity, or grandeur. The aspect selected in one picture will be seen only in rapid perspective in another, and in a third quite cast into the shade.

The Artist cannot change his position whilst he is working, or represent the same thing under two aspects at one time. Moreover, his picture will be affected by various casualties, a cloudy sky, or a bright sky, the leaves of his sketch-book turned over by the gust of wind, his colours dashed by the flying shower. But these out-

wardly permanent, or outwardly transitory circumstances, however influential, are all subordinate to, and overruled by, the Artist's inward physical individuality and moral identity. No person can see the same object in the same way; and, from the spot where the Artist sketches, he can only see the one aspect as *he* sees it. He can only display to you his own mental or internal view, resulting from the conformation or sensibility of his eye, his appreciation of the comparative exigencies of form and of colour, his ideas of harmony, his notions of effect, his conceptions of pictorial composition and art.

Therefore, instead of quarrelling with a writer because his mode of treating history differs from that which you would have preferred, you should rather thank him for affording you the opportunity of contemplating the Social Edifice from a position which you cannot reach, or in which you would not like to place yourself. Historians can never supersede each other: no one historian can give you all you wish, no one can teach you all you ought to learn, neither can comparisons fairly be instituted between them; for no two are identical in their views, no two possess the same idiosyncrasies, the same opportunities, the same opinions, the same intentions, the same mind. History cannot be read off-hand, it must be studied; studied by investigation and comparison—otherwise it profits no more—perhaps

less—than Palmerin of England or Amadis of Gaul.

Unity of plan in the Danish expeditions.

§ 5. However fierce the mutual or internal dissensions of the Northmen or Danes—the terms are used as synonymous—they acted steadily in concert abroad. Properly compiled, a history of the *Gesta Danorum extra Daniam* would display a vast, and apparently systematic, scheme of spoliation and conquest: this is a task remaining to be satisfactorily performed. Could the expeditions, adventures, defeats and victories of the various nations who are fairly comprehended in this same Danish category,—Danes; Northmen, Frieselanders, Angles, Jutes, Saxons, all being shipmates,—be poetized in an Epic, the episodes would be as remarkable for their intricacy as the whole fable for its unity.—The first action in the Poem would be the maritime attacks made by the Saxon Pirates, during the reign (as it seems) of Honorius, upon the Roman Empire, and more especially that part of Armorica denominated the *Pagus Baiocassinus*, which, obtaining the name of the Saxon shore, afterwards merged in Normandy:—the catastrophe is furnished by the battle of Largs, when the bleached bones of Haco's army, defeated by Alexander of Scotland, were left as memorials of the last Norwegian invasion upon British ground.

In planning the present Work, it became needful to determine between a complete chro-

nological history of the Norsk or Danish invasions in the British islands, the Baltic countries, Belgium, Aquitaine, Germany, nay, Italy and Spain, and a history limited to a selection of the principal incidents connected with the Northern Gauls. I have chosen the latter, and must therefore refer to other works for the particulars needful to supply the deficiencies of the narrative. Some contributions may be found in my Anglo-Saxon History, which, though requiring correction and amplification, may be consulted in parallel with the annals of the Danes in Carlovingian and Capetian France. The mutual actions and reactions of the British islands upon the Continent, and of the Continent upon the British islands, will afford many subjects for consideration.—The Anglo-Saxon Empire grew only to perish and to be destroyed. Alfred himself gave the Dane more power to wield the battle-axe by which that empire was to be cut down.

The present history confined to the Danes in the Northern Gauls.

Concerning the origin, migrations, ethnographical or ethical characteristics of the Scandinavians, I have said next to nothing: all are very important subjects of enquiry, and have deservedly been treated with zealous and learned diligence; but in the present instance their influences were evanescent. So far as concerns the history of Normandy they may be safely neglected; for although the Danish national spirit subsisted to a certain extent, and amongst

Extinction of Northern or Scandinavian nationality amongst the Northmen.

certain classes, until the reign of Richard-sans-peur, that spirit afterwards evaporated so completely, that when the *Terra Normannorum* became Normandy properly so called, the Normans scarcely retained any features of their Danish parentage. Normandy does not offer a vestige of Danish Paganism. The affectionate endeavours made by antiquaries to discover, even in popular superstitions, any reminiscences of the Asaheim myths, are distressingly unsuccessful. In manners, laws, customs, institutions, and above all, in language, the Normans thoroughly assimilated themselves to the other populations of Romanized France or Gaul.

They exulted in their ancestorial reminiscences, whether contributing to family pride, or the Duchy's fame and glory; but this was rather the artificial result of intellectual cultivation than a spontaneous natural feeling. Their antient story was first read in the compositions of the Clerk and the Trouveur. Dudo's Latin chronicle is the primary source of Norman History. Master Wace presented his *Roman du Rou* to Henry Plantagenet before the Skalld who penned the *Hrolfs Saga* was born. The uncontaminated Norskmen and Danskermen were, on their part, inimically estranged from their Romanized kinsmen. Unquestionably, they were proud of Rollo and his victories. They make their Hrolf the son of Raugnvalldur, Jarl or Earl of Mære. They tell

the tale of his conquests according to their own fancy, and call him *Rudo Jarl*, or the Earl of Rouen. Nevertheless they hated *li Duc Guillaume* as a Frenchman: Denmark and Norway would fain have delivered England from the foreign Conqueror.

Scandinavian traditions concerning Rollo,—reasons for neglecting them, and adopting the history of Dudon de St. Quentin.

I abandon the Scandinavian encomiasts of Rollo with the less regret, on account of the discrepancy between their statements and the narrative we owe to Dudon de Saint-Quentin, who framed his history out of the family traditions as he received them from Richard-sans-peur the grandson of Rollo, Richard-le-Bon, Rollo's great-grandson, and Ralph Count of Ivrey Richard-sans-peur's half-brother: a sufficient reason for preferring his authority to that of writers, who are modern by comparison. The Sagas are not older than the twelfth century, and also irreconcileable amongst themselves.

French history, reasons for treating it fully in the present work.

§ 6. Whilst I have contracted my narrative concerning the Northmen, I have expanded upon the transactions illustrating the decline of the Carlovingian Empire, and the developement of the Capetian monarchy.

Throughout this History I have always looked forward, endeavouring steadily to consider the relations between the doctrines and events of the period upon which I am employed, and the doctrines and events of subsequent periods; and this, not merely for the purposes of English His-

tory, but also for the purposes of French History—studies equally necessary to Englishmen and Frenchmen,—each, indeed, to each, either to either: both nations counter-changed—to us and to them a common ground. This observation applies very forcibly to the history of the *Provinces*, or, as the French also call them, the *Grands Fiefs*, which, during the whole Anglo-Norman period, intimately connected England and France.

History of the French Provinces: their importance in English History.

Britanny and Maine the dependencies of Normandy,—the regal duchy of Armorica,—the energetic *Pagus Cœnomannorum*, dear to the Conqueror as his own paternal inheritance,—the magnificent Marquisate of Flanders,—the Counties of Boulogne and Ponthieu and the other Belgic or semi-Belgic Fiefs and dominions, from the Bresle, the boundary of Normandy, to the Scheldt —Blois and Chartres,—Anjou, whose dynasty renewed the splendour of the Conqueror's Empire,—Poitou and opulent Aquitaine, obeying the Plantagenet sceptre and extending the Anglo-Norman Empire even unto the Pyrenees.

All the fore-mentioned territories contributed ancestors to our aristocracy,—clergy to our Church,—rule and discipline to our Monasteries, —instructors to our architects,—teachers to our schools.—No history of Anglo-Norman England can approach to completeness, should we exclude ourselves from these sources of historic richness and variety. I have, therefore, interwoven as

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much of the anecdote connected with the French Provinces, as will be sufficient to embody the ideas of the reader concerning personages whose names otherwise pass away, without making sufficient impression upon the mind.

Book I. The Carlovingian Empire. The Danish expeditions in the Gauls till the establishment of Rollo, &c.

§ 7. In the *first Book*, I enter largely into the History of the Carlovingian Empire, until the partition effected between the three rival sons of Louis-le-Débonnaire by the treaties of Verdun and Mersen, the irreparable political schism of the Empire, severing France from Germany and from Italy—the starting-point of the modern European commonwealth. Hatred and ambition produced a jealous compromise; and the compromise, leaving ambition unsatisfied, rendered the hatred more inveterate, to be extinguished only by the extinction of the fated race.

Genealogical summary of Carlovingian history, Book I. Chap. II. § 33—55, pp. 348—396.

In this first portion of the work I include a narrative genealogy or summary of Carlovingian history, according to the several branches of the family, deducing their descents until the reigning Houses expired in the male lines. This synopsis is to be taken as an outline-map on a small scale, intended for the purpose of shewing the relative positions of the portions which are afterwards given on a larger scale; an aid which will be found useful in rendering intelligible a narrative involved in great complexity. The Car-

lovingian era should be perfectly mastered by every historical student. We can scarcely discern any portion of European history wherein it does not enter as an element. Charlemagne's personal history is familiarly, if not accurately known. Historians have been repelled by the melancholy spectacle of his descendants' misfortunes; an inglorious narrative by comparison. They have hurried over the period with disgust. Yet misfortune furnishes the soundest commentary upon prosperity; and national humiliation is the retribution reserved for national glory. The "Age of Pericles"—might we not say the "Age of Aspasia?"—does not find its moral until we arrive at Greece degraded, Greece disgraced, Greece absorbed in the Roman Empire.

A history of the Danish expeditions in France is dislocated unless the concurrent events of national French history are included; for if they are omitted we can neither comprehend the causes which opened the country to the Pirates, nor appreciate the share taken by these enemies in breaking up the Empire. Normandy was planted when Osker sailed up the Seine, and left the terror of his name at Rouen. The Empire's fate was decided by the battle of Fontenay. Henceforward, the Northmen are constant participators in the fortunes of France.

A full illustration is given of the causes which advanced the Capets to their pre-eminent dignity.

Their history runs parallel with the history of the Northmen. Robert-le-Fort was courted by Charles-le-Chauve as the great opponent of the Danish power—an unsuccessful opponent; nevertheless, as time advanced, Normandy was worked into unison with the fabric of Capetian France. Charles the son of Louis-le-Bégue, so unfairly depreciated by the sobriquet of *le simple*, is universally known as the monarch who ceded Neustria to Rollo. King Charles toppled on his back by the rude soldier, and the blonde Gisella's marriage to the shaggy Dane, are incidents which we anticipate like the situations of a stock-play; but the transactions of Claire-sur-Epte only initiated the train of events tending to the ultimate stability of Normandy, in which Carlovingians, and Burgundians, and Capets, were equally efficient agents—willing or unwilling agents: and we shall find Rollo and his son Guillaume-longue-épée and his grandson Richard-sans-peur conspicuous in all the affairs of France—not yet premier Pairs of the Douze-pairs in style, but fully so by influence.

Book II. Capetian Normandy. Richard I., or Richard-sans-peur,

§ 8. RICHARD-SANS-PEUR, cruelly persecuted during his infancy by Louis-d'Outremer and his consort the proud Gerberga, lived to witness the extinction of the Carlovingian dynasty, and the accession of the "*Figliuol del Beccaio.*" His reign, commenced in the first, and concluded in the

second Book, corresponds with the transition era equally of French history and of Norman history. When Richard was called to his father's succession, there was a chance that the Danishry, that is to say, the Northmen, who, retaining the Danish spirit and settled in Normandy, were supported by fresh accessions from Scandinavia, might have prevailed. But when, after a long and prosperous rule, Richard-sans-peur was borne to the grave, dug, according to his dying request, without the walls of the great Abbey Church of Fécamp, Normandy had wholly ceased to be the Terra Normannorum,—it had become the Duchy of Normandy, thoroughly Romanized, thoroughly French,—as French as Paris.

Richard II., or le-Bon. Richard III. Robert I., or Robert le-Diable, and William the Bastard.

Such is the position in which we shall find Richard-le-Bon, the son of Richard-sans-peur. The reign of Richard-le-Bon is peculiarly interesting by reason of those alliances and relations with the Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Danish Commonwealth, which, continuing under Richard's son, Robert the First, or Robert-le-Diable, contributed to Romanize the English mind, a moral subjugation, a conquest of England before the Conquest.

We are lastly introduced to William the Bastard as Duke of Normandy. The concluding chapters of the second Book exhibit him wisely and bravely contending against his enemies, opposed in youth, toiling in manhood, and at that time of life when men begin to think of rest,

entering upon a new career of labour, vexation, and disappointing prosperity.

In this second Book, as well as in the preceding portions of this history, I would particularly direct the attention of the reader to the constitutional processes by which the Duchy of Normandy was formed. The successive compacts between Carlovingians or Capetians on the one part, and Rollo and his descendants on the other part, constitute the grounds upon which Philippe-Auguste claimed jurisdiction over King John as his vassal, and confiscated the Duchy as forfeited by the vassal's felony. We shall see how far the Norman Patricians, Counts or Dukes, practically owned or testified obedience. The French Crown could produce no other evidence than the historical passages which will be quoted; and Saint Louis had some compunctions of conscience as to the legality of the jurisdiction which his father assumed.

Book III. William the Conqueror.

§ 9. In the *third* Book, we pass to the History of Duke William, as King of England. William's government was not so much a government of innovation, as one which prepared the way for a system, new equally to Normandy and to England. I do not believe that William the Conqueror attempted in the first instance to Normanize the vanquished:—such would appear to be

the natural course of things; but if *le vrai n'est pas toujours le vraisemblable,* the apophthegm may be controlled by another, *le vraisemblable n'est pas toujours vrai.* However plausible the supposition that the Conqueror introduced Norman jurisprudence, Norman forms of government, and Norman tenures into this country, it is a supposition not supported by evidence, nay, contradicted by evidence; and inasmuch as we possess no monument whatever of Norman jurisprudence anterior to the Conquest, it is an inference drawn without premises.

Unquestionably, at a later period, a great similarity subsisted between the laws of Normandy and the laws of England; but England gave more to Normandy than she borrowed. The laws imposed by the Anglo-Norman dynasty upon the English were reflected back upon the victors. England was the more powerful and the more opulent territory. Institutions arose from the combination of the Anglo-Saxon laws with the measures needed for the restraint of a newly subjugated country, which imparted fresh vigour to the Sovereign authority. Duke William practised in Normandy the stern and orderly jurisprudence of the English King. The Anglo-Norman jurisprudence was matured by those who were trained in England. Learned men maintained that the *Grand Coutumier* of Normandy was originally Anglo-Saxon: the Nor-

mans were willing to believe that their wise usages were grounded upon the Confessor's laws. Nay, even after they became the immediate subjects of the Capetians, there were those who claimed Magna-Charta as the foundation of their franchises, and their safeguard against arbitrary power.

Book IV. The Sons of the Conqueror, Courthose, Rufus, and Beauclerc.

§ 10. THE *fourth* Book contains the History of the Conqueror's three surviving Sons, Robert Courthose, William Rufus, and Henry Beauclerc. In relation to England, this Book might have been denominated, *The Reign of Rufus;* but I have avoided that title, in order to impress upon the reader the necessity of viewing all the transactions in which the three brethren were engaged, as being of equal importance in English History. We cannot disengage the History of Normandy from the History of England; and therefore I enter into the subject fully and completely, omitting nothing but mere local particulars and events, when they do not happen to be connected with persons eminent or known in English History. In this Book we follow Robert to the first Crusade: it is an event completely European, besides which, many incidents specially connected with England and Normandy are elucidated thereby. The disputes commonly called disputes between Church and State, the first personified in Anselm, the latter in Rufus,

History of the first Crusade, why introduced.

occupy a large portion of this Book; but I have both here and elsewhere avoided Church history, except when intermingled with the temporal concerns of the Commonwealth.

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§ 11. THE history of the two surviving brothers, Robert Courthose and Henry Beauclerc is continued in the *fifth* Book; Henry reigning in England, Robert in Normandy, until the fratricidal battle of Tenchebrai gave the whole of the Conqueror's dominions to his youngest son, and consigned the elder to the dungeon in which he died. But a competitor arose, Robert's son, William the Clito, the Atheling,—an ill-conditioned and ill-fated young Prince:—much interest nevertheless attaches to his adventures and his misfortunes; the Clito's history also calls us into Flanders, a country which exercised so much personal as well as national influence in English affairs. Book V. Robert Courthose and Henry I.

The conflicts between the two Swords, between Church and State, assumed a new aspect, Hildebrand's lessons and traditions directing the endeavours made by Anselm, to sustain, not only the conscientious independence of the Spirituality, but the soundness of the Commonwealth. Owing to the intimate commixture of Christian institutions and civil policy, the rights and interests of the community are concealed from us by the

technical phraseology whereby they are denominated the rights of the Church. We may have a perception of the fact, but it is excluded from our reasonings by our dispathies. A living and active Policy is essential to Christianity—Christianity without a Policy is not a *Religion* but a *Persuasion;* and the more intimate the coordination or alliance of Church and State, the greater the difficulty of harmonizing their energies.

The contests concerning investitures, so constantly presented to us in stereotyped phrases, involved questions of extreme perplexity. The canonical election of the Prelates appertained to the clergy and laity of the "Civitas;" a right derived from the Primitive ages, but exercised under various modifications, occasioned by personal privileges or local institutions, the various ranks and orders, Princes, Nobles, People, having a greater or lesser share in the choice or postulation. Direct authority as well as moral power rendered the Bishop the "Defensor" or chief Magistrate, the Father of the City. In his sacerdotal capacity he was a judge, having jurisdiction over causes, which, though spiritual, involved vast temporal interests and affected the most intimate concerns of civil society. Called to the Great Councils of the State, whether by reason of his Episcopal office, or as a service due for his temporalities, he nevertheless appeared in those great Assemblies as the representative of the

Community by whose voice he had been placed in the Cathedra. Saint Ambrose was elected by acclamation and universal suffrage. Saint Ambrose could not have rebuked Theodosius had he not been the representative of Milan.

Of course the foregoing is, in a measure, a one-sided representation, but it is a side from which we have been accustomed to turn away. In respect of the Episcopacy, Hildebrand, labouring with all his heart and soul for the general reformation of Western Christendom, contended against two inveterate abuses, then equally destructive and disgraceful to Church and to State. The Sovereign was unquestionably entitled to a large share of influence in the selection of his Bishop; but the Sovereigns would not be content with less than the whole, and, by the operation of lay-investiture, they intruded their nominees into the Seat without any regard to the fitness of the individual or the opinions of the Church, that is to say the Community, Church and people being here convertible terms. The second abuse was simony.

Interpreting these acts according to modern ideas, the first exhibits the Crown forcing the Lord Mayor upon the Corporation of London, or nominating the Recorder; the other, a Jobber buying a Borough, or a legal Shark gravitating upon the Bench,—as in Stuart times,—by the weight of the purse slipped into the hands of the Lord of

the Bedchamber. Both on the part of the clerks who purchased, and on the part of the patrons who sold, there prevailed the most scandalous corruption; and Hildebrand, sparing neither the bribed nor the bribers, incurred the inveterate odium of all the delinquents.

Hildebrand had no respect to persons in judgment. Sin levelled Emperors and beggars before him. The stigma attached to Hildebrand's name speaks the world's opinion of his inflexible zeal and impartial justice. Talleyrand designated history as a universal conspiracy against truth.—Never was this sarcasm more pungently appropriate than when applied to the treatment sustained by Becket, Anselm, and Hildebrand.

Books V. and VI. Blois and Plantagenet.

§ 12. BLOIS and Plantagenet afford the subjects of the fifth and sixth Books. The reigns of Stephen of Blois and Henry Plantagenet blend into one era—a transition era, when, yielding to the influence of circumstances and the cogency of positive legislation, the Anglo-Saxon usages and institutions were refashioned or rendered subordinate to new schemes and forms. The Saxon line is said to have been restored in the person of Henry the Second. Unquestionably a very strong popular sentiment existed, countenancing this expression; nevertheless it was during the reign of Henry the Second that the Anglo-Saxon

Commonwealth became the English Commonwealth. The greater number of the mutations ascribed to the Conqueror were not really effected till the reign of Henry the Second, when the common law of England was developed. With respect to what is called "Anglo-Norman jurisprudence," it is a system which existed under various modifications or grades of completeness in England, in Scotland, and in Normandy, being discernible also in Britanny; and it appears in all these countries to have arisen simultaneously or nearly so. If not absolutely invented by Henry Plantagenet or his advisers, this same system was unquestionably matured in the Anglo-Norman Chancery, and upon the Bench of the Anglo-Norman Justiciars.

Mediæval chronology.

Uncertainties arising from the varying modes of computation.

§ 13. Mediæval writers and historians offer peculiar difficulties in their chronology:—we stumble at the very threshold. Our New Year's day was only New Year's day to a comparatively small fraction of the European community. Double-headed Janus maintained his station as ruler of the ecclesiastical calendars which followed the Roman computation; but the Clerk rejected that Calendar in secular affairs, and the practical *Caput anni* shifts about, so as to compel the student to be continually on his guard. Midwinter, Yule, or Christmas-day, was a popular era for the commencement of the solar year.

A perplexing mode of computation prevailed extensively in France—a Paschal computation, according to which the new year began on Easter-Sunday—consequently the length of the Dominical solar year was extended or contracted in every year of the Paschal cycle; and inasmuch as the Paschal year may include thirteen lunar months, or parts of two Aprils, there are cases in which we cannot, otherwise than from internal evidence, determine whether the April belongs to the beginning or the end of the year.

The Feast of the Annunciation, or Lady-Day, was a favourite New Year's day, continued in England until the introduction of the new style. This enactment is an event of Parliamentary celebrity, nevertheless the need of adverting to the alteration has been repeatedly forgotten, even by our lawyers, when they have had to deal with documents now scarcely more than an hundred years old. We may therefore be excused, if we occasionally err with respect to a date of the ninth century.

To encrease the confusion, some Chroniclers, employing the Dominical year, advance upon their contemporaries by an entire year; and others are a year behind.

There are Chronicles in which dates are entirely omitted. Instead of expressing the year, some scribes contented themselves with repeating the word *annus*, on and on, without construction,

note, or ordinal number, so that the date can only be supplied by comparison with other chronicles, or by conjecture. This mode of reckoning, or no-reckoning, occurs principally in the Cymric and Breton annals.

Uncertainties arising from the process of computation.

These external chronological difficulties, however, are surpassed by what we may term the internal chronological uncertainties; for, in the first case, namely the external difficulties, the computations go according to a rule, and when the canon has been ascertained, the supputation proceeds regularly; but in the second, they arise from the mode of making up the Records. A leaf of parchment was preserved in the study or library, and upon this memorandum-sheet the death of an important personage, or any other remarkable occurrence, was inscribed with a plummet, and afterwards incorporated in the Chronicle of the House. Annals exist, which are evidently transcripts from such memoranda in their simplest form, stating perhaps only one event for the year, and in some years none.

Occasionally the first notes were made upon waxen tablets; and these memoranda were from time to time amplified, being transcribed so as to constitute complete Chronographies. Subsequent compilers or annalists recast these texts: additions or interpolations were inserted just as the matter became available to each successive annalist, jotted in, here and there,—so as to fill up

the blank at the end of a short line,—or boustrophedon fashion, the insertion begun at the end of the short line, being turned up into the blank above, or down into the blank below, or inscribed on the side margin, or at the top of the page, or at the bottom. In the earlier stages of these *rifacciamenti,* there are manuscripts in which the differences of hand-writing, and the various tints of the ink, shew how these Chronographies were put together; but when re-transcribed, or printed, such tokens are effaced, and we have not any clue by which we can retrace our way.

Hence we never can be certain that the events dated by any given dominical year, occurred within such year; nor, if they did happen within the year to which they are ascribed, whether they did happen in the order according to which they offer themselves, unless they be dated in and within the text, that is to say, unless the season, Lent, Summer, Harvest, or some kalendar month, or Feast, or day of the month, be specified, or unless manifestly connected by natural sequence or probability; for the style is often so loose that even conjunctions do not necessarily connect the phrases or their members.

Mediæval authorities: mode of employing them.

§ 14. Criticism may do somewhat towards the rectification of historical difficulties, but let her refrain from promising more than she can perform. A spurious instrument may be detected: if two dates are absolutely incongruous, you may

accept that which reason shews you to be most probable: amongst irreconcileable statements you may elect those most coherent with the series which you have formed. But an approximation to truth, except so far as concerns single and insulated facts, is the utmost we can obtain. We have absolute certainty that the battle of Trafalgar was fought; but there is so much variety in the accounts of the Logs, that we cannot ascertain with precision the hour when the battle commenced, nor the exact position or distance of the fleets from the shore.

Writing is an imperfect mode of communicating ideas. Writing is ever liable to suggest to the reader either more or less than the writer intended. It is only through your knowledge of your correspondent's sentiments that you thoroughly understand the letters even of the nearest and dearest—that you feel the weight of the trivial expression, or are enabled to construe the signification of silence. And yet, after all, the letter is unsatisfactory; there is much that the nearest and dearest never can tell you, except face to face, side by side, hand in hand, arm in arm.

No written law is practically applicable or intelligible, unless speech comes in aid: the enigmas of obsolete jurisprudence are insoluble without the Advocate's pleading, or the Judge's decree. Through continued usage and tradition, the voices of Judge and Advocate live and are

heard; but when those voices fail, then the old black-letter Reporter becomes as mysterious as the old black-letter Statute of which he is the expounder.

The "evidences of history" and the "witnesses of history" are expressions universally adopted; not absolutely incorrect, nevertheless, very illusory. We cannot deal with those "evidences" according to the rules of legal testimony; we cannot cross-examine our "witnesses," we cannot confront them. If insufficient, we cannot summon more than are to be had; if uninformed, we must not indoctrinate them; if silly, we cannot make them wise. When they stop short, we cannot extract an additional word.—Livy may be a credulous writer; but how shall we supply his place if we tell Livy to go down?

The forensic treatment of history—that is to say, by the rigid, logical, and quasi legal discussion of "historical evidence," is the application of a process entirely unsuitable to the materials, and therefore a detriment, not a support to truth,—an exercise of intellect, a clever argument, but an argument which may be disputed or refuted by a more clever enquirer. It is very painful to know how far this practice of straining to confirm History by "Undesigned coincidences" and "Trials of witnesses," and the like, has been carried. None are convinced, except those who are willing to be convinced; whilst the

acute undergraduate, hesitating on the border of unbelief, smiles at Lardner's shallowness and Paley's cool ingenuity; and, if doubtful before, all his doubts are removed.

In studying such writers as the mediæval chroniclers, the first step is to acquire a thorough liking for them; so that, when we open the volume we should consider our employment not a fatigue, but a recreation, determining to read each writer in continuity. Indeed, it may be asserted that no History should, if profit be sought, be studied otherwise. Consulted in portions, dates may be verified and facts ascertained; but unless each whole be taken as a whole, it is impossible to grapple with the facts according to the spirit of the writer.—You cannot enjoy a landscape reflected in the fragments of a broken mirror. Excerpts, selections, pieces picked for quaintness or curiosity, pall the intellectual appetite. Elegant extracts, Anthologies, are sickly things: cut flowers have no vitality—the single growing violet lives sweetly, and lasts: the splendid bouquet decays into unsavoury trash, and as trash is thrown away; if the writer is weary, his yawning is contagious. There is no mental pleasure in receiving information collected from scraps and tatters, and consequently no mental pleasure in imparting it: the lesson you learn as a drudge will be repeated as a drudgery.

We should approach all inquiry with an obe-

dient mind, more inclined to accept than to reject, to give faith than to disbelieve. Gratuitous falsehood is rare. Even Manetho's dynasties (as conjectured by a very learned man of the last century), may be misconceptions of truth—months called years—lists of concurrent Reguli tacked together, and made up into one roll or volumen. —As Manetho records them, so would our British dynasties appear—Picts, Scots and Cymri, East Saxons, South Saxons, West Saxons, Mercians, Northumbrians, Danes and Angles—were they arranged consecutively instead of being placed in parallel columns.

The mediæval chroniclers generally, but more especially those of the Merovingian and Carlovingian period, are authorities of high order: men well-informed, men known to the world, and knowing the world well: not a few amongst them are professed historians, entering upon their work with a full sense of its importance and of their own responsibility: others, biographers or autobiographers, who, commencing as historians or annalists, warm themselves as they proceed into memorialists of their own lives and times—statesmen, courtiers, ministers, prelates, soldiers, members of royal families—Gregory of Tours, Eginhard, Nithard, Prudentius, Hincmar, Rodolph of Fulda, Regino of Pruhm, Frodoard, conspicuous in their age—due allowance being made for circumstances—as Clarendon or Sully, Bishop

Burnet, Blaise de Montluc or Prince Eugene. Yet, in productions emanating from actors or participators in political events, the standard of veracity is lowered by an inevitable alloy. The more momentous the question, the greater the difficulty of meeting with an unbiassed and competent relator. He who best knows the truth is frequently the person most tempted to conceal or distort his knowledge.—Can the soundest principles resist the malignant influence of names inseparably associated with hatred and contempt—"Puritan" or "Papist"—or any other authorized version of *Raca* in vernacular language?

Add to these textual and moral obstacles the incurable debility of all human observation and experience. Sir Walter Raleigh was as right in estimating the impossibility of ascertaining perfect truth, as he was wrong in the conclusion he drew from his conviction. It is by our intention, and not by the result of our labours, that we are to be judged. If the knot cannot be opened, let us not cut it, nor fret our tempers, nor wound our fingers by trying to undo it, but be quite content to leave it untied, and say so. We can do no more than we are enabled: the crooked cannot be made straight, nor the wanting numbered.—The preservation or destruction of historical materials is as providential as the guidance of events. We are not called to be the revealers of the hidden things: it is not for us that the sea is to give up her dead.

In our conception of the historian's character, we are somewhat perplexed by the imperfect relation which his duties bear to other duties susceptible of accurate definition. He is, in a measure, an advocate, summing up before a tribunal; and yet an advocate who has not the wherewithal to make out a complete case, by the marshalling of unsatisfactory evidence.

Perhaps the modern historian of antiquity may also be considered as an interpreter, standing between two nations, and translating to the one, the annals of the other: a relator to his own people of the story which another nation has taught him. This comparison approaches, perhaps, somewhat closer to his proper functions: yet, if we confine ourselves even to mere and literal translation, the task offers no small difficulties: the Translator must have lived with both nations, and be familiarized, not merely with the foreign language, but with the foreign habits, customs, and thoughts of the foreign people.

The mode whereby the historian can best satisfy himself, and thus satisfy his readers, is to gain a tone of mind analogous to the result of living conversation and actual observation. You never understand a language so long as you have to make out the grammar, or look out the words in the dictionary: you do not really understand that language until the sight of the phrase suggests the meaning, until the knowledge comes to

you without an effort; becoming a part of yourself, without your knowing how you came by it, like the good performer, who not only can play at sight, but who, when he looks at the crotchets and quavers, hears the sound of the notes through the eye. You never can thoroughly realize a locality till you have trodden the turf beneath your feet, till you have breathed the air.

Laws, usages, habits, language, customs, entwine the bond which binds and bounds each community. Those within the boundary possess an instinctive sense of significations and realities, which no foreigner can obtain. He may, however, approximate to this sensation, by taking up his residence in the country. Such was the course adopted by the Father of History, and whereby he attained that excellence which no one else perhaps has equalled,—certainly none surpassed. Therefore we should treat the mediæval writers as we ought to do if we were living amongst them, as that foreign people with whom we wish to be thoroughly acquainted,—an end we never can accomplish unless we are perfectly on good terms with them, unless we sincerely cultivate their friendship, and try to win their good will—to assimilate ourselves to their feelings, and become one of themselves. We must not depreciate them if they be dull, or revile them because we cannot understand them, or be put out of humour with their look, their accent, their garb.—Bear with

them, do not set yourself against them, do not pride yourselves in reckoning how much wiser or better you are: do not take offence at their imperfections, their simplicity, their rudeness, their ignorance, their ill-breeding,—or rather what you suppose to be ignorance or ill-breeding. You go to learn, to be instructed, and to make the best use you can for yourself and your own people, when you come home, of the knowledge you thus obtain.

The facts immediately before us are only portions of history, and we should accept the memorials of past ages for better and for worse,—taking them all in all. Throughout our studies we must receive the productions of our mediæval writers in a double character, not merely as records of facts, or supposed facts, but also monuments of literature, and memorials of mind. We should not in any wise content ourselves with being mere passive listeners to the story, but always strive to become acquainted with the narrator: we should endeavour to contemplate the book, identified with the writer, according to that truest maxim of friendship—*amá l'amico tuo, con il difetto suo,*—not simply tolerating your friend's faults, not loving him in spite of his faults, but loving him with his faults,—the faults inseparable from the man's individuality; you cannot have your friend without them—nor the book either.

Their writings contain much which may ap-

pear superfluous—useless in the present advanced state of historical knowledge. Matthew of Westminster, Marianus Scotus or Florence of Worcester, Godfrey of Viterbo and Eckhard of Urangen, preface their histories with the annals of the world, deduced through age and age, until they reach the states of mediæval Christendom. If these are neglected, still more if they are expunged; if we strike out the narrative founded upon holy Writ, combined with Josephus and Eusebius, Orosius and Justin, we obliterate the memorials of their historical theory. The mediæval doctrine of history considered each race and nation as exemplifying the decree imposed upon the destinies of mankind.

These chronicles are strewed with texts, apt to render us somewhat impatient, but they demonstrate the sedulous study of the Bible during the dark and middle ages. They also testify that spirit of humility which taught the wise to place all human knowledge in subjection to the Divine Word:—nay, even the apparently trivial employment of scriptural phraseology, sometimes sounding almost irreverent, resulted from their familiarity with the Scriptures. Like the Covenanters, they thought in Scripture language.

The Monk Ordericus sermonizes occasionally; dully, without doubt, yet we had better not sleep during the Sermon: the proser instructs us according to the standard of his age; and perhaps

we shall be none the worse for the lessons we receive.

His quotations from the classics are very trite: the Preceptor thinks them only fit for the lowest form. This may be granted; but they reveal the extent of his classical knowledge: they shew you that the Norman Monks had a Sallust in Saint Evroul's library.—Sacred and profane are jumbled tastelessly: a text from Proverbs flanked by Lucan's verse; yet this quaint erudition realizes the writer's idiosyncrasy. Ordericus is thereby personified to us: we learn to know him as a living man, not merely as a name of nine letters. We see the Vulgate and the Latin poet upon his table; we learn how he was wont to study the classics for ornament, and to search the Scriptures for the perennial illustration of human nature.

Dudon de Saint-Quentin's turgid eloquence is occasionally fatiguing,—be patient—he will not tire us long; if we value valuable information, we shall be sorry when Dudon leaves off, and we listen with great profit to Dudon's style: he is addressing his patrons, the grandson and great grandson of Rollo: he is labouring to please them: he displays the tone of high-bred cultivation. His Latin is barbarous; nevertheless this rough kitchen-latin is a dialect to be learned by usage; and unless we can compare text with text, we shall never obtain materials for the glossary.

Superstition is laid to the charge of the Pre-

late: he deals in signs and portents, fire-drakes, bloody banners, armies fighting in the clouds, and stars streaming through the sky; yet these marvels are invaluable to the philosopher, the only recorded observations of natural phenomena, which otherwise would have been lost. The name of a *Mansus* or a *Pagus* occurring in some legend which we have been taught to despise as puerile, may furnish us with incontestable evidence of language, or fix a kingdom's landmark. And if our chronicler borrows largely from other chroniclers, we must not be wearied by such repetitions; for we thereby ascertain to what extent the writers so copied were diffused by publication, or received as standard authorities. If facts which other chroniclers tell clearly are related by him with slovenliness, or misunderstood, or distorted, we are furnished with a test whereby we can measure his judgment, accuracy and credibility.

Thus, habituating ourselves to treat bygone events as contemporaneous, living in the present world, yet striving to dwell with the past, we shall nevertheless be always more or less necessitated to deal with the history of those who are living in the unseen world, according to the process which we employ in our daily thoughts, discourse, or correspondence, concerning the beings we behold and the embodied souls we consort with, the society we encounter, the events within our observation, or presented to our eyes.

Past and present offer the same trials, and furnish the same discipline; or, rather past and present are one. After all our cogitations, we are coerced to acknowledge that blessings and judgments are equally inscrutable: that many failures are unaccountable, and many successes inexplicable; legitimate expectations of good sorely disappointed—good resulting from evil—large promises and small forthcomings; or the hap and the halfpenny turning to ten thousand pounds.—We are perplexed by secrets which we try to unravel, and fail: we try to account for human conduct, and believe we have thoroughly made out the character, and then are painfully convinced that we have been quite in the wrong. Inconsistencies grieve us in those we love and venerate: virtues vex us when we find them in those we hate or despise.—Driven to speak positively without the power of dismissing internal doubts; dogmatic though wavering; obeying our own judgment, and yet mistrusting our judgment; wearied by problems we cannot solve; egged on by curiosity never to be satisfied;—and compelled at last to humble ourselves, and chasten the desire for knowledge never here to be obtained.

BOOK I.

CARLOVINGIAN NORMANDY.

CHAPTER I.

LOUIS-LE-DEBONNAIRE, HIS PREDECESSORS AND SUCCESSORS.

741—987.

741—987

Alleged degeneracy of royal races.

§ 1. THE degeneracy of royal races has been frequently insisted on, almost invidiously, as affording an irrefragable argument against hereditary monarchy. Such at least is the sentiment raised by implication when the proposition is enounced; and amongst the examples of deterioration usually adduced, the Carlovingians stand forth most prominently.

The proposition is untrue in the abstract. Select any ancient regal family at a venture, and compare the members of that family with any others of lower degree, whose personal characters can be ascertained with equal precision.

For this branch of moral statistics, the plebeian or meaner classes do not afford the needful materials; but the rich genealogies of European aristocracy, the *Baronage*, the *Visitation*, the *Stammbuch*, the *Théatre d'Honneur*, the *Nobiliaro*,

741—937 will give you the means: crowned Dugdale, tabarded Vincent, cowled Anselme, or Imhoff, or Don Lope de Haro. Royalty may invoke the test: let it be honestly applied, and the investigation will fail to disclose any deduction from the accustomed averages of courage, ability or intellect. Indeed, the calculation would give an opposite result. Austria or Brunswick, Bourbon or Nassau absolutely gain, when paralleled with any known lineage in Germany, in England, or in France, whether anterior or coeval. Place them by the side of Dalberg, or of Truchsess, of Montmorency, or of Howard. It is a peculiar disadvantage attached to Royalty, that whilst princes are exposed to greater temptations than their subjects, their merits are brought more broadly into the blazing light, and construed inimically or deceitfully. Hard judges are we of those below us—harder when judging our superiors. Cruelly censured, more cruelly flattered, monarchs are the victims either way—their faults extenuated, except when combined with unpopular virtues, their virtues reviled if unpopular, their popular virtues soiled by vulgar praise. Mankind, by a re-action of rude contempt, compensate themselves for their own servility.

Untrue in the abstract, the imputation of degeneracy is equally untrue in this particular instance. Examine that wide-spreading imperial stem, rooted in Pepin of Heristal—much

noble fruit does that tree bear, noble though bitter.—Charlemagne was one of those great men whose talents concurring with their opportunities, render them sole and single in the world. His descendants are inferior by comparison, but not positively. Few amongst them can be discovered really deficient in the natural qualities or talents needed for royal authority: some possessed these qualities in a high degree—prudence, prowess, contrivance, genius and energy. The fact rather is, that, for their historical reputation, they had overmuch talent. The rivals—sons and fathers, fathers and sons, nephews and uncles, uncles and nephews, brothers and brothers, were too equally matched. Had any one crushed his competitors, so as to restore the ancestorial glory, all their individual slips and weaknesses would have been forgotten. But the whole family yielded to their adverse Nemesis. 741—987

Clio has no toleration for the unprosperous: the mirror in which she reflects their images magnifies every blemish. She courses after the triumphal car, shouting like the crowd whom she encourages and by whom she is encouraged:—woe to the vanquished, woe to the weak, woe to the oppressed, woe to the humble, woe to the poor,—men, nations, kingdoms! As in the world, so in the page of history.

The ill-fortune attached to the Carlovingian Empire.

§ 2. Had it not been for their misfortunes, we should have heard nothing of this supposed

741—987 degeneracy. Lodi does not afford stronger evidence of Napoleon's undaunted spirit, than is found in his open, avowed belief, that he, who created an Empire more vast and more transitory than Charlemagne's, owed his good fortune to a ruling Star, an inevitable Destiny. He did not fear that by this confession he lessened his own reputation, or detracted from his intellect, or humiliated his talent. We may dislike such terms as "ruling star" or "inevitable destiny," but the truth which the words convey is eternal. The whole system of the moral world depends on an Almighty Providence, ever present, ever active, directing or thwarting our own free agency.

How the Unchangeable counsel and human liberty can work concurrently, is utterly inconceivable to us. Nevertheless, insoluble as the problem must ever be, the consciousness of our own existence is not clearer than our innate perception that though Life and Death, Good and Evil, are set before us for our unrestrained choice, we all have had our course immutably defined for weal or woe: and, speaking in the common phrase with reference to worldly position, for good fortune, mediocrity or misfortune; for prosperity or misery. But Human Reason cannot abide that her divinations should be frustrated: the doctrines which we acknowledge practically we scarcely ever will recognize intellectually, and we strive to find any cause except the true one for

the unequal destinies of mankind. The permanence of Charlemagne's Empire, even in his lifetime, though sustained by his wisdom and energy, was nevertheless effected only through the congruity of his exertions with a combination of circumstances which never could prevail again.—When passed, the possibility was entirely lost. 741—987

Thick and lowering were the tempests gathering on the horizon, while the sun shone bright and cheerful on the vaulted roofs of Aix-la-Chapelle; but as Charlemagne grew old, his good fortune declined more rapidly than his declining days. Had his life been prolonged, he must have yielded to the adversities which his own success prepared. The conformation of his Empire invited external enemies, forbade internal peace. He was taken away from the evil to come; even like the merchant, who having toiled and fretted to acquire great wealth, and succeeded in his speculations by the contingencies of the mart or the exchange, sickens and sinks when his Firm is about to break, and is thus spared the humiliation of ruin.

Partitions of the Empire unavoidable.

Experience, charts, knowledge of soundings, may enable the navigator to escape many dangers, but hurricanes will arise, rendering all seamanship unavailing—*Afflavit Deus et dissipantur.* The partitions of the Carlovingian Empire were unavoidable. The system begun under the Merovingians, the usage of the

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Frankish Realm, which could scarcely have been abandoned without difficulty by the son of Charles Martel, now became inevitable and destructive. Charlemagne's hand had grasped more sceptres than even that mighty hand could hold, and from the hands of his successors they could not but fall. The contests arising from these partitions were as irremediable as the partitions themselves.

The Fourth Monarchy not to be confounded with the Carlovingian Empire.

The Imperial authority, reinvigorated by Charlemagne, must be carefully distinguished from his personal Empire; though, viewed in the same line of sight, their images often blend into each other. As Emperor, Charlemagne represented the authority derived from Rome, Rome of the Eagle standard, Pagan Rome, Heathen Rome, the Rome of the Seven Hills, the Rome of Romulus, of Tarquin, of Brutus, the Rome of the Cæsars;—Rome drunken with the blood of Saints and Martyrs, the Rome who built the Coliseum and raised the triumphal arch, the Rome who crucified Saint Peter in the Forum of Nero, cast Saint Paul into the Mamertine dungeons, and plunged Saint John into the cauldron of boiling oil;—that Rome identified by ancient Fathers and interpreters with the Apocalyptic Babylon:—that Rome whose power was symbolized by the gothic imagery and rhyming epigraph of the Golden Bull, *Roma caput mundi, regit orbis frena rotundi.*—That Roman Empire, whose spirit transmigrated through Frederick of Hohenstauffen and Henry

of Luxemburg and Joseph of Lorraine—That Imperial pre-eminence, which, placing its possessor at the honorary summit of the European Commonwealth, subsisted, however debilitated, till the end of the appointed season, when the portraiture of the last effete successor of Charlemagne filled the last vacant tablet in the Frankfort Rœmer Saal. 741—987

As the Representative of the Fourth Empire, Charlemagne was only a transitory instrument in her yet unaccomplished destiny. Our present concern lies with the political history of the Carlovingian Empire, composed of the Kingdoms descending to him by inheritance from an ancestor, who, but for success, would have been termed an usurper, united to the dominions so gloriously gained by his own successful talent, prowess, and energy.

Amongst other inherent germs of evil in the Carlovingian Empire, was the absence of any definite law of succession or heritable representation: the children acknowledged the parent's power of appointing or partitioning his dominions, but never obeyed that power practically or honestly unless under compulsion, or when it suited their own interest. No certain principle could be discovered, whether an appropriation once made to this or that son or nephew was or was not revocable or irrevocable. Some portions of the Empire had distinct constitutional rights; Evils arising in the Carlovingian Empire from the absence of any certain law of succession.

741—987 Aquitaine especially so: so also Armorica, so also Bavaria. Austrasia and Neustria were sometimes considered as united in one great national Assembly, and sometimes not. Popular assent to the succession was sometimes solicited and sometimes neglected: the throne was elective without election, hereditary without heirship. These excitements to jealousy and ambition were more than human nature could withstand. The dismemberments which ultimately distributed the Carlovingian Empire amongst Charlemagne's descendants, who shared them with the greater or lesser communities, with the princes or feudatories of mediæval Italy, Germany and France, were the natural cleavages of masses merely agglutinated by pressure. The races whom Charlemagne had subjugated, the countries over which he ruled, were centres of mutual repulsion. The very essence of the Empire was the preparation for the impending disintegration. No prudence could remedy the inherent malconformation of the Carlovingian Empire—the trouble was inseparably attached to the inheritance.

Carlovingian Empire. Its component parts mutually repulsive.

Constantly assailed from within, the external enemies possessed a power of infestation which could not be quelled. As I have observed on a former occasion, the Northmen, in particular, were like clouds of mosquitoes, which, dispersed by the hand passing through them, immediately gathered again. In all their concerns,

Ill ends of the Carlovingians.

the descendants of Charlemagne were beset by untoward circumstances; events, which would have seemed indifferent or promising well, ending badly. The good wine turning sour: small hurts festering into ulcers: unhappy marriages; domestic dissensions, imprudencies of passion, infirmities, diseases; premature, violent and plebeian deaths, none in the field of battle; and these deaths occurring at junctures when the life of the Sovereign was of most importance for the welfare of the State. 741—987

§ 3. Mathematicians have felt aggrieved, because they often hear those who are usually called "sensible men," "educated men" and the like, assert that they do not doubt of "runs of luck;" speaking in a tone which implies that the occurrences of such tides of success or adversity are occasioned by an unknown or mysterious cause. The Analyst calls this a superstition; but there is a superstition approaching to weakness, or worse, in being over afraid of superstition. Men do not doubt the fact of "luck," simply because the casual coincidences, which over-rule all theories of moral or mathematical probability, are matters of daily observation. Doctrine of probabilities.

The theories of probabilities may be indisputably true according to mathematical reasoning, shewing that no one man can have a greater chance in the game than another; nevertheless, experience constantly contradicts the reasoning.

741—987 Perhaps we may rather say, that both views of the question are true; if so be we recollect that "chance," under every form or mode of existence, is predestinated in the universal plan of Providence. Matter, Life, Soul and Spirit are ruled by the One Maker of all things visible and invisible, the One Lord of infinity and eternity. Every permutation, every succession, every series and every combination of number, weight, or measure, is pre-ordained. Omnipresence cannot be absent. The Omnipotent cannot be limited, nor his Omniscience bounded. Upon that Earth which has been created for the habitation of man, accident is regulated with determined relations to the accountable beings who are affected by the events, fortuitous and yet designed. The Gamester is brought to the Casino when the faces of the die are to be turned uppermost which will make or mar his fortune. He is conducted thither to meet the pre-directed series of throws. By figures, and tables, and theorems we calculate ourselves out of these realities; but activity, anxiety, above all, danger will surely bring them home. "Every bullet has its billet," says the soldier, who falls into the contrary extreme, yielding to the dreary apathy of a blind fatality. Yet the soldier expresses himself truly, for the man who receives the mortal wound is driven by the destroying Angel before the mouth of the cannon whose discharge

is to cut him off. And this involves the whole 741—987
bearing of casualties and apparent trifles upon the mightiest affairs of collective mankind. Universal History bears witness to the truth, yet the Philosophy of History shrinks away from the conclusions which she dares not deny.

Nor with respect to those events resulting evidently from physical laws, is the need of the acknowledgment less cogent; for we are bound to reverence these laws as the emanations of Almighty power, obeying His will. When the Sun's noon-day rays are made to fire the meridian mortar, the explosion occasioned by the unvaried rotation of the planetary sphere is effected by the workman whose adaptation of the lens guided the concentrated beams.

Apply the same reasonings to all the operations of secondary causes developed in the material or transitory world, when they are rendered directly and immediately subservient to the government of the spiritual or eternal kingdom. Very superficial and erroneous are the Teachers who worry themselves to employ their Science, the outward yet marvellous knowledge of the works of God obtained through the senses, in discrediting or denying the dispensation that the particular events, occasioned by the regular and orderly course of nature, do equally fulfil the decree of special Providence. The mist or the blast may be condensed or dispersed, guided or

741—987 stayed by the general laws of electricity and heat, of air and moisture; and the fertility of the field certainly depends on the operation of the laws by which vegetation is promoted or retarded. But the husbandman, who acknowledges the abundance as a blessing, or who receives the failing crop as a punishment, has been allotted to that very field for his profit or his trial; and for *him*, each individual cloud has been wafted upon the wings of the wind, with the purposed intent that it may drop fatness on the glebe, or destroy the hopes of the harvest. No event can be disconnected from the First Cause of all events. It was one of the shallow gibes of Frederick "the Great," that, somehow or another, Providence always takes the side of the King who has the largest battalions. This dictum has not even the recommendation of historical truth—he himself falsified it. But even if it were true, it would not in any wise alter the highest truth, for the question would still remain to be answered, Who imparts the power by which the armies are raised?

Great perplexity of Carlovingian history.

§ 4. It is a hindrance to historical research that this Carlovingian era is the most confused in mediæval history; we approach it with distaste. The best informed amongst the French historians, while they expatiate upon the importance annexed to a period constituting the starting-point of our subsisting European system, express themselves strongly concerning the species of

disgust excited by its perplexity. The investigator feels entangled in a morass. The dissensions and dismemberments, divisions and subdivisions of the Carlovingians and the Carlovingian Empire, cannot be comprehended through any one consecutive recital. Each and every Emperor, King and Pretender, claims in his turn to be presented either as the principal or the subordinate agent. Austrasia, Neustria, Bavaria, Alemannia, Italy, Aquitaine, Lorraine, each kingdom or appanage has a special story, conflicting and conjoined with the story and stories of the others, and yet destitute of any unity sufficiently marked to present a decided prominence, round which the others may be satisfactorily grouped. Each narrative is twisted into loops, or darts off into abrupt zigzags; no one can be made to run in a straight path. 741—987

The materials which deter and invite the enquirer are most curious, copious and authentic. Five folio volumes are devoted by the Benedictines to Languedoc, the bulk of one such tome is filled with the history of Aquitaine during the Carlovingian reigns: the like proportion obtains in their equally extensive history of Burgundy, not a page too much in either. The difficulties arising from this embarrassment of riches are enhanced by the frequent recurrence of the same family names; also by changes of names; also by the plurality of names assigned to one and the same individual; also by the con- Difficulties arising from copiousness of materials: recurrence of the same names, &c.

741—987 version of titles of dignity into proper names, the last peculiarly with females. These causes of confusion occur in other regions of mediæval history, particularly amongst the Cymric tribes; but then we are partially helped by patronymics, whereas the latter are absent amongst the nations who adopted the Romance tongues.

Obscurity of historical Geography.

The historical Geography of the Carlovingian Empire is extremely obscure: denominations are given colloquially and loosely, names of nations or tribes confounded with names of countries, the name of a particular territory frequently translated to the whole dominion: just as we sometimes carelessly employ the name of "England," as equivalent to Great Britain, or to the United Kingdom, or even to the British Empire. Boundaries were changed, enlarged, contracted: thus the term Neustria is commonly but erroneously assigned to the district which afterwards became Normandy, though the Duchy was but a small portion of the Carlovingian Neustria. And inasmuch as this Carlovingian period is a transition period, the geographical nomenclature of later times is constantly blended by anticipation with more ancient designations. Systematic accuracy in the employment of the geographical names is scarcely obtainable; and when attainable, often inconsistent with intelligibility.

Summary of the Carlovingian

§ 5. This first Chapter contains the argument of Norman history. The reign of Louis-le-

débonnaire shattered the Carlovingian Empire and let the Northmen in; and as the shortest and clearest mode of explaining the future narrative, I shall also present the reader with a brief historical genealogy of the Carlovingians until their dethronement in Italy, Germany and France—their dethronement, not their extinction—summarily indicating the various partitions, divisions, and severances of the Empire, all with reference to transactions and events belonging to the history of Normandy, or to the provinces connected with Norman or Anglo-Norman history.

741—987 genealogies, presented as the argument of Norman story.

In compiling these genealogies, I have scarcely attempted to distinguish between the children called legitimate and those to whom legitimacy is denied. Opinion often made little difference between them: The "*Spurius*" is scarcely stigmatized—he was the child of the "*Amica*"—"*naturalis*" was taken adjectively, especially in England, equally to denote children born in lawful matrimony as well as those who were not: an ambiguity sometimes causing great mistakes. It is sometimes used to designate the child of a marriage voidable but not void: a *Nothus* was the offspring of adultery; yet the value of epithets in these matters was liable to great changes, and their meanings are very fluctuating: *Mamzer* was the most opprobrious, *e scorto natus*, but it did not disgrace Ebles of Poitou, or William the Conqueror.

Difficulty of distinguishing between legitimate and illegitimate children.

741—987 Illegitimate sons were evidently regarded with jealousy by the acknowledged heirs: some, thus branded, obtained the throne; the fact is, that it was often difficult to decide upon the *status* of the party. Concubinage was lawful according to the Teutonic usages, though condemned by the Church; but her jurisdiction in matrimonial causes was tardily acknowledged. We can scarcely discern the exact period when the benediction of the Priest became absolutely needful for the confirmation of a marriage already contracted according to the ancient customs and legal forms, taught by ancestorial tradition and recognized as binding amongst the Teutonic nations before they adopted Christianity. Or, to state the matter technically and in the language of our common law, the era had not yet arrived, when any proceeding like the Bishop's Certificate, *ne unques accoupli*, was received as conclusive evidence by the secular tribunal in questions of marriage. The terms *Regina* or *Amica*, *Uxor* or *Pellex*, are therefore not so scandalously apart from each other as they seem. If we try to sift the question,—which the French historians often do with more earnestness than profit, — the grounds of discrimination between the lawful or unlawful consort, the wife or the concubine, frequently become very vague and uncertain. Look at Charlemagne and the bevy of beauties who surround him—Himeltruda, Her-

mengarda, Bertha or Desiderata, Hildegarda, 741—987
Fastrada, Luitgarda, Mathelgarda, Adelinda, Gersuinda, Reguina, the unnamed damsel said to have fascinated him by the talismanic ring:—viewed as his Odalisks, they may all be reckoned in nearly the same category.

The arrangement of this Chapter is not strictly methodical: some sections are larger in proportion than others; but when compiling the synopsis, after having tried various plans to render the subject useful and intelligible, I have acted as if I were a teacher reading with a pupil.—In that case, I would place before him the original Chronicles, and underline, and also mark in the margin those passages and particulars which would either exemplify the ethos of the age, or guide and help him in making out the subsequent portions of Norman and Anglo-Norman history, so much involved, first with the Carlovingians, and next with the Capets. The King of France supporting or opposing a Duke of Normandy is a character nearly as important to us as the Duke of Normandy himself. Names of persons and names of places, men and localities, act upon doctrines and incidents like the mordants which fix the otherwise fugitive dye upon the memory; and I would advise the student to peruse the following sections as if he were turning over my marked and underlined volume.

The whole subject is most pregnant and fruit-

741—987 ful, not merely in relation to the events of this specific period, but from their connexion with the subsequent portions of French history. Even in the present contingencies and catastrophes distracting the European world, we are under the full play of the impulses given by the vicissitudes which the Carlovingian Empire sustained, and the principles then evolved.

Charles Martel and his issue.

§ 6. CHARLES MARTEL had six sons; Carloman, Pepin-le-bref, Gripho, Remigius, Jerome, and Bernard.

741. He divides Childeric's kingdom, and dies, Oct. 24.

Long-haired Childeric was still called King of the Franks; but the Major-domus thought no more about the descendant of Clovis at Soissons or wherever he might be, than the Governor General does of Aurungzebe's successor, Shah Allum, or whatever his name may be, at Delhi. When Charles Martel, prematurely old, felt the near approach of death, he apportioned amongst his three elder sons, Carloman, Pepin, and Gripho, the Kingdoms to which he had small right. Carloman shall rule Austrasia, Alemannia, the *Schwabenland*, and Thuringia. Let Pepin take Neustria, Burgundia, and the Provincia Romana. Gripho was to have a State, indicated as composed of counties or regions severed from the three Kingdoms of Burgundia, Neustria, and Austrasia. Ambition for the future glory of his family may have induced Charles Martel to stint the youngest of the three. In right of his mother Swanhilda,

Gripho was an *Agilolfing*, and might claim Bavaria, bold independent Bavaria, and his scantier share would urge him on.—Aquitaine, not yet reduced, was left to the valour of Carloman or Pepin. 741—987 741—768

Upon the death of Charles Martel, a quarrel instantly arose in the family for their father's spoil. Carloman and Pepin combined against Gripho, to deprive him of his modest appanage. Eginhard, Charlemagne's son-in-law, represents Gripho as the rebel. More impartial authorities shew the contrary. Gripho dreaded his brothers, and with his mother Swanhilda fled to a castle in the Ardennes, and afterwards to Laon. We cannot follow his wanderings: he fought bravely, and the contests between him and his two brothers, but ultimately only with Pepin the survivor, lasted many years, during which he sustained great vicissitudes.—He conquered and lost Bavaria, extorted from his brothers a Duchy containing twelve Counties, and lost them also. His struggles against his enemies were unavailing, and he was miserably slain. 741. 748. Dissensions between his sons.

Carloman, troubled in conscience, grew weary of the world, resigned his authority, became a monk, and died happily at Monte-Casino. Children he had: a son Drogo, and others whose names we cannot ascertain. Thus abdicating, he placed them under the wardship of his brother Pepin. There was no hesitation on the part of Pepin as to his proper course: he declared himself 747. Carloman abdicates: his children dispossessed by their uncle Pepin.

741—987 the unlimited heir of Carloman's rights and realms,
741—768 dispossessed his nephews completely, would not assign to them a county, not even a villa or domain; and causing them to be shorn, they died forgotten in some monastery.

Younger sons of Charles Martel.

With respect to the three younger sons of Charles Martel, they were all well provided for in the Church or by ecclesiastical preferments, and gave no trouble to their elder brother, Pepin. Remigius was elected to the see of Rouen: a good archbishop, and canonized. Jerome is said to have been Abbot of Sithiu, so well known in the times of Francis the First and Charles the Fifth as St. Quentin, a place of which we shall have much to say hereafter. Bernard, under the title of Comes or Count, was certainly Lay-abbot of that same great monastery. Bernard had five children—Adelhard, Wala or Wallach, Bernarius, Gundrada, and Theodrada. Adelhard and Wala were men who helped to change the whole fortunes of the Carlovingian Empire: unwitting of the results, they contributed most effectually to cause its downfall. They were half brothers: Wala's mother was a Saxon lady, and whether from his looks or some other token, this national descent was very conspicuous, though the son of a Frank and born in the Frankish land; and he was therefore usually called Wala the Saxon.

Bernard, Count or Lay-abbot of St. Quentin: his children.

752. Accession of Pepin-le-bref.

§ 7. PEPIN-LE-BREF, possessing all royal power, now assumed the title and state of a crowned

King, King of the Frankish monarchy. Childeric, the last of the Merovingians, was deposed and shorn. Carloman, a monk, was dead to the world; so also were his children—Gripho a fugitive—the three younger brothers contented, and the disposition of his dominions entirely in Pepin's power. 741—987 741—814

Pepin-le-bref had two sons, David (for that really appears to have been his name) otherwise Charles or Charlemagne, and Carloman. Charlemagne obtained the western portion of the Frankish Realm, extending in a somewhat irregular line from Friezeland to the Pyrenees; Carloman had Austrasia, the ancient home of the Franks, and long honoured as superior amongst their kingdoms; *la soveraine France ki est li Royaumes de Austrasie,* as we find the same denominated in the Chronicles of Saint Denis; moreover, the Kingdom of Burgundy, including the Provincia Romana; and Eastern Aquitaine, or that region which was annexed to the Austrasian Kingdom. Carloman died in the lifetime of his elder brother, leaving three sons, the canonized Bishop of Nice, Saint Sergius, and two others, the elder named Pepin. Pepin-le-bref: division of his dominions. 771. Death of Carloman.

§ 8. CHARLEMAGNE took to himself the whole of his father's realms: first his own share, and then his brother's. The issue of Carloman were disinherited by their uncle. Saint Sergius seems quietly to have abandoned all claims. 768. Oct. 9. Accession of Charlemagne.

741—987 Gerberga, Carloman's widow, fled to Lombardy,
741—814 where she was received by her father King Desiderius, who attempted to assert the rights of her young children his grandsons; but the *parvuli*, as they are called by the Chroniclers, disappear from history. If they lived, they fell into the power of their uncle, and were probably shut up and shorn in a monastery.

Charlemagne's children.

Charlemagne had seven sons who attained maturity. Pepin-le-bossu, handsome in countenance, though marked by bodily deformity: Charles, King of Neustria and Austrasia: Pepin, (originally called Carloman,) King of Italy: Louis, King of Aquitaine, in history denominated *Ludovicus-pius*, or *Louis-le-débonnaire:* Drogo, Bishop of Metz, drowned whilst fishing, by a great fish which drew him into the water: Hugh, Abbot of Saint Quentin; and Clerk Thierry. Pepin-le-bossu rebelled against Charlemagne, seeking, as it is said, his father's life: he was pardoned, but shut up in the monastery of Pruhm, whose monks were then reclaiming the desolate Eifeld. In this and all similar cases, I anticipate epithets, titles and dignities for the purpose of identifying the parties. Charlemagne in his own life-time never was addressed by his historic name. It was late before Charles, Pepin, and Louis, received their Kingdoms. Drogo and Hugh did not acquire their preferments till after Charlemagne's death.

741—987

741—814

806. Division of the Empire between Charles, Pepin and Louis.

Charlemagne divided his kingdom amongst the second, third, and fourth—Charles, Pepin and Louis—placing each son in the portion assigned to him, sharing the administration of his dominions amongst his children during his life; a division which he confirmed by Charter before the prelates and nobles of the Gauls and Germany at Thionville, six years after he received the Imperial Crown. But they had all been actually in possession of their authority many years before.

806. Portion assigned to Charles, Neustria, Austrasia, &c.

To Charles, he gave the head and heart of his realm. Neustria, which may be considered equivalent to modern France, north of the Seine, and Austrasia, *Souveraine France*, now, thanks to his conquests, extending from Meuse to Elbe: Austrasia, whose ambit included the most primitive and unaltered of the Teutonic tribes, and the most signal monuments of Roman domination and splendour;—Ostphalen, still swarming with Heathendom; free Friezeland, hardly conscious of the Imperial power, yet claiming her liberties from the concessions of the majestic Cæsar; the red land of Westphalen, awed by the mysterious Vehmgericht; scarcely-subjugated Taxandria, Menapia and the country of the Morini; Brabant and Flanders, uncleared, covered by the dark forests whose remnants yet subsist in the woods of Soignies, all purely Teuton. To these were conjoined that rich and flourishing Ripuarian country, whose sons had at so early

741—987
741—814

a period become the willing imitators or disciples of Rome's legislation and policy,—Colonia Agrippina, delighting in her Roman descent, whose Senate and Republic long retained the municipal ranks and orders which Rome had bestowed;—Metz, whose citizens exulted that Metz was Metz before the Franks were known;—Treves, adorned by the solid magnificence of Roman art, but boasting that Treves had stood thirteen hundred years ere Rome was founded.

Portion assigned to Pepin.

Pepin had all Carlovingian Italy. Lombardy, lost by Desiderius, from Alps to Appenines, the Tuscan Marquisate, the Exarchate of Ravenna and the Dukedom of Rome. Moreover, the wide-extended land of Bavaria, as held by Tassilo, opening down to Valtellina, conjoining Germany with the Lombard marches. Thus his dominion, bounded on the far North and East by the Hercynian forest and the Danube, descended to Benevento, the extreme South of the Empire.

Portion assigned to Louis.

The portion assigned to Louis fully maintained his dignity amongst his brethren. He was invested with the Kingdom of Aquitaine, vastly enlarged by annexations and conquest: Gascony, swarming with restless population:—the Spanish marches, the marches of Gascony, the marches of Gothia or Septimania,—the Tolosain and Auvergne,—most also if not all the counties and *pagi* within the great Archiepiscopal provinces of Bourges and Bourdeaux, composing

a state equally opulent and defensible.—Some few margins excepted, Louis was acknowledged in all the lands between Ebro, Rhone and Loire and the Atlantic and Mediterranean, the seas into which these three great rivers pour their waters. 741—987 741—814

§ 9. Dangerous as the practice thus sanctioned by Charlemagne of dividing the Empire may be pronounced, the transaction was dictated by necessity. Infirmity of power resulted from the ambition of power. It was physically impossible that such an Empire could continue to obey a single Sovereign residing at Aix-la-Chapelle or Ingleheim, Compiegne or Nimeguen. Charlemagne perceived that his Empire must fall to pieces by its own weight, unless clamped together by local governments possessing an unity of interest. Risk for risk, even with all hazards of rivalry, who better than brethren? His institutions were carefully planned for maintaining an unity of dominion. Yet anxious must have been the retrospect, and more anxious the forebodings, when Charlemagne, his heart trembling within him, dictated the clauses, needful, as he deemed, to secure the permanence of the dominion he had founded. He declared that the younger branches should be under the jurisdiction of the elder.—The extent of the authority is obscurely indicated by its restrictions. Fathers or uncles were not to inflict upon sons or nephews the punish- Necessity of the division of the Carlovingian Empire. Principles of the partition. Gibbon's censure ill-founded.

741—987 ments of death, mutilation, blinding, or perpetual
741—814 imprisonment, the last so odiously accompanied by the enforced monastic vow. The Empire was governed as one State. A civil Hierarchy of Dukes or Counts, amovible perhaps by prerogative, but permanent in many cases by usage, or selected from the old enchorial lineages, satisfied to a certain extent the desire of nationality. Pepin he caused to be educated from his early youth in Lombardy. Louis was born in Aquitaine, and it is probable that the journey whereby his mother, Queen Hermengarda was brought to Cassenueil on the Lot, and which rendered him an Aquitanian by birth-place, did not result from accident. Moreover, the transmission of authority to his grandsons was, as it should seem, to depend upon a threefold title, the nomination of the parent, the election made by the people, and the assent of the surviving Monarchs, the uncles of the designated heir.

It is a mistaken supposition that the mediæval sovereigns were ignorant concerning the extent, value and situation of their dominions. This has been very confidently asserted with respect to the partitions of the Carlovingian Empire. But the system of administration was ably organized. The country was constantly traversed. They understood it from its own face. Travel and tramp are good teachers both of statistics and geography: much is learnt without

maps or tables. Trust the farmer for knowing every nook of his holding, though he may never have seen a survey. Kings were thoroughly acquainted with the resources of their dominions; —how much provisions a province would furnish, sheep or kine, oxen or swine;—how much money could be collected, and whether the collection were easy or no;—how many soldiers the land could raise, and whether, if raised, they were to be trusted or dreaded, stationed in the van or the rear. Charlemagne well knew the difficulties of dealing with the qualities and distinctions of race. In the tripartite division plotted out by him, his attention was peculiarly directed to these elements of strength and weakness. 741—987 741—814

Romanized Gauls, Romanized Franks, and the stern and half-reclaimed tribes retaining their ancient Teutonic spirit, were judiciously balanced in the kingdom given to Charles.—A similar equilibrium Charlemagne established in Pepin's portion, which included the extremes of refinement and barbarity.—Lastly, the solid kingdom of Aquitaine, supporting the Spanish marches, opposed a needful bulwark against the Saracens, who penetrating to the centre of the Provincia Romana, raised their towers upon the amphitheatre of Arles, the Arabs, checked, but not daunted, and yearning to avenge the shame they had sustained from Charles Martel's heavy hand.

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741—814
Adverse contingencies disappointing the plans of Charlemagne.

§ 10. But the deep-thought schemes of Charlemagne's policy and political wisdom, his cares for the future, all came to nought. The black sails of the Northmen had been seen in the horizon hovering off the coasts of his Empire: the Saracens were renewing their attacks; the Slavonians attempted to regain their freedom, and the Carlovingian power received a check, indicating the approaching decline.

809.
Pepin, King of Italy, attacks the Venetians in the Lagune, and is defeated by them.

Pepin, King of Italy, prepared to attack the rising republic of the Venetians. They had avoided acknowledging Pepin's authority and incurred Charlemagne's indignation: their merchants, already traders of note, had been expelled from Ravenna. Pepin entered the Lagune with a mighty fleet. The seat of government had been removed from Torcello to Malamocco: the vessels of Pepin, filled with the boldest soldiery, had successively occupied Chiozza, Palestrina, and Albiola. Malamocco was indefensible; and by the advice of the Doge Angelo Particip azio, the whole population took refuge in Rio Alto, unoccupied except by the fishermen whose hovels dotted its shores; and it was this migration, which, reducing the other isles to comparative insignificance, raised the Palace of the Adriatic Queen. Entangled in the Lagune, the heavy drawing Lombard barks, surrounded by light Venetian boats, were pestered by the Greek fire. Many were burnt, some few escaped with the

rising tide. The engagement took place in or about the Canale Orfano, which, according to the popular tradition, derived its name from this battle: so many were the children rendered fatherless by the slaughter. A painting of the conflict still exists amongst the faded adornments of the dreary Sala del Scrutinio. Pepin retired to Milan, sickened and died, leaving one son, Bernard his successor. 741—987 814—840 810. Death of Pepin, King of Italy.

This is the Pepin whose bounty raised at Verona the Basilica of San' Zeno, and whose sepulchral catacomb is excavated in the cemetery hard by.

Death had now grasped the family: within a year, the death of Pepin was followed by the death of his brother Charles, King of Austrasia and Neustria. Charlemagne had been proud of Pepin; Louis was most promising, yet Charles was on the whole the son most dearly loved. The old Monarch was so afflicted and broken down, that his natural affection was almost imputed to him as a blame. His health failing, he put his affairs in order. All the Bishops, Abbots, Counts and Nobles, all the Senators of the Franks were convened at Aix-la-Chapelle. With their assent he directed Louis with his own hands, to lift up the crown from off the altar, and to place the diadem on his own head. *Vivat Imperator Ludovicus* resounded from the multitude. Then calling up Bernard the son of Pepin, Charlemagne 811. Death of Charles, King of Austrasia. 813. Septr. Charlemagne inaugurates Louis-le-débonnaire as his successor.

741—987 invested his grandchild with Pepin's Kingdom of Italy, and caused him equally to be hailed as King:
814—849 lastly, before the august assembly, he earnestly commended the children of his old age, his three young sons, Hugh, Drogo, and Thierry, to the care of the new Emperor: Louis swore that he would be their guardian and protector: no appanage did Charlemagne bestow upon them which might enfeeble the Empire—he entrusted them to their brother's love. In the gallery of the Basilica he had erected his marble throne, covered with plates of gold, studded with Greek cameos and astral gems from Nineveh or Babylon. Before that throne were the stairs, straight down

814. Jan. 28. Death and entombment of Charlemagne.

decending to the sepulchre which Charlemagne had already dug deep for himself in the holy ground, even when he raised that marble throne. Soon afterwards the huge broad flagstone which covers the vault was heaved up,—there they reverently deposited the embalmed corpse, surrounded by ghastly magnificence, sitting erect on his curule chair, clad in his silken robes, ponderous with broidery, pearls, and orfray, the imperial diadem on his head, his closed eyelids covered, his face swathed in the dead clothes, girt with his baldric, the ivory horn slung in his scarf, his good sword Joyeuse by his side, the Gospel-book open on his lap,—musk and amber, and sweet spices poured around,—his golden shield and golden sceptre pendant before him.

§ 11. Charlemagne's dissoluteness contrasts painfully with the virtues of his mainly just and pious character. Haroun Alraschid's compeer, the license of Bagdad luxuriated at Aix-la-Chapelle; but the Moslem Caliph, far more excusable than the Christian Emperor, did not violate the law by which his conscience was bound. 741—987 814—840 Charlemagne's licentiousness.

Men hardly dared to blame the glorious Monarch, so bountiful, so brave, so charitable, so liberal to Priest and Poor, so equitable, so wise, bright and active; in his genius both practical and poetical, so honest, affectionate and hearty, knowing his duty, so thoroughly following that duty in many points, sometimes even restraining his ambition, but never attempting to contend against the temptations of lust, becoming as he grew older more doting in his folly. Great scandal, but also great sorrow was occasioned by Charlemagne's conduct, sorrow ending not with life. According to the doctrines of the age, prayer, penitence and charity connected the living with the departed: departed, not dead; living under punishment, but still within reach of help, asking for aid; hence the dead were perhaps more endeared to the thoughts of those who loved them, even than when sustaining their earthly trial. Popular opinion reprobating Charlemagne. Evidence of the prevailing sentiments in the *Vision of Wettinus*.

The subsistence of these dogmas in the largest portions of Christendom to the present day, very imperfectly represents the psychological influence which they possessed in the mediæval

741—987 814—840 era, when they were not opposed by any antagonistic habits of thought or philosophy. In the opinion, teaching that the supplications and good works of those living in the valley of tears, refreshed the disembodied spirit, all were consentaneous. However conflicting the forms of faith might be, on this article of belief all substantially agreed, Jew, Christian and Moslem. All contemporary theology supported this credence, and no one had contributed more to popularize the sentiment by connecting it with a literary or intellectual interest, than Gregory the Great, whose dramatic dialogues contain so many legends of visions and apparitions which now unfortunately tempt us to irreverend scorn. The state of the dead was also constantly pourtrayed and realized to the imagination by the rude precursors of Orgagna and Michael Angelo,—corpses mouldering in their sepulchres, the horrible conceptions combining life and death, the half-fleshed skeleton, and the light of the eye glaring through the hollow socket of the skull: Emperors, Kings, Queens and Prelates, sinners and saints, writhing in anguish or calm in beatitude, as seen in the mosaics keenly glittering through the dark arches of the Basilica, equally excited the fancy and sustained the mourners' hopes and fears.

The cripple who had profited by Charlemagne's bounty, the suitor whom he had graciously relieved, the criminal to whom he had shewn mercy,

the veteran who remembered his liberality, the matron who in her blooming maiden days had admired his noble features and stately form, the monk secluded in the monastery which he had endowed, would all seek to offer their suffrages for the repose of his soul, his liberation from expiatory flame. 741—987 814—840

Of the general opinion entertained concerning Charlemagne, the anxious grief prevailing respecting the error, which more than any other, has tarnished his transcendant reputation, we possess a remarkable memorial.

Island and Monastery of Reichenau.

Just where the Rhine rushes away with youthful vigour through the Lake of Constance, is the Island of Reichenau, the *rich meadow*, thus called from its great fertility, upon which, years ago, we saw the portal, now demolished, the last mutilated vestige of the monastery, in the Carlovingian era one of the chief Colleges of the region, imparting religion and instruction, light and knowledge to all the nations and tribes around. Faithful and prayerful were those at Reichenau, whose thoughts, according to their conscience and doctrines, continued earnestly directed to the deceased Charlemagne's eternal welfare. Here was Heitto, who had been confidentially employed by him in his memorable embassy to Nicephorus the Byzantine Emperor, Abbot and also Bishop of Bâle, not a pluralist for profit or gain, but because the conjunction of the two offices rendered him the more

741—987 814—824 useful in the cause for which he so diligently laboured. It was Heitto who built that strangely-decorated Cathedral, in which the ornaments suggested by the timber fabrics of the Burgundians are combined with the mouldings and capitals roughly imitated from Roman art.—Here at Reichenau also was the monk Wettinus, the nephew of Grimoald, once also the friend of Charlemagne, and who, worn out by penances and devotional exercises, expired in the eleventh year after the accession of Louis-le-débonnaire.

824. Oct. 29, 30, and 31. Trances and death of Wettinus, the Monk of Reichenau.

During three preceding days the sick man had fallen repeatedly into a state of syncope: tremendous shadows filled the cell: Demons armed with spears and shields, Saints sternly majestic appeared to aid and defend him, an Angel, as it seemed to the Sleeper, conducted him through the realms of chastisement, despair and glory. Wettinus passing beyond the first purgatorial Phlegethon, beheld the great Emperor punished by the direst torment, gnawed and lacerated by the hound of hell, yet not condemned to perdition—"*in sorte electorum ad vitam prædestinatus est*"—was the most comforting reply which the anxiously-enquiring Pilgrim received from his angelic guide.

At a later period of mediæval literature, it is often difficult to decide whether such visions are to be read as resulting from sincere impressions,

or as the vehicle of allegorical instruction, bold reprehension or disguised satire. 741—987 814—824

The phantasms of Wettinus do not offer any such uncertainties. We cannot deny that they are authentic, and, so far as the intent of the narrators, true; and treating this very perplexed and awful enquiry simply as belonging to the history of the human mind, we are enabled to trace—and not indistinctly—some of the causes suggesting the imagery, adapted to the conceptions of the percipient, thereby constituting, through him, a symbolical language, intelligible to the outward world.

Visions of Fursæus (633) and Drithelm (696) included by Bede in his ecclesiastical history.

However prevalent may have been the almost instinctive doctrine that an intermediate Hades of suffering is reserved for the justified sinner, the belief acquired greater force through the revelations recorded by Venerable Bede, which, sanctioned by his name, were disseminated throughout the Western Church.

The Stranger, on the dank marshy shores of the oozy Yare, contemplating the lichen-encrusted ruins of the Roman castramentation,—Burgh Castle or Gariononum, scarcely supposes that those grey walls once enclosed the cell of an obscure anchorite, destined,—so strangely is the chain of causation involved,—to exercise a mighty influence equally upon the dogma and genius of Roman Christendom. This was the Milesian Scot Fursæus, who, received in East Anglia by

741—987 King Sigebert, there became enwrapped in the trances which disclosed to him the secrets of
814—824 the world beyond the grave. Theologically, the development of these opinions concerns us not. But theology was as the sap flowing into all the branches of human literature; and Fursæus kindled the spark which, transmitted to the inharmonious Dante of a barbarous age, occasioned the first of the metrical compositions from whose combination the Divina Commedia arose.

Feast of All Souls —its origin.

Fursæus was followed by the Anglo-Saxon Drithelm, similarly gifted, similarly raised up, as was supposed, to convince the faithful that sin is a fearful reality. Sermon and Homily repeated these legends; and the curious archæologist still recovers from the walls of the East-Anglian churches, the fading traces of the grotesque designs by which the same lessons were imparted. The well-known festival for the dead, the Feast of All Souls, was not formally instituted till the eleventh century; but the dreams of the night, presented to the Celtic and Saxon recluses, had, long before, instigated the members of various monastic bodies, to agree upon periodical commemorations, enabling them to join in common prayer for the repose of the deceased, under chastisement, but not lost—and the earliest community who practised this work of faith and charity, were the monks assembled in the venerable sanctuary founded by the countryman of Fursæus the Scot, Saint Co-

lumbanus, the Monastery of Saint Gall. The neighbouring House of Reichenau followed this influential example. In the same year during which Charlemagne received the Imperial Crown, Saint Gall and Reichenau united themselves for this pious observance into one sodality. And had Wettinus lived till the fifteenth of November, he would have joined in the annual Service appointed by mutual agreement for that day. In preparation, without doubt, for this solemnity, Wettinus had been subjecting himself to increased austerities, and applying himself to appropriate studies; and it was whilst reading the Dialogues of Pope Gregory relating to the apparitions of the dead, that the fainting fits had come on.

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The brethren had watched by the bed of Wettinus. As his strength failed he intreated them, before his tongue should be silenced, to bear record of his words. Detailing the substance of his visions, the narrative was taken down upon the waxen tablets. Heitto, on the following morning, read these notes in the presence of four other monks to the dying man, who confirmed their accuracy: the Abbot-Bishop forthwith reduced them into a regular statement, plain and unadorned. In order however to give greater currency to the warnings which he deemed so profitable, Heitto requested the celebrated Walafrid Strabo, who himself was afterwards Abbot

The visions of Wettinus, taken down by Bishop Heitto, and versified by Walafrid Strabo.

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741—987 814—824 of Reichenau, to versify these disclosures—parables, if we choose so to accept them—of future retribution and mercy. The passage portraying Charlemagne is here inserted textually, being an indispensable graphic illustration. Consider it as an impression from an ancient block-engraving, the very reality itself, and therefore essentially better than the best fac-simile. No paraphrase, or summary, or translation, could convey any adequate idea of the uncouth, halting hexameters, or actually exhibit the acrostic device which conceals and yet discloses the Monarch's name.

Contemplatur item quemdam lustrante pupilla
Ausoniæ quondam qui regna tenebat, et altæ
Romanæ gentis, fixo consistere gressu,
Oppositumque animal lacerare virilia stantis,
Lætaque per reliquum corpus lue membra carebant.
Viderat hæc, magnoque stupens terrore profatur,
Sortibus hic hominum, dum vitam in corpore gessit
Iustitiæ nutritor erat, sæcloque moderno
Maxima pro Domino fecit documenta vigere,
Protexitque pio sacram tutamine plebem:
Et velut in mundo sumpsit speciale cacumen
Recta volens, dulcique volans per regna favore.
Ast hic quam sæva sub conditione tenetur,
Tam tristique notam sustentat peste severam,
Oro refer. Tum ductor: in his cruciatibus, inquit,
Restat ob hoc, quando bona facta libidine turpi
Fœdavit, ratus inlecebras sub mole bonorum
Absumi, et vitam voluit finire suetis
Sordibus. Ipse tamen vitam captabit opimam,
Dispositum à Domino gaudens invadet honorem.

814. Jan. 28. State of affairs at the death of Charlemagne.

§ 12. On the day of Charlemagne's death, the fifth of the Kalends of February, still cele-

brated in some of the Gallican and German churches as the Emperor's commemorative festival, Louis-le-débonnaire was at Doué in Anjou, between Sablé and Angers, about ten miles from the banks of the Loire. This was a favourite hunting-seat or mansion which he had built, partly formed out of a Roman Amphitheatre, portions of whose walls are yet standing. Noble woods and pleasant fishing-places surrounded Theotuadum, as it was then called; and the locality, thus rendered agreeable, was one of the four principal Royal residences of the Aquitanian King. 741—987 / 714—824

Louis had fully anticipated his father's death, and he must therefore have been prepared for the journey to Aix-la-Chapelle. They retained a system of posting, less perfect than that which previously prevailed under the Roman Empire, yet regular; nevertheless, he did not reach his destination until the thirtieth day after the event, a particular worth noting, inasmuch as it affords a tolerable estimate of the time required for communication between distant localities. Whilst Louis was absent from the Austrasian Capital, the affairs of government were carried on by the Imperial officers, who had assembled round the expiring Monarch at the Pfaltz of Aix-la-Chapelle—a virtual interregnum, during which they possessed great power. They had full opportunity of organizing any scheme of opposition or advancement, 814. Feb. Journey of Louis from Doué in Anjou to Aix-la-Chapelle.

741–987. 768–814. if such were sought. According to the Frankish constitution, the Archicapellanus, or Chancellor—the Chancery being always held in the Royal Chapel—was chief or prime minister. At the period when Charlemagne died, his Seal, the signet gem displaying the bust of the Emperor crowned with the laurel wreath of Rome, was in the custody of Helisachar, Abbot of Saint Maximin, nigh Trèves. Confidence however is not necessarily annexed to official station. Helisachar enjoyed his dignity, but the Ministers whom Charlemagne trusted, who held the highest place in his favour, whom he considered as the proper guides, the protecting advisers of his children, and who had to receive the new Monarch, were two paternal relations, members of the royal family, the grandsons of Charles Martel, whose remarkable history commences during their early youth in the first years of Charlemagne's reign.

768–770. The early history of Adelhard and Wala, the grandsons of Charles Martel, v. § 6.

§ 13. SUSPENDING our present narrative, and reverting to the genealogy given in a preceding Section, it will be found that the youngest of Charles Martel's six sons was Bernard, Lay-abbot or Count-abbot of Sithiu or St. Quentin. Upon Bernard's death, the Abbey was given to another Lay-abbot or Count-abbot. The name of the immediate successor is uncertain; but the principle of semi-secularization continued. Sithiu was again and again bestowed upon members of the Carlovingian family, and became the nucleus of

the dominion out of which the great County of Vermandois was ultimately formed. Bernard's children, Adelhard and Wala, were received into the Imperial palace, an academy of elegance, good manners and sound learning, where, like the other noble youths fostered in the royal household, they experienced the Sovereign's graciousness and exercised his vigilance. Though useful and kind, yet Charlemagne's scheme of education was connected with State policy. Children thus nurtured, were hostages for the good behaviour of their kindred and connexions; and if the lads displayed any indications of becoming dangerous, means might be taken to prevent their being troublesome to others or themselves. 741—987

768—814: —nurtured in Charlemagne's palace.

Popular traditions represent Bertha, Charlemagne's Mother, *Berthe-aux-grands-pieds*, as a mythic personification of simplicity and love—*il buon tempo quando Berta filava*,—that happy time when Bertha span, will it ever return in ours? Bertha had but one cause of grief with her son Charlemagne, he was not settled to her mind. But the Monarch having agreed to discard his beautiful Consort Himmeltruda, the Queen-mother now attempted the difficult task of providing him with a new Bride, supposing that if the new love were according to her heart, the damsel would be sure to be according to the heart of her son. A joyful season opened upon the Court of Aix-la-Chapelle when

770. Marriage between the daughter of King Desiderius and Charlemagne brought about by Queen Bertha his mother.

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the Queen-mother Bertha returned from Pavia,—the Palace of which the general form is still retraced in the massy quadrangle, flanked by the desolated Visconti towers,—conducting with her that fair one so anxiously sought, her namesake, the young Bertha, daughter of Desiderius, King of Italy, the Lombard King.

The Princess had not been easily won. Scarcely covered at this period by a grudging friendship, the rivalry between the Franks and Lombards may have occasioned the obstacles; but Queen Bertha's persevering anxiety overcame them, and the Frankish nobles sanctioned and confirmed the marriage-compact by their oaths: a proceeding indicating some distrust on the part of Desiderius. When the Lombard Lady reached the dominions of her future husband, and the union was accomplished, the name of *Desiderata* was given to her, doubly appropriate, suggested equally by her father's name and by the sentiments which had brought her there.

Name of the Lombard Princess changed to Desiderata.

This marriage began in wrong and ended in wrong. Himmeltruda his wife, the mother of his eldest son, Pepin-le-bossu, was discarded by Charlemagne's impetuous passions and volatile affection. The Frankish Chroniclers, some kinsmen like Eginhard his son-in-law, and all of them his favourites, his admirers or his friends, speak under their breath concerning these transactions: we get at them obscurely. No colourable pre-

tence is alleged, no allusion made, even to a causeless divorce. Possibly Pepin's deformity was the reason why Charlemagne excluded him, the first-born, from the Throne; and his subsequent rebellion against his father may have been instigated by the injury he and his mother had sustained. A year had scarcely elapsed when Charlemagne, adding evil to evil, deeply grieving his mother and causing his nobles to violate their oaths, put away Desiderata, no longer desired. Childless, she found no favour in her husband's eyes, and Pope Stephen, as we are told, sanctioned the dissolution of the unhappy union. Charlemagne then took another wife, Hildegarda, mother of his three sons, Charles, Pepin King of Italy, and Louis, the Emperor now upon the throne.

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771. Charlemagne repudiates Desiderata, and marries Hildegarda.

Charlemagne may have received some private rebukes from his Clergy, but never did they openly oppose his unbridled indulgence. There are seasons when popular sins are so universally condonated, so attractive, so recommended by national pride, so palliated by fashion, so fascinating to intellect, so intimately conducive to the material interests and resources of society, so thoroughly assimilated into the body politic, that it seems as if the Priesthood must, out of mere charity, yield to the universal hardness of heart: refraining from their duty lest rebuke should aggravate iniquity, by occasioning the worse

741—987 transgression, of sinning against warning and knowledge. Faith failing through irremovable 768—814 ignorance, inveterate habit, or unsurmountable temptation, it appears impossible to correct the perceptions of the sinner, in whom a moral polarization of light has taken place—the black looks couleur-de-rose.

Take home instances, familiar instances, stale, vulgar instances, disagreeable instances, humiliating instances, they shew the truth more clearly. Can we conceive the possibility of any Parochial Minister gifted with the firmness, zeal, kindness, talent and earnestness, which fifty years ago, combining in due proportions, would have enabled him to exhort against wrecking on the Cornish Coast? Did any one incumbent of Newmarket or Epsom ever reprove the crowds who, to their temporal or eternal ruin, so thickly congregate upon the verdant turf of the Heath or the Downs: or chide the pestilential profligacy fostered by the race-course-stand, the betting-room and the roulette-table?—Influence and station may environ the offenders by circumstances which deter all but those who are raised up as special ministers of holiness. Whether a Charles, a James, or a William, listened or were supposed to listen in the Royal Closet, no voice was ever heard from the pulpit of Whitehall which could trouble the lovers of such charmers as Nell Gwynne or Mademoiselle de Querouaille, my Lady Cas-

tlemaine, Mistress Arabella Churchill, Miss Lucy Walters or my Lady Orkney. Ward and Sheldon were lulled into dutiful somnolence. Stillingfleet and Tillotson, waging an uncompromising warfare against Socinian Heresy and Popish corruption, knew nothing whatever of the debaucheries perpetrated by King and Duke, which made the Wapping sailors cry, Shame! The Revolution did not diminish their mildness; and smiling over their velvet cushions, they practised the same toleration towards the phlegmatic amours of him of the "glorious memory." Hoadly, gently creeping up the Palace back-stairs in search of the successive mitres of Bangor, Hereford, Salisbury, and Winchester, and fully impressed with "the unreasonableness of nonconformity" to a Monarch's liaison, never startled during his ascent at the patched and painted Countesses of Yarmouth or of Suffolk, the bulky Baroness Killmansegg, or the gawky Duchess of Kendal.—The awe inspired by Charlemagne, the respect for his active piety and zeal, his personal energy in the good cause, the gratitude earned by his munificence, the prestige of his poetical grandeur, subdued the Clergy into a practical connivance, which would receive a harder name were it not for the indulgence with which man is bound to judge of human infirmity. Nor can we escape from similar examples of moral debility in any era.—Cranmer's docility reflects the accommo- 741—987 768—814

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dation given by Pope Stephen. Desiderata is repeated in Anne of Cleves.

768—814
Adelhard resents the divorce of Desiderata —becomes a monk at Corbey.

Adelhard, young, ardent, conscientious, was rendered indignant by Desiderata's wrongs. Was not Hildegarda an intrusive queen? Could he render to her that respect which his station in the Court required? He spoke loudly, honestly, boldly—spared not the Frankish nobles, reproached them with their flagrant untruth, till at length, sickened and disgusted with the world, he fled its trials and temptations and became a monk in the newly-founded Abbey of Corbey, afterwards called *vieux-Corbey*, near Amiens. You see the Abbey Towers from the parapet of Amiens Cathedral. During Adelhard's noviciate they put him to work in the garden; he became Abbot in course of time, and founded in Westphalia the Monastery called New Corbey, or Corvey, on the banks of the Weser.

774.
Desiderius King of Lombardy, dethroned by Charlemagne, and shorn as a monk at Corbey.

About four years after Adelhard had professed, another fugitive, an unwilling fugitive, a prisoner, found refuge from trouble in the same sanctuary of Corbey. The repudiation of Desiderata had been followed by a war between the aggressive Franks and the yet warlike Lombards. Charlemagne invaded the dominions of Desiderius. The Alpine passes were well though unsuccessfully defended; but a series of victories gave to Charlemagne the Exarchate of Ravenna, the Venetian and Istrian provinces, Spoleto and Benevento,

Parma, Reggio, Mantua, finally Pavia and the whole Lombard Kingdom. Yet it is said that Desiderius was dethroned by treachery, and surrendered by his lieges to Charlemagne, who transported him to France. He was shorn and placed in custody at Corbey, where, after passing many years in penitence and seclusion, he died. Some of the Italian Chroniclers maintain that Charlemagne caused Desiderius to be blinded; but such an unnecessary cruelty we would willingly disbelieve. Thus was the kingdom of Italy acquired, of which, as before mentioned, Pepin had been appointed King. 741—987 768—814

Wala the King's kinsman, continued in the Pfaltz of Aix-la-Chapelle; encouraged and admired; and at the proper age, the Tyro—(we must not commit the anachronism of calling him an Esquire)—was invested with belt and sword. Suddenly the young son of the Count-abbot Bernard roused Charlemagne's suspicion or anger. No reason is stated; but in the Monarch's estimation he had committed some grave offence occasioning stern displeasure, yet tempered by consideration for his youth and merit. Shall we suppose that Wala shared in his brother Adelhard's sentiments, and continued to affront the new Queen?—or another hypothesis may be vaguely suggested. About this period Charlemagne was waging his cruel and exterminating warfare against the old Saxons:—thousands of

Wala falls into disgrace.

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captives made shorter by the head, as his admiring chroniclers relate, in the course of a day; and the historian will scarcely exceed the permitted range of conjecture if he assumes that Wala the Saxon, unable to controul his national feeling, testified his horror against these aggressions. Might not Wala endeavour to raise again the Irminsule, which Charlemagne had cast down?

Wala banished to a royal villa, and employed in servile labour.

Wala was banished to a distant Villa; one of those royal domains, those vast farms which Charlemagne managed with so much prudent care: he was strictly watched, almost treated as a serf, a *theowe* according to the Anglo-Saxon law—a free-born man reduced to thraldom by legal judgment, employed in the meanest labours of husbandry. He had, however, preserved his insignia of dignity; and he followed the plough and drove the wain, girt with belt and sword. While so employed, jolting in his vehicle drawn by bullocks, he chanced to meet a villein, clad in rustic gear. Wala entreated the peasant to exchange:—"Take the belt, take the sword—these decorations," said he, "no more befit me: mean have I become, mean and humble let me be."

Wala and Adelhard restored to Charlemagne's favour.

Here his personal history is suddenly broken off, until, after a chasm of many years, without any indication of intermediate adventures, we find Charles Martel's grandsons highest in Charlemagne's favour.

Count Wala, regaining the honours due to his royal lineage, suddenly reappears as the husband of a noble damsel, daughter of William, Count of Toulouse, that Count William sung and celebrated in minstrelsy and romance as *Guillaume Fierbras*, *Guillaume au Court-Nez*, or *Guillaume d'Orange*, whilst, in the ecclesiastical legends, he is discovered with somewhat more difficulty, under the name of *Guillaume-de-Gellone*, commemorating the monastery founded by him as a Prince, but wherein he died a recluse. 741—987 768—814

Favour flowing in, his utility fully recognized, Wala, stern, determined, pitiless, now continued actively engaged in various departments of the State, commanding Charlemagne's armies, warring against the Slavonians, ambassador to the Pagan Danes. It is interesting to observe the instinctive prescience which led Charlemagne to attempt the conciliation of these enemies. Count Wala was ultimately appointed chief of the royal household: "another Joseph," is the expression used by his Biographer,—*economus totius domus Augusti*,—a dreaded yet equitable judge, "Senator of the Senators, inferior only to Cæsar."

Adelhard much employed in Italy.

Adelhard appears to have been in great measure removed from his monastery; and, diverted from his proper charge to act as a confidential minister, he was much employed by Charlemagne in settling the affairs of Italy. First the fellow monk of Desiderius, and afterwards the Abbot

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of Corbey, he, when Desiderius came within his care and custody, may have gained some useful information from the royal captive, qualifying him for the administration of the conquered territory. Pepin having assumed the government of Lombardy, Adelhard accompanied him as Chief Justiciar. Judgments given by him in that capacity are extant: his authority was so great that he may be considered as virtually associated to the King.

Wala employed also in Italy by Charlemagne.

Wala was also often sent to Italy: he and Adelhard were successively or alternately entrusted with the guidance of Pepin's successor in the kingdom, his son Bernard, that grandchild whom Charlemagne peculiarly loved, assisting him by their advice, or more probably governing in his name. Wala resided with Bernard during the last year of Charlemagne's reign. A Saracen invasion then threatened Italy, and his aid and counsel were eminently needed, but he was recalled by the encreasing feebleness of the Emperor. Count Wala is one of the witnesses of Charlemagne's Will: he took charge of the palace when the Emperor expired, and it was there that the Senator of the Senators was found by Louis-le-débonnaire.

781—814 Louis King of Aquitaine.

§ 14. Louis had three sons by his first wife Hermengarda (she was the daughter of Ingelram Count of Hasbaye), Lothair, Pepin, and Louis: a fourth was afterwards born to him by a second

consort; he also had three daughters—Gisela, married to Everard Count of Friuli, an Adelaide, (perhaps also bearing some other name)—and Hildegard. Count Everard was the father of King Berengarius, *il Rè Berengario*, so well recollected at Monza and Milan, who acquired Italy, when, upon the deposition of Charles-le-gros, that realm was lost to the Carlovingian dynasty. 741—987 768—814

Louis, as King of Aquitaine, attained experience and wisdom, and earned universal love and respect. Charlemagne's teaching and Charlemagne's care had turned to excellent account. An Aquitanian by birth-place and nurtured in that country, Louis, from his youth upwards, had been the object of delight and admiration: he had subdued the fiery Vascons by his grace, his talent and adaptability, conforming himself to their national customs, assuming their garb: a gracious King and discreet withal, liberal in hand, liberal in mind, but maintaining his authority by intellect, strenuousness and justice.

Varied talents of Louis-le-débonnaire.

He inherited his father's love for literature, and had eagerly profited by the education which Charlemagne bestowed. Louis was an excellent Latin scholar, and well acquainted with the Greek language. He delighted in the Poets and Rhetors of the classical age;—the most humble, most pleasantly-minded, most promising amongst Charlemagne's children, holy men had fondly designated him as fittest for the succession; the one

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likeliest to flourish as a happy, and a happiness-bestowing Sovereign. Such expectations had circled widely:—were talent, good intentions and sincerity always sure to profit, his deeds would have justified the anticipations. King of Aquitaine, Louis assembled his Cour Plenière at Toulouse; and the Capitol of that ancient municipality, so noble amongst the adopted daughters of Rome, became his palace. Three days in each week he devoted to the administration of the law, and his sage decisions were replete with equity. Louis was bold and energetic as well as wise: no archer drew the bow with greater strength, no huntsman chasing the tusked boar could dart the Mozarabic *javalina*,—the weapon still named from the animal against which it was employed,—with more unerring skill.

Energy and wisdom displayed by Louis as King of Aquitaine.

Bravely did Louis encounter the wild and resentful Avars. Charlemagne subsequently placed him at the head of the army destined to repel the Infidels: the Saracens fled, Barcelona surrendered before him. Those who recollected Charlemagne at the same age of thirty-six years, when the last bloom of youth had been succeeded by the full fruit of manhood, might have said that the son vied with the father in worth, cultivation, prowess and valour. Had he died King of Aquitaine, he would have shone amongst the best and most illustrious monarchs in French history.

§ 15. Louis upon his accession to the Empire did not disappoint the promises given by the pleasant manner, piety and conscientiousness of the Aquitanian King. Imitating his predecessor Antoninus, the new Emperor accepted the cognomen of *Pius*—perhaps bestowed upon him by the Clergy or the Pope—and stamped the appellation upon his coins. The people called him "*le débonnaire*," a name perpetuated by tradition; for, so far as we have ascertained, this epithet of *le débonnaire* never appears in writing until employed by the Monks of St. Denis, in their vernacular Chronicle. Archæologists may possibly discover it lurking in some inedited *Chanson de geste*, some Romance poem of the Trouveurs.

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814. Conduct of Louis-le-débonnaire as Emperor.

Earnest childlike faith was the peculiar characteristic of Louis-le-débonnaire. Commiserated for this reason by historians, termed, rather in disparagement than in praise, the Saint Louis of the ninth century, his lot was cast in a dark and troubled era, teeming with negligences and abuses. History can only display the human economy of the Spiritual Empire, therefore always full of frailties and disorders, her ministers and members lingering, halting, yielding, flinching, failing, falling off.—

— The Church, though no part of the world, is included in the world. Her members, so long as they are militant, must tread upon the world's paths—aye, even in the desert of the Thebais—

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live in the world's atmosphere, and breathe the world's ambient air. Amongst the Great, the garments of the Sainted Princess will be redolent of her boudoir essences and cassolette perfumes: amongst the Humble, the raiments of God's servants smell of the hovel's sordidness, the littered stable, the smoky forge. The rich man, though truly seeking heaven, will occasionally stumble against his money-bags. The poor man, though truly contrite, listens to the Pastor's exhortations with unconscious selfishness and the asking glance of hunger. Pervading faith dignifies the meanest objects. Civilization imparts to the holiest her admixture of utilitarianism and unreality. All communions partake of the taint.—Albertus Magnus is supposed by some to have been the inventor of Gothic architecture. How grimly would his ghost behold his Cologne Cathedral, completed by the tributary fantasies of romantic æstheticism, or the contributions coaxed from Teutonic belles and beaux by the English-taught *Dombau-verein* at the Bazaar and the Fancy Fair.—

The ecclesiastical reforms of Louis-le-débonnaire.

In the Middle Ages, the Clergy were compelled by their duties to engage actively in the rougher concerns of the world, and these hard necessities were constantly conflicting with the internal life whence all their actions ought to spring. The inestimable temporal benefits bestowed by Religion upon mankind, often tempt even the right-minded to consider the Church as approximating

to an engine of State policy, not entirely a State engine, but much of the same sort: a good help to the Empire's wealth, credit, progress, security and commercial prosperity. A discreet hint that "Church extension" may co-operate in keeping up the price of Consols occasionally breathes amidst the appalling statistics of chartism and "spiritual destitution" in the great manufacturing towns: the concurrently-encreasing demand for cotton goods and Christianity has been joyfully proclaimed from the Missionary platform. The gratitude due to Charlemagne's ample munificence, sometimes induced the conscientious amongst the Sacerdotal Order to sad compromises of principle: the patron and founder of so many Abbeys and Bishopricks never scrupled to employ his foundations in his own way.

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"Trovata la legge, trovato l'inganno:" says the Italian proverb;—we would quote in English could we find a parallel adage; the good law immediately suggests the evasion: the most salutary institutions are most susceptible of malversations; and this was eminently the case with the monastic institutions of the Middle Ages. At the very period when, if sincerely administered, their workings were so signally and extensively useful and beneficent — calm regions amidst the tumults of the world, homes for the destitute, solaces to the poor, comforts to the afflicted, schools of industry and learning—

The great abuse of bestowing Abbeys as lay benefices.

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they had to contend against the secular power which bestowed their possessions, honoured their position, and recognized their transcendant importance in society.

Prince Eugène Abbot of San' Michele in Chiusa, &c.

We can best exemplify the Carlovingian corruptions by contemplating a Great Commander on Blenheim field. If you ascended the rock of Chiusa, and reached the mysterious tower of San' Michele, where you passed between the ranged corpses, stationed as warders of the portal sculptured with zodiacal signs, and asked for the Abbot, the Monks informed you that you would find him in Marlborough's camp, for it was as *Monseigneur l'Abbé de Savoie* that Prince Eugène made his earliest campaigns, he being at that time Commendatory Abbot of that and another of the most venerable monasteries of ancient Lombardy, situated in the district to which, from its position, the name of "Piedmonte" was subsequently assigned. Such were the "Lay-Abbots" whom we have so often noticed, who held the most important monasteries in the Carlovingian Gauls,—a motley groupe,—stout soldiers, clever statesmen, delicate young princes, half-acknowledged husbands of princesses, or husbands fully declared, courtiers, most in favour with the monarch, partizans, who were to be conciliated by favours, or claimants who were to be pacified,—constituted the class who usually obtained these excellent pieces of preferment, which in many respects were more advan-

tageous than any secular domain. Sometimes these Abbots Commendatory were in minor orders, but very frequently mere laymen, like those we have already noticed of Sithiu or Centulla. Outwardly the Abbey did not appear to be changed. You heard of an Abbot as you now do of the noble or reverend "Master" of this or that "Hospital," realizing the fines and rents according to the valuations and currency of Queen Victoria, and staving off the "Brethren," by tendering their stipends in the nominal pence of Plantagenet.— The Count was not in the Abbey, he might be fighting against the Northmen, or enjoying himself in the palace: truly there was a Prior presiding in the refectory, and the monks were chanting in the choir, but the real spirit of the institution was of course fleeting away. How earnestly the Church laboured to counteract these monstrous misappropriations, by dauntless assertion of her lawful power, faith, energy, and diligence, cannot here be told. It may be a question whether an ecclesiastical foundation given to a secular man is more secularized than when held by a Priest whose spirit is secular. There is not much to choose; nevertheless, the evil was enormous: amongst all the pious-minded the practice excited great sorrow and scandal, whilst, protected by so many interests, it was most inaccessible to reform. 741—987 814—840

A partial remedy, but satisfactory as far as

741—987 814—840 the measure extended, was applied by Louis. The duties annexed to the possessions and lands held by monastic communities, received an adjustment throughout a large portion of the Empire by the following distribution. Fourteen monasteries were to contribute to the *Dona* or gifts, and perform military service: sixteen were to be charged only with gifts; whilst the duty of praying for the welfare of the Emperor and his children and the Empire, was accepted by the State in full discharge of the obligations imposed upon the remainder. The division of Church-lands into lands held by Knight's service,—lands contributing to aids and subsidies,—and lands held in *frank almoigne*, prevailed subsequently in England as a portion of our constitutional Law. It was unquestionably recognized in the Anglo-Saxon Empire; but this is the earliest instance of a clear and definite legislation upon a subject which had great influence on the political position of the Clergy.

Classification and settlement of Abbatial tenures.

814—820 Heavy and vexatious taxes were remitted by Louis: he restrained the impudent gallantry of his beautiful sisters sternly but not unkindly. Obeying his father's earnest injunction, his three young brothers, Hugh, Drogo and Thierry, were cherished in the Palace, educated and cared for, as though they had been his own sons.

Good beginning of the reign of Louis-le-débonnaire.

Economical in his household, but liberal and unsparing on all occasions when dignity required

expenditure and munificence, he appeared on the throne in the full splendour of Imperial Majesty —all his garments were cloth of gold. So far as depended upon his own intentions and exertions, he maintained the civil and military dignity of the Empire,—he numbered at one prosperous era more vassals than his father. Nevertheless the heart of Louis became more and more alienated from the world: all about him were wont to remark, that the example which he afforded rendered him a true model for the Priesthood—perhaps a rebuke to the ordinary character of a King.

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His alienation from the world.

Tastes, more stubborn than principles, less susceptible of change, yielded to devotional feeling.—His fondness for that elegant literature in which, thanks to his father's care, he was so well versed, declined and ceased. The poets and rhetors of classical antiquity were neglected, and at length utterly cast aside for the study of Holy Scripture. Even the heroic legends of the Frankish race, the ancient and barbarous lays which told the tales of Hildebrand or Hathubrand, the doughty deeds of primeval warriors and fabled kings collected by Charlemagne, were more than discarded by Louis; for he destroyed the precious volume on account of the memorials of ancient heathenism perpetuated in the national song. This proscription was not the result of a blind or ignorant zeal: Louis appreciated the inestimable worth which poetry in-

Louis-le-débonnaire abandons classical literature for the study of the Holy Scriptures.

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volves; and whilst he laboured to extirpate the productions shunned by him as the vehicles of evil, he sought to enlist the gift of verse and the endearing associations of national language in the service of the Lord.

Philology has been singularly enriched through this direction of his mind. It chanced that amongst the Continental Saxons a Husbandman exhibited a sudden development of poetic power, so high, so transcendant in the judgment of his own time and people, that the talent was ascribed to inspiration; another Cædmon in the Anglo-Saxon's ancient Fatherland. This Bard, this *Vates*, as he is termed by the contemporary writers, was invited by Louis to interpret the whole of the Old and New Testament in the Teutonic tongue; and the paraphrase which he composed in alliterative staves, —being, with the exception of one fragment, the only example existing in Germany of that ancient measure,—acquired the greatest praise and popularity from its clearness and elegance. A portion of this remarkable linguistic monument, comprehending a metrical harmony of the Gospels, exists in the celebrated *Codex Cottonianus*, the *Liber Aureus*, once deemed the most valuable treasure of the renowned Collector to whom it formerly belonged, as well as of the national Repository in which the Manuscript is now contained.

Metrical version of the Holy Scriptures made under the dictation of Louis-le-débonnaire.

Codex Cottonianus or *Liber Aureus* in the British Museum, a portion of such version.

§ 16. Louis-le-débonnaire, humiliated before

the altar, is perhaps already prejudged by the historical student.—Let that judgment be rectified. It is a happiness in our own British Empire possessed by no other nation, that the great constitutional maxim, "The King can do no wrong," has ceased to be a metaphor. Governing according to Law, not merely the written Law, but the equally binding unwritten law, resulting from the usages and traditions of the British Empire, the silent legislation effected by practice, compromise, decorum, etiquette, official obedience and official form, the Sovereign is released from the performance of those public or political acts of prerogative or government which involve moral responsibility.

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British Constitution. The Sovereign in all acts of Government exonerated from moral responsibility as a Sovereign.

In our Empire, "the people are in no subjection, but such as they willingly have condescended unto for their own behoof and security." The wearer of the British Crown is "major singulis, universis minor."—As Ruler of that British Empire, the person of the British Sovereign merges in the person of the Ministers, and the moral responsibility of the Ruler, when executing such acts, becomes the burthen of those Ministers, most happily for the security of the commonwealth and the peace of the Sovereign's mind: the liability incurred by the nation is refracted through so many media, that it is dispersed before reaching the foot of the throne. To the voice, the influence, the power of the people expressed or exercised in

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Parliament, the Sovereign conforms. The law enjoins such conformity. Should a British Sovereign ever dream of regaining the perilous prerogative abandoned by the last who wrote himself "King of England"—the prerogative which William the Third possessed, exercised, and then reluctantly surrendered for ever—the dangerous venture of answering *Le Roi s'avisera*, in refusal of the national demand, then the constitutional monarchy would expire. But by our Sovereign's obedience to the law, the responsibility is cast upon the ranks and orders of the people, Archbishops, Bishops, Dukes, Marquisses, Earls, Viscounts, Barons, Knights, Citizens and Burgesses in Parliament assembled; and most of all, upon those whose votes and voices sent the Commons there. If the Rulers commit a wrong, it is instigated and sanctioned by the monarchy of the middle classes. If any legislative act or proceeding offend against our duties, the sin is lying at our own doors.

Greater moral responsibility of Monarchs in the mediæval period.

But where this repartition and diffusion of authority does not subsist, the Sovereign is exposed to grievous temptations: a hint may pervert justice, a smile wrest the laws for his own gratification, a frown be the cause of hunting down a State offender with implacable cruelty; and in such a state of society as subsisted in the mediæval period, the desire to remove a troublesome opponent may be expressed so emphatically, that the ruffian courtier cannot fail to construe

the anticipation into a command. If roused to repentance, should the King feel that he guided the murderers, become convinced that he is accountable for his own sin, and therefore impute to himself his own rash words, is it his duty to harden himself, or to testify penitence as open as the crime, and to seek mercy? 741—987 814—840

Louis-le-débonnaire, accused by his own conscience, followed the dictate, and found comfort in humiliation; faith solaced his misfortunes. Yet these misfortunes have been perversely imputed to his faith. Obedience to the dictates of religion was the predominating sentiment by which Louis was actuated; and Historians, arguing from his example, have been tempted to raise the question, whether the piety of the man may not be a pernicious debility in the Sovereign. The fine gold destined for the vessels of the Sanctuary has not, as they say, hardness enough to stand the wear and tear of human commerce: the needful strength must be given by the baser alloy.

Dwelling, as we do, in twilight, always in the shadow of death, it is often difficult to discriminate Faith and Superstition, or, in judging others, to pronounce that their apparent conviction is a cover for delusion. Nevertheless, in the case of Louis-le-débonnaire, we may convince ourselves that it was not the excess of faith, but the human accompaniment, inconsistency, which, through this one individual, confirmed the ruin

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of the great Carlovingian Empire; and this inconsistency was the result of one defect in his moral or physical character, a minor failing, which under other contingencies would have been harmless, but in his political destiny became over-ruling. Neither physiology nor psychology can decide whether this defect be occasioned through the body or through the mind; being that which in ordinary and colloquial language (the best exponent of social experience) is called "nervous timidity." Louis never shrank from present danger; rarely, and perhaps but once, did he allow his passive courage to submit to present suffering; but the future appalled his imaginative mind. Shadows were his dread. Sometimes he would support himself by the advice of his counsellors, wholly throwing himself upon their opinions; sometimes, and more dangerously, he would be wholly guided by his own, and his very irresolution urged him to acts of harshness, nay cruelty, which his soul abhorred.

Nervous timidity the over-ruling defect in the character of Louis-le-débonnaire.

§ 17. The circumstances of the Carlovingian Empire, when the Imperial power devolved upon Louis, were calculated to try him to the utmost, to search his conscience, to prove his heart, to discipline him by contrariety and affliction. Humanly speaking, nothing but the heroic virtue of unsparing firmness, reckless determination of purpose screwed to the highest pitch, could have resisted the combination of difficulties and dan-

Contrast between the situation of Louis King of Aquitaine and Louis the Emperor.

gers and treasons against which the Sovereign had to contend. 741—987. 814—840

Louis could not recollect the time when he had not been King of Aquitaine. Just turned two years of age, Pope Adrian baptized and crowned him upon the same day. Borne in his cradle from Rome to Aquitaine, the infant was exhibited to the people, held and steadied by the groom-nurse on the ambling steed. He had grown up as a King; and all the recollections of the Aquitanian reign were pleasurable—this exalted situation had brought out all his good qualities, restrained the development of his failings. Married young and happily to Hermengarda whom he loved and trusted, his conduct had, if tried by the ordinary standard of the era, been exemplarily correct: he enjoyed all the state and privileges annexed to royalty, exercised the most ennobling functions of a Sovereign, the administration of justice and mercy, and participated in all the excitements of war without sustaining any wearing anxieties. There was no rivalry between Charlemagne and Louis, no jealousy or grudge between father and son. Louis depended upon his father: submission to paternal authority was to him a privilege and a gain. Charlemagne's gigantic power and celebrity diffused protection throughout the Empire; and Louis, though ruling in his own territory as an independent and national King, was exalted by his

781. Baptism and Coronation of Louis-le-debonnaire.

781—814. Prosperity of Louis when King of Aquitaine.

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subjection to the Imperial Crown. Charlemagne's experience, opulence and armies, ever ready to succour or support him, guarded him from all apprehension of danger.

Far otherwise when Louis was thrown upon his own resources, himself the Emperor, supreme in dominion, seated upon a throne which invited retribution. The sword was never to depart from the House of Charles Martel, and Louis felt it piercing his heart. The exulting legend "*Renovatio Regni Francorum*," graced by the laurel-wreath of Rome, appears upon the imperial signet of Louis, but there was no youthful vitality. Brief had been the period of Carlovingian domination, yet the Imperial authority had reverted to the decrepitude of the Lower Empire, the debility of antiquity without its privileges. The Carlovingian Empire was utterly destitute of the consolidation resulting from long-practised constitutional usages, maxims admitted as self-evident truths, undiscussed cogencies, principles learnt without a teacher: the sanctity which time alone can impart, an element uncreateable by human intellect or power. On the contrary, the royal authority was infirm from the commencement: all the traditions of the past were hostile, whatever precedents memory could furnish were melancholy and painful, suggestive of disquiet, uncertainty, moral and political crime.

Moral debility of the Frankish Empire.

Louis-le-débonnaire was well versed in his-

tory; and if he consulted the chronicles of the realm, such as were treasured at Tours or Saint Denis, he would find them saturated with evil, memorials of evil, lessons of evil; a faithless nation, wild and profligate, fierce to others, fiercer amongst themselves; loyalty an unknown sentiment, a people sharing and rejoicing in the atrocities of their sovereigns. The sovereigns, a lineage void of natural affection: the name of their traditionary ancestor, *Wahrmund*, "the mouth of truth," being a constant satire against them: false and fickle, love restrained them not nor consanguinity—some basely vicious, others wantoning in cruelty, indulged until that cruelty became a morbid appetite or rather insanity; children visited for their father's sins, and yet unchastened by the punishment, and preparing, by their own sins, the same inflictions for their progeny. 741—987 814—840

§ 18. DESTITUTE even of the conventional apologies for national iniquity are the Merovingian annals, exhibiting, as they recede before us, a weary display of wickedness without grandeur, dull and inglorious, unadorned by any of the attributes through which splendid villany is redeemed in history. Glance merely at the succession:—Dagobert son of Sigebert murdered by the Austrasian nobles:—Childeric, the son of the second Clovis, his queen and children, slaughtered in like manner by their aristocracy:—Dagobert, Crimes of the Merovingians. 679. 673. 638.

741—987 the first Dagobert, whose talent renders his stains more visible, wallowing in outrageous profligacy,
814—840 murdering his nephew Chilperic the son of Cha-
613. ribert to secure his spoil: — Brunhilda, sister,
576—584. mother and grandmother of Kings, torn to pieces by wild horses, and her grandchildren slain by the second Clothaire:—Chilperic concurring in the
575 assassination of his brother Sigebert:—encouraged by Fredegonda in those dire inflictions of torture which caused him to be named the Nero of the Franks, and perishing by the murderous devices of that same Fredegonda:—Clothaire the first and Childebert, brothers, incestuous, merciless, warring against each other, and then uniting
526. in the butchery of their nephews, the infant sons of their brother Clodomir; he, Clothaire, stabbing the imploring children, dashing them to the ground as they shriek for mercy, causing his own son,
560. Chramnus, his wife and children, to be burnt alive, and, stricken himself by death on the year and the day after that day of horror.—Clovis, the founder of the monarchy, pre-eminent in deceit and ferocity; consolidating his dominion by the luxury of treachery and crime, planning the destruction of his own relations, like the hunstman surrounding his prey, enjoying equally the sport
497—510. and the slaughter, causing the death of Sigebert by the hands of his own son Cloderic, and entrapping the parricide to destruction: King Chararic slain, King Ragnacharius slain, King Richarius slain,

King Rignomer slain, Theodoric slain, Guntheric slain—all the members of the Merovingian race extirpated, until Clovis, standing alone amidst the corpses, becomes the sole representative of the lineage. All the previous long-haired Kings, all their kindred exterminated by him in whom the Franks exult as their glory. 741—987 814—840

§ 19. SMITTEN by their own iniquities, the Merovingians had passed away, they had received their chastisement; but, if turning from the contemplation of that race, Louis studied the deeds of his ancestors, weighed their own responsibilities, investigated his own title and judged his own claim to the throne, his conscience must have been equally grieved, and his mind even more disturbed. Crimes of the Carlovingians.

Time was beginning to sanction the possession of authority: three generations had succeeded, yet each was saddened by remorse. If Louis recollected his brother Pepin, it was as a proclaimed rebel against their father Charlemagne, a prisoner who had wasted away in the Monastery of Pruhm, apparently a parricide in intent; and if Pepin was in any wise rendered excusable by their father's conduct towards the repudiated Himeltruda, this extenuation only inflicted another and additional pang. Furthermore, how had Charlemagne dealt with his own infant nephews, who could tell how the *parvuli* had disappeared?

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When Louis consulted the great Charter by which Charlemagne had divided his Empire, the words read like a record of condemnation—*placuit nobis præcipere, ut nullus eorum per quaslibet occasiones, quemlibet ex illis apud se accusatum, sine justa discussione atque examinatione, aut occidere, aut membris mancare, aut excæcare, aut invitum tondere faciat*—Charlemagne and Carloman, and Pepin-le-bref had all transgressed the precepts of benignity and justice thus dictated. Charlemagne collected the future from the past: he anticipated that his descendants would commit the crimes of which he and his brother and his father had given them the precedents, vainly endeavouring to fence against evil by a phrase. So it fares with the Testator and his counsel, the memory of the speaker and his words effaced by his bequest, or, more affrontingly, remembered only as nullities—the delusions of the Tombstone and the Grave.

Ascend a grade higher in the family history: no resting-place of comfort could Louis find there—Carloman his uncle, and his own grandsire Pepin, cruelly persecuting their brother Gripho from youth to adolescence, from adolescence till death—Charles Martel, henceforward to be honoured as their heroic founder, how was he to be appreciated, according to conscience or to law?—Louis derived his authority through predecessors who gradually established

themselves by a usurpation of the most odious complexion; the sly dependant defrauding his patron; servants bearing rule over their masters; ministers stealing away the confidence of the people from their Sovereign, a dominion grounded upon domestic treachery and disloyalty. Each Majordomus, each Mayor of the Palace, justified the improvement of his opportunities by the example of his predecessors. These Mayors of the Palace were not all of the same race, but they all pursued the same scheme, until the Merovingian dynasty was finally subverted by the people pronouncing sentence against a lineage, who, through their accumulated depravities, their sloth, their follies, had forfeited the throne. 741—987 814—840

§ 20. THEOLOGIANS have been accustomed to remark that there is no such thing as a new heresy: every erroneous doctrine, apparently new, say they, is only the repetition of an earlier error, brought forth under a new aspect, expressed more clearly or more obscurely, the venom enfeebled or more mortiferous, offered with some slight modification, or may be with none. In the main, the proposition is incontestable, yet incompletely enounced: it must not be confined to the dogmas of theology nor employed invidiously, but extended to all the doctrines and opinions, salutary or mischievous, sound or unsound, right or wrong, of the human mind. It is a universal intellectual proposition. Physiological science

Revolutionary opinions, their antiquity in France.

741—987 has ascertained, almost to the astonishment of
814—840 the observers, that notwithstanding all the varieties of the children of Adam, their contrasts of colour or differences in conformation, mould of skull or shape of bone, or even in the texture of tissues or membranes, their blood is identical. Amongst all the millions and millions of mankind, the elements, proportions and magnitudes of serum and globule, the fluid and solid composing the mysterious vehicle of life, present an absolutely invariable and homogeneous unity; the blood is one; and the life-blood is the type of the living soul.

Whatever may be either the advantages which the inbreathed spirit receives from physical causes or moral relations, or the disadvantages resulting from these bonds, our intellectual nature is also invariable and homogeneous. Whatever man has thought, man will think: whatever he now imagines he has imagined. Man's imaginations may be translated into various dialects, but however multifarious in nomenclature they convey the same meaning; there neither is nor can be anything new under the sun. It is a hazardous encomium to claim for any thought or invention the merit of originality: a very uncertain mode of bestowing praise; but far more hazardous to rail at any political doctrine or dogma as an innovation. Oxford Convocation condemned as impious the doctrine of the popular origin of royal autho-

rity. Did her Heads of houses recollect that the political philosophy of Locke had been previously taught by Hooker; and how much earlier?—Take the following uncomplimentary portraiture of the model King. It is not quoted from Mirabeau or Lafayette, but from the *Roman de la Rose.* 741–987 814–840

Lors convint que l'en esgardât
Aucun qui les loyes gardât,
Et qui les maufeiteurs preist
Et droit as plaintifz en feist,
Ne nuls ne l'osast contredire,
Lors s'assemblerent pour élire.
Ung grant vilain entre eus eslurent
Le plus ossu de quanqu'il furent,
Le plus corsu et le greignor
Si le firent prince et seignor.

§ 21. WHILST we assert the continuity of ancient and modern principle, there is nevertheless a wide diversity in modes of argument. Locke stands in the zone of intellectual progress which connects and yet separates the ancient and the modern reasoners: the former, however contradictory their doctrines or discrepant in their Creeds, substantially agreed in supporting their inductions by an appeal to Holy Scriptures. Too often have the advocates of that doctrine, which, in the language of our political philosophy is termed the "Divine right of Kings," been swerved by self-interested adulation: their opponents by faction and self-will. Nevertheless, whilst admitting and deploring these wrestings of truth, the greater part of the mutually antagonistic

Doctrines of Divine right and popular origin of Monarchy.

741—987 advocates must be equally named with reverence:
few without respect. Nor should we harshly
814—840 censure those, who, enveloped in the calamities of their times, boldly asserted their principles by appealing to the sword.

Let us refrain from hard words against Roundhead or Cavalier, Papist or Protestant, Covenanter or Royalist, Whigamore or Tory.—Piety, zeal, intelligence, sincerity, employed in the investigation of questions so vitally important to human society, courage exerted, suffering endured, death faced on the field or welcomed on the scaffold, torture, poverty, exile, contumely, all braved in defence of loyalty or liberty, faith or nationality, should have moderated even the rancour of an enemy. Nor would it be difficult to allay the miserable and besetting bitterness of political and theological antipathies, an affliction to those who entertain it and a snare to their consciences, seducing them into worse errors than the misdeeds they reprobate, could we, but for once, cast ourselves into the heart and mind of the men whose destiny has compelled them to take a side in any civil dissension, when the conflict becomes practical in human society. How idle, how thoughtless, how cruel, are then such bandied terms as "base servility" or "unnatural treason." Are the lacerations of feeling which the duty of making a choice under such exigencies imposes, adequately appreciated by the fortunate who are

spared the pangs?—Do we sufficiently feel the blessing of not having been Englishmen when the royal standard was unfurled at Nottingham—not having been Scotsmen when Charles Edward landed—not having been Irishmen of the Irish after the battle of the Boyne? 741—987 814—840

§ 22. THE DOCTRINE of the "Divine right of Kings," has been rendered, in a manner, odious from its illogical, and let us be permitted to add, erroneous connexion with the doctrine of unconditional submission, whilst another misapprehension, equally fruitful in rancour and discord, arises from the circumstance that the same truth may be so presented as to convey entirely contradictory meanings. Supposing you wish to exemplify to a child the form of convexity, and for that purpose you trace a curved line on the paper before you, it will answer your intent; but you may equally employ the same curved line to suggest the idea of concavity: the curvature is concave or convex as you look to it on this side or on that side. Point to the segment of the circle on the right side, it is convex, on the left it is concave. It is one and the other, both or either—the truth of your assertion depends upon the position of your finger or the glance of your eye. The apparently opposite doctrines of the derivation of monarchy from divine right, and the foundation of monarchy upon popular assent, are one and the same,—divine, if you look up to Heaven, earthly, if you Divine right of Kings.

741—987 view the monarch amongst his equals before God,
814—840 from whose obedience, working out a counsel which is not their own, royal authority obtains its existence.

The mutual obligations of rulers and people are taught in that Book which teaches all other duties; but the precepts which require justice and righteousness from the Sovereign, are no less emphatic than the precepts enjoining reverence and obedience to the subject; equally stringent on both. The tyrannical sovereign shares the sin of the subject whom he provokes to resistance; the perverse subject, the guilt of the sovereign whom he tempts to illegal tyranny. No fair reasoning can extort from Holy Writ the condemnation of any of the various modes through which government is exercised as an ordinance. No exclusive sanction is given to individual monarchy. However appointed or constituted, the powers that be receive their delegation from the same Source, a delegation equally imparted to the ostentatious simplicity of democracy and to the purple canopy and golden crown. All govern by the grace of God, however that grace may be misused, however obstinately its very existence may be denied. Though you expunge the acknowledgment from the Monarch's style, it continues written in the eternal Charter. But to designate any one form of civil government as the sole medium of Divine Right, thereby

refusing that sanction to all others, is a pre- 741—987
sumption which has disparaged Divine Truth, 814—840
and tempted the people to suspect that Faith is invoked invidiously and craftily, for the purpose of aiding the policy of man. The teaching of our Churchmen has too often destroyed the impressions of their sincerity. A Sextipartite Homily against wilful rebellion, unbalanced by a single text of warning to the rulers, betrays the cause of lawful authority.

Nevertheless, it must be acknowledged that monarchy, hereditary according to primogeniture, the elder preferred before the younger, appears more conformable to the spirit of the Divine Law than democratic institutions. The pre-eminences and rights given to the first-born, the promise that, as a reward, dominion shall be continued to children and children's children, support this opinion. Moreover, strict hereditary succession takes the nomination of the ruler entirely out of man's hand; for this institution renders the agency of man subservient to the irrevocable past, leaving, as far as human will can be said to possess the power of assent, the appointment to the Supreme Disposer of events. And, practically, men feel it a mercy to be exonerated from the labour of exercising such a power of appointment. No theory can be more plausible than that of election, yet, in the long run, this theory always fails: nations are tired out by it,

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they abandon the responsibility. As far as History is known, all democracies,—that is to say, the absolutism of the majority over the minority—all elective Sovereignties, with few apparent but no real exceptions, ultimately ruin the Commonwealth, or condense themselves into hereditary sovereignty.

Difficulties of the position of Louis upon his accession.

§ 23. CONTEMPLATING his affairs simply as a Statesman, putting conscience out of the question, the political difficulties encompassing Louis-le-débonnaire were manifold: they wrapped him round. Whatever precedents he could find in past history,—and more useful teachers than his Orosius and his Saint Augustine, no Monarch could have enjoyed—they only encreased his perplexity. The new and yet crumbling Carlovingian Empire was destitute of any constitutional principles to which you could appeal even in theoretical discussion. It was an untapestried Hall; the bowing walls freshly built with untempered mortar. There was no approximation to any code or canon, whereby the descent, transmission or acquisition of supreme authority could be regulated. Popular assent seemed to be almost the only principle definitely enounced. Try to discover any certainty from their annals.—

No Canon of inheritance established in the Carlovingian Empire.

Had any son the right to represent his father? Was there any privilege attached to primogeniture? any prerogative given to seniority? and if so, did the right or preference die with the party

or pass on to his progeny? And here Louis-le-débonnaire was driven upon the practical question, Could King Bernard, the son of Pepin, his elder brother, be deprived of Pepin's rights? Was not Bernard the lawful successor to the supremacy, either in right of seniority or as the ruler of Italy? Was Rome to be subservient to Aix-la-Chapelle? and to whom did Rome's sovereignty appertain? Had the Duchy of Rome reverted to the Kingdom of Italy, or was it annexed to the Imperial title? Louis took the Crown from off the Altar: the Franks shouted *Vivat Imperator Ludovicus!* but was he really Emperor? Could Charlemagne of his own authority empower Louis to assume the Imperial diadem? The very foundation of the *Emperor* Charlemagne's authority was the previous recognition of the *Patrician* Charlemagne by the Roman people; and when he received the diadem from the Pontiff, Leo spoke equally as the representative of the *gens togata*, the worthless, though legitimate inheritors of the Eternal City, and as the spiritual head of Western Christendom.

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Imperial title of Louis hitherto dubious.

But there were deeper griefs and more gnawing. Could Louis prognosticate the destiny preparing for his three sons? the eldest, Lothair, a youth, the youngest, Louis, a mere child. How could he secure to them their share of dominion? nay more, their liberty, their lives? Louis-le-débonnaire entertained a morbid anticipation of

741—987 early death, and were his children to be left to their cousin King Bernard's mercies?

814—819 Whatever way Louis reasoned concerning himself, his family, or his sovereignty, he only argued in a circle which brought him back to uncertainty. If the Frankish Sovereign possessed an indefeasible right, then his own ancestors were usurpers; but if the Sovereigns were amenable to the nation, then the proud, the versatile, the treacherous Franks, the ruling and predominant caste, might at any time, upon cause pretended or found, make him share the fate of the last Merovingians. Charles Martel had been accepted as the *gros vilain*, able to keep the peace; but if he, Louis, failed, or was thought to fail, why should not the Franks look out for another *gros vilain*, whose thews and sinews would be more adequate to the duty required; and those who might organize the revolution were close at hand. Upon the highest steps of the estrade, next to the throne itself, there stood the Senator of the Senators, the Administrator of the realm, another Major-domus, a descendant of Charles Martel, with Charles Martel's energy,—Count Wala; and he, supported by his brother Adelhard, the rigid, stern and inflexible enforcer of justice. Louis, distrustful of his own judgment, always ended by being at the disposal of his advisers, and his chief adviser, Hermengarda, his wife, his Queen.

Without accusers, without witnesses, without

trial, without any definite charge, contrary to the rights of the Frankish nobles, the privileges of the Church or natural equity, Louis, yielding to the counsellors who abused his confidence, caused Abbot Adelhard to be arrested, and sent to the island of Hero or Hermoutier, off the coast of Poitou, below the estuary of the Loire, where he was kept in vile captivity. Count Wala was seized, compelled to become a monk, and thrust into the cloister of Corbey, and his wife, the daughter of Count William of Toulouse, from whom he was thus separated, also confined in a monastery. There is some difficulty in ascertaining her name, but it seems that she was afterwards cruelly drowned as a witch in the Saône. The other members of the family were involved in the same proscription; Bernard or Bernarius, the younger brother, transported as a convict to the island of Lerins in the Mediterranean, and their sister Gundreda, a lady of the Royal Household, enforced to take the veil. The persecution of such harmless individuals shows the panic fear by which Louis-le-débonnaire was possessed.

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814—819 Banishment of Count Wala and his brother Adelhard, &c.

§ 24. Sore repentance, sore punishment was he preparing for himself; and whilst adopting these measures, which accumulated sorrows instead of removing troubles, he began to take counsel for the administration of the Empire. Further perplexities. How was he to deal with his sons? Lothair, audacious and hard, Pepin rest-

814. *First* partition of the Empire made by Louis-le-débonnaire.

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less, Louis scarcely formed: he feared them as future rivals, yet loved them tenderly. If he gave them authority, they might rise up against him; if he did not, how was their succession to be confirmed? If he did not apportion their lots, they would quarrel for their share, and if he did, would they abide by his decision? The long-continued practice of the Frankish dynasties, as well as the absolute necessity of providing for local government, compelled him, however, to plan a partition, even as his father had done.

The Franks were very proud of their nationality, glorious in their Empire's unity and dignity. In their minds Charlemagne had become, and not unduly, the personification of the Commonwealth. "*L'Etat, c'est moi,*" is not à vain or insolent assertion of despotism, but simply the expressed consciousness of the mission bestowed upon the individual who obtains the mastery over society. The magic influence of Charlemagne maintained the unity of the Empire during his life, but the spell was breaking: the regalia of Charlemagne were amulets losing their charm under an adverse constellation.

Louis-le-débonnaire proceeded with caution. Italy belonged to the son of the elder Pepin, King Bernard, whose fealty he had received—the nephew, confirmed by his uncle's authority. He could therefore only deal with the territories on his side the Alps. Lothair received the ancient

Baier-land and its dependencies, extending from Valtellina to the Northgau: Pepin repaired to his father's kingdom of Aquitaine: the appanage of Louis, the youngest, was postponed. Upon his aspiring sons, Louis-le-débonnaire bestowed the titles of Kings, yet scarcely intending to impart any royal power. He contemplated that they should be merely interposed between him and the Counts or Dukes of the Empire as Imperial Vicars; but in this position they had full opportunity of making friends, acquiring supporters, forming parties. Prelates, nobles and people courted the young Princes; and Lothair and Pepin, thus prematurely advanced, while their father was prematurely declining, never receded from the vantage ground they had gained.

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814—819 Portions assigned to Lothair and to Pepin, being the first partition made by Louis-le-débonnaire.

§ 25. According to the policy indicated by his ancestors, Louis ought to have proceeded Romewards: the fealty of the Roman people, rendered to Pepin-le-bref and Charlemagne, was equally required to testify their acceptance of Louis as the legitimate successor of the Cæsars; and their acclamation needed to be confirmed by the Pontiff bestowing the Imperial diadem. Louis-le-débonnaire was not really and fully acknowledged as Emperor. Many studiously and stiffly spoke of King Louis and Queen Hermengarda. The Romans had conspired against Pope Leo: the patricians rebelled against him: some say they sought his death, threatening a repetition of the violences

Confirmation of the Imperial authority needed by Louis-le-débonnaire.

815—816. Transactions at Rome:—rebellion against Pope Leo III.

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from which he had been rescued by Charlemagne. There is scarcely any period during the middle ages wherein the aspirations of Rienzi do not appear. Temporal sovereignty, in the modern sense, the Pope of Rome, hedged in by imperial authority and popular rights, did not possess, even fully admitting the grants of Saint Peter's patrimony; but he had the greatest pre-eminence in the Republic: not more than properly belonged to his functions and station, yet exciting recalcitrations and jealousies. Some of the conspirators were condemned to death. The Romans invoked the protection of the proclaimed Emperor, so also the Pontiff: it was natural that he should seek to be helped by the son of his ancient patron Charlemagne.

815. 816. Transactions at Rome.—Death of Leo III. Accession of Stephen IV.

The intervention of Louis-le-débonnaire, practically effected by King Bernard, restored tranquillity. Leo died in the course of the year—a very diligent, useful, and magnificent Pontiff. He employed the bountiful gifts received from Charlemagne in rebuilding and adorning many Churches: he surrounded the Sanctuary of St. Peter's with a balustrade of solid silver, and decorated the windows with variously-coloured glass, the first notice of this adornment, probably derived from Arabian art.

Leo was succeeded by Stephen the Fourth. Like his predecessor, Stephen had been educated from his earliest youth in the Lateran palace:

trained, in a manner, for the Popedom: and Leo had designated him as most worthy of the dignity. The Clergy, Nobles and Citizens of Rome accepted the recommendation of the departed Pontiff, and unanimously elected Stephen. Though well supported by their suffrages, he earnestly sought the friendship of Louis; and soon after his consecration, he induced the Roman people to acknowledge Louis as Emperor and render due allegiance. Legates appeared at the Frankish Court, the distant Aix-la-Chapelle, bearing a grateful message: the Pontiff would undertake a journey such as but one Pope had hitherto performed—he would cross the Alps, and invest the son of Charlemagne with the Imperial Crown.

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816. Pope Stephen crosses the Alps:—Louis and Hermengarda crowned by him at Rheims.

At Rheims, where Clovis had been baptized, the highest dignity of Western Christendom was to be bestowed upon the representative of the lineage which had devoured the Merovingians. Stephen came accompanied by a large train of the Roman Clergy. The ceremony was performed in the great Basilica of Saint Remigius, before the Shrine now encircled by the Statues of the Dozepeers, the memorials of Charlemagne's legendary grandeur.

Stephen placed the imperial Crown on the head of Louis: this ratification of the inchoate dignity had been promised; but the affectionate pride of the husband received an unexpected

741—987 gratification. Hermengarda, kneeling before the
Pontiff, was also invested with the diadem: no
814—819 such honour had ever been bestowed upon a consort of Charlemagne. They were hailed as Augustus and Augusta;—Stephen gave his benediction and departed; and Louis hastened to the forests of Compiègne. The fame of his coronation spread.

Louis-le-débonnaire receives Embassies from the Caliph, the Eastern Empire, the Slavi:—Danes seek his aid.

Ambassadors from the East, swarthy representatives of the Caliph Abdelrahman, renewing the friendly intercourse begun by Haroun Alraschid, vied with the nations of the West in testifying that they acknowledged him as worthily succeeding to his father's honours. The Court removed to the Pfaltz, the Palace of Aix-la-Chapelle. Encreasing splendour environs the Emperor:—a splendid embassy from Constantinople,—Nicephorus compliments his Imperial brother:—the Dalmatian Slavi crave his aid:—still more significant of his reputation, the very Danes, whose vessels had threatened the Empire, entreat his assistance and alliance.—The sons of the Godfrey who contended against Charlemagne had expelled Harold the King of Jutland: both the competitors invoked the Imperial authority, and the exile Harold—of whom we shall soon hear more,—was supported by Louis-le-débonnaire.

Further anxieties of Louis:—Church-affairs:—settlement of the succession.

§ 26. In the conduct pursued by Louis against Adelhard and Wala we obtain an indication of the developement which his character was

sustaining, exemplified affectingly and mournfully throughout the subsequent course of his history: a conflict between an awakened conscience and the duties and temptations of station, a mind energetic in action, weak in deliberation, fully appreciating the dignity and sanctity of authority, but not always able to sustain that dignity, thwarted, misled and betrayed by those who surrounded him. Pure in morals, Louis was unable to correct his licentious Court and disorderly household. When he banished his sisters and their lovers from the Palace, a domestic insurrection ensued. Count Lambert, probably the Lambert who afterwards became Count of the Armorican Marches, was wounded; the paramours were driven away: one lost his eyes; but the punishment of the individuals did not ameliorate society. 741—987 / 814—819

Ecclesiastical affairs were in great disorder. As King, as Emperor, Louis-le-débonnaire was fully bound to co-operate in their amendment; for what Finance is in our days, Church-principles were then—the mainspring in the general policy of Christendom. Three hundred and more years had elapsed since the institution of monachism in the Western Church by Saint Benedict. The Order had spread widely during this long period: their political importance and riches had wonderfully encreased: the restraints were slipping away, and they were degenerating ra- Ecclesiastical affairs.

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pidly from their primitive earnestness and simplicity. Destined to do great things, to preserve uncorrupted much of the salt of the earth, to promote the welfare of man and the glory of God, their decline was stayed, and amidst and through many trials, a season of revival at length ensued, distinguished by true wisdom and holy energy.

Need at this period of Monastic reforms.

The Mediæval Church, a reforming Church.

The general healthiness of the mediæval Church is evinced by her unremitting endeavours to extirpate abuses. Every Council was a rebuke to the irregularities, laxities, vices and crimes of clergy and laity. It was essentially the character of the Latin or Western Church to be a reforming Church, never, during the middle ages, content to settle upon the lees. Not always acting wisely, not always temperately, not always consistently—sometimes slack, sometimes over-rigid; never preventing backsliding;—yet renewing her strength, and persevering in zeal and faithfulness;—for even as it is with individuals, that the just man may fall seven times and rise again, so is it with Churches.

Though his power be not susceptible of any exact definition, Charlemagne virtually acted as the head or governor of the Gallican and German Churches; his good sense and talent contributed to diminish the evils resulting from the confusion of temporal and spiritual power. He was the directing spirit of ecclesiastical legislation. Louis-le-débonnaire followed his example, and con-

sidered that in every way he was bound to take as much upon himself as his father had done. A rigid reformer had arisen, earnest and devout—Saint Benedict of Aniana. Louis sought to obtain his co-operation in the restoration of monastic discipline. Many of the monks were assimilating themselves to regular Canons, multiplying themselves into Congregations or Colleges, in which, claiming the immunities of the regular Clergy, they might indulge in pleasures and good cheer, fare better in the Refectory, sport more freely in the field. Louis was very intent upon rectifying these secularities; neither could he abide to see his Bishops riding up and down with rich gold belts and gem-decked daggers, splendid mantles flowing from their shoulders, and long gilt spurs protruding from their heels. 741—987 814—819

There was another abuse, which may be considered either as social or ecclesiastical, against which Louis strove. It was truly the pride of the Christian Church to repudiate any distinction of rank or blood—all walls of separation broken down,—all men, whatever might be their race or descent, their rank or condition, bond or free, equally eligible to her ministry, equally susceptible of a Priesthood, not inheritable in families, but accessible to all mankind. Equality, the privilege of the Church. The Priesthood open to all.

But when clerical privileges were recognized and established by the State, it became needful that in certain cases the State should inter-

741—987 fere to prevent their perversion. A Clerk was
814—819 exempted from all secular jurisdiction. Hence, according to the Imperial Constitutions, the magistrates of towns, the *Curiales*, could not, unless permitted to resign their office, take Holy Orders, because by so doing, they were released from the onerous obligations which their station imposed. —A *Miles*, for the like reason, could not receive Holy Orders, and thus discharge himself from the army:—a Crown debtor was under the like incapacity, until his debt was cleared, for as a member of the Hierarchy, he was no longer obnoxious to process:—neither could a serf, still less a slave, without the consent of the lord or master, because the services of the one and the person of the other belonged to that lord or master.

This was the legal theory; but in practice it was very much modified by the national conscience: Church and State co-operated in mitigating the harshness of such exclusions, and particularly with respect to servile Clerks. Sometimes the law provided that if a Serf was admitted into a monastery, his lord might be compensated by having two Serfs given him in the stead of the one who had been liberated by the tonsure. So also, if a Serf was shorn or entered a Monastery, the lord was barred by a year's non-claim; and the prevailing opinion set so strongly against these restrictions that they were little regarded. Holy orders conferred

upon a serf were only voidable, not void. The serf-clerk continued a clerk till degraded by canonical proceedings, and that upon a competent complaint preferred, within a limited period. Charlemagne expressly encouraged the ordination of the servile classes, and very large numbers were received into the ranks of the hierarchy.—In this lies the great fact of the disputes technically called the disputes between the two swords, that the French hierarchy had become, in the main, a *roturier* hierarchy. 741—987 814—819

The Franks, whatever might be their Church-principles generally, entertained a haughty aristocratic aversion to the plebeian races, and the better born Clergy cherished a great jealousy against Clergy of servile origin. A priest or monk of pure Frankish blood was often inclined to look very scornfully upon the clerk whose peasant parents were to be sought amongst the Gaulish villainage. He approximated closely in sentiment to a Philadelphia minister of any religious denomination, who talks beautifully about the love he bears towards his sable brother, his fellow-labourer in the vineyard, but who will not allow the coloured preacher so much as standing room in his church, chapel or tabernacle. Louis-le-débonnaire was grieved at this prejudice: he testified constantly against it. He did all in his power to encourage the "*wicked custom*," the "*pessima consuetudo*," of disregarding the stain of servitude. A signal

Jealousy entertained against Clerks of servile origin.

Louis strives against this jealousy.

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example of his earnestness was presented in the case of his foster-brother Ebbo, who, being a thorough bred villein, *ex originalium servorum stirpe*, was through his influence promoted to the highest ecclesiastical dignity in the Gauls, the Archbishoprick of Rheims.

The appointment was most unexceptionable.—When Gislemar, who had been elected by the people of Rheims as their Archbishop, came to his book before the examining Bishops, he could scarcely read a line,—he was therefore rejected. Louis then proposed Ebbo, a man distinguished, notwithstanding his low birth, by his noble aspect and fine and well cultivated talent, and he was chosen upon this recommendation, without which it is probable that his merit would not have influenced the electors. In this instance the Sovereign did not exceed the powers which, as a member of the Church, he might fairly claim: his assistance turned the scale.

§ 27. The paucity and inaccuracy of observers, and still more the loss of observations, should teach us caution in our reasonings concerning the natural appearances of antiquity; nevertheless, taking into consideration those very circumstances by which our evidence is rendered so defective and scanty, it is indisputable that the cosmical phenomena occurring in the period commencing with the Fall of the Roman Empire and terminating about the period of the Crusades, were singularly remarkable and abundant.

Cosmical phænomena frequent during the dark ages, &c.

Great atmospheric and terrestrial commotions prevailed during the reign of Louis-le-débonnaire, accompanied by famines and epidemic diseases. Showers of aerolithes, comets and upheavings of the soil, perplexed and astounded the nations. The thermal springs of Aix-la-Chapelle which we behold steaming, boiling, bursting through the strata, indicate the volcanic energies below.—These agencies were then more lively.—Earthquakes were frequent in that district.—The whole country adjoining was afflicted, and during this generation the city of Aix-la-Chapelle was repeatedly disturbed and endangered by the concussions: so violent that the Palace was partly ruined, and the golden globes adorning the Byzantine cupolas cast down, whilst the loud and prolonged groanings which resounded from the depths, increased the terror. Louis-le-débonnaire was not appalled by omens: he considered the servile or gentile dread of comet or star as forbidden by Holy Writ—nevertheless he was encouraged by Holy Writ to ponder upon such signs and tokens as messages of wrath or warning. They depressed his spirit, and they continued many a year. 741—987 814—819

The Imperial Coronation at Rheims, the splendid pageantry, the obedience, apparently so willing and spontaneous, rendered to his Imperial authority, had failed to restore comfort. Louis-le-débonnaire continued to be harassed by trou- Anxieties concerning the succession.

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bles; his family, his nobles, his people were all dissatisfied, and their grudges and anxieties reflected back upon him. The governments assigned to Lothair and Pepin looked precarious. Hermengarda might doubt whether any certain provision had been made for her sons: no lot was assigned by Louis to his namesake, his youngest boy, his *æquivocus*, as he called him. An irksome desire prevailed in the Imperial Court, not openly acknowledged, but certainly felt, to regain Italy. The Imperial succession still continued undetermined, and though Louis was under forty years of age, a universal apprehension prevailed, lest he might be cut off by sudden death.

§ 28. Louis preferred keeping Lent at Aix-la-Chapelle. The site of the Pfaltz is still indicated by one picturesque fragment: a lofty wall, decorated at the summit by a graceful range of Gothic arcades, containing Statues of Emperors and Kings.

The approach to this palace from the Cathedral led through a long timber-gallery, such as we often see in ancient continental Castles, though rarely in England. It was on Good-Friday when Louis and his train, returning from the offices of the solemn day, were passing along this corridor, that it gave way. The beams, it is said, were decayed; but this can hardly have been the case, for the building had been erected by Charlemagne, and it is most probable that the

817. April 10. Louis-le-débonnaire in danger of losing his life by the fall of the palace gallery.

collapse resulted from some previous disturbance of the unstable soil. Many of the courtiers who accompanied Louis were killed: all hurt, Louis less grievously than others, yet very seriously. Leech and chirurgeon took him in hand. Months elapsed before his soundness was regained, and though his corporeal recovery ensued, the shock had deeply affected his mind. The accident rendered the probability of death palpably sensible; and he determined to settle the affairs of his family and Empire on such a basis as might ensure peace and tranquillity. 741—987 814—819

The Diet, the great Council of the Empire, the Convention of Bishops and Abbots, Counts and Nobles, the Senate of the Franks, Clergy and Laity, assembled at Aix-la-Chapelle in sunny July. Solemn and joyous, these meetings, which partook equally of the nature of Parliaments and Councils, were usually summoned at Whitsuntide, so as to leave the summer vacation untouched for such sports as the pleasant season afforded, lake or river, garden or green-wood shade. The Session therefore at this unusual period shows the length of time which had elapsed before the health of Louis was sufficiently restored. In this Council various important Capitulars were enacted, some purely concerning ecclesiastical affairs, others mixed: amongst them a complete and very stringent code for the government, discipline and correction of the canonical order. 817. July. The Great Council at Aix-la-Chapelle.

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However much the need of removing all uncertainties concerning the succession might press upon the mind of Louis, he shrunk from a decision, until the Council suddenly, and to him unexpectedly, demanded that he should follow the example of his progenitors, and provide for the succession of the realm. Louis, startled and disturbed, required time for deliberation; three days were employed in almsgiving and prayer. That the proposition so brought forward originated amongst the earnest partisans of the young princes, is as unquestionable, as it is impossible to ascertain which or who were the leaders in the movement.—By the unanimous voice and election of the Senate, Louis assenting, Lothair was declared his father's consort and successor in the Empire. Louis placed the Imperial Crown upon the head of his Son—"*Vivat Imperator Lotharius*," shouted the joyous multitude, whilst Pepin and Louis, the first hitherto called king by courtesy, both received the Royal title by a decree of the assembly.

Second partition of the Empire made by Louis-le-débonnaire.

Motion made in the Assembly for the settlement of the succession.

Lothair declared Emperor.

Portion of the realm assigned to Pepin.

PEPIN continued to hold Aquitaine; but the realm sustained various alterations in boundary: only a portion of Septimania, which had hitherto been conjoined with Aquitaine, was retained by him, namely the county of Carcassonne. On the north, the frontier was also somewhat contracted, but the loss was compensated by a dismemberment of Cisjurane Burgundy, three counties—

Autun, towering in Roman magnificence: smiling Nevers, and dreary Avalon, where every stone appears stamped with vestiges of once animated nature. 741—987 814—819

LOUIS the younger obtained "Baioaria," taken from Lothair, and all her dependencies, annexed by alliance or conquest:—the fertile valleys of the Ems, the wide margraviates, the marches, lands and kingdoms overspread by Sclavonian tribes, Wilzians, Carinthians, Bohemians, and Avars, were all subjected to his Crown. Such was the compact and powerful Kingdom given to Louis, whom the French historians usually style *Louis-le-Germanique,* and whom we shall so designate hereafter. His Kingdom, however, may be best identified if we consider it as nearly corresponding to the whole existing Austrian Empire north of the Alps; together with modern Bavaria, the Grisons, and a large portion of the pristine Burgundian territories which now compose the Helvetic confederacy, and, pre-eminent therein, that nursery of dynasties, the County of Altorf. 817. Portions assigned to Louis-le-Germanique.

LOTHAIR, the firstborn, the Emperor, had not any portion distinctly assigned to him. What his brothers did not hold, would become his in domain; but there is a special and stringent direction that the Kingdom of Italy, Bernard's Kingdom, was in all things to be obedient to him. The younger brothers to be dependent on the senior.

Pepin and Louis once in each year were to

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appear before the throne of their elder brother, lovingly and fraternally, bearing the gifts, the acknowledgments of his superiority; but he, Lothair, is on his part exhorted to treat them with brotherly regard. The Kings were not to declare war or conclude peace otherwise than with the *senior's* assent. No further subdivision of the Empire was to ensue. In case of the death of any brother, such one of his sons alone was to succeed as the people should elect; should he die without issue, the Kingdom was to revert to the Empire. Thus the provisions asserted the great principle of Imperial unity, and implied that the Imperial diadem was to be hereditary in Lothair's line; three Kingdoms, Bavaria, Aquitaine, and Italy, being appendant to the Imperial dignity.

The *Charta Divisionis* was sealed by Louis to the foregoing effect,—his second partition of the Empire—a legislative as well as constitutional act, binding the parent and the children, and rendering the State the guardian equally of the rights of succession, and of the conditions upon which these rights were to be enjoyed.

817. The *Charta divisionis*:—its ambiguities.

§ 29. This Charter, however, is neither clear nor complete. Some provisions are obscure: some important cases are not provided for, whether by accident or intent is uncertain—whilst the most important features, the extent, nature, and

transmission of Lothair's supremacy, seem faintly sketched by a trembling hand. Read such clauses as the following:—"Pepinum et Hludowicum æquivocum nostrum, communi consilio placuit regiis insignire nominibus, et loca inferius denominata constituere, in quibus post decessum nostrum sub *seniore* fratre regali potestate potiantur. —Volumus ut semel in anno, tempore opportuno, de his quæ necessaria sunt, mutuo fraterno amore tractandi gratiâ, ad *seniorem fratrem* cum donis suis veniant.—Item volumus ut nec pacem nec bellum contra exteras nationes, absque consilio et consensu *senioris fratris* ullatenus suscipere præsumant.—Si absque legitimis liberis aliquis eorum decesserit, potestas illius ad *seniorem fratrem* revertatur,"—the word *senior* being employed in other chapters as absolutely designating the lord of a Vassal, without any reference to kindred or age. 741—987 814—819

Even in private life, if much importance be assigned to such precedencies or pre-eminences, an ill-defined headship in a family is singularly productive of ill-will and rancour. How much more fraught with evil in an Empire.—It is hardly possible, or rather it is impossible, in the passages above quoted from the charter, to distinguish between the relative duties resulting from *seniority* in the natural sense, and *seignory* in the legal sense. According to the fashion of writing then in use, the scribe could not help

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out the construction of "*senior*" by the initial difference of a minuscule or a capital. Archicapellanus Hilduin and the Clerks of the Chapel might plausibly argue for either import, "*senior*" noun, or *senior* adjective, as they chose. This indistinct apprehension of the rights of blood and the rights of dominion, perplexed and confounded the Carlovingian Empire until its extinction.

General dissatisfaction: Pepin and Louis-le-Germanique jealous of Lothair.

The new scheme of government dissatisfied all parties. It purported to postpone the authority granted to the sons until their father's demise; but the reversion was immediately reduced by them into a litigious possession. Lothair could not understand how he was to be called his father's partner and sharer in the Empire, and yet continue subordinate to his father. When two are conjoined, one must take the lead, and Lothair determined that his father should become subject to him. Pepin and Louis-le-Germanique both bitterly envied Lothair's supremacy, whether as *Senior* or *Seigneur*. A King of the Obotrites, or of the Sorabians or the Avars, could not, despite of the smooth phrases, appear in a more humble capacity before the Imperial Throne.

§ 30. Bernard, King of Italy, was most offended of all: he, the representative of the elder line: he, who claimed Rome, the seat of the Empire. Bernard's submission to Charlemagne and to Louis was a personal duty; Charle-

magne he obeyed as his grandsire, Louis was certainly Bernard's *senior*, the older man; but he would in no wise concede that eldership to Lothair, the young son of the son. A powerful movement ensued in Bernard's favour. The long-bearded Germans had become thoroughly Romanized; and, to a great extent, the revolution which now broke out was an insurrection of the Lombard-Italians against the Franks. Many of the highest Clergy joined therein: Anselm Archbishop of Milan, and Wulfphald, Bishop of Cremona; on our side of the Alps, Theodulph, Bishop of Orleans. This friend of Charlemagne and of Alcuin had been long settled in Gaul, but he could not forget fair Italy. In Lombardy, the feeling was enthusiastic: the municipal communities, always very powerful, were unanimous on behalf of Bernard, and swore to support his cause. King he was already: therefore this renewed declaration was probably intended to prepare the way for his assumption of the Imperial dignity. The Passes, the Alpine *Chiuse*, were occupied by King Bernard's troops, and the Empire of Louis threatened with imminent peril.

741—987
814—819
817—818. The revolt of Bernard King of Italy.

Louis received the intelligence when hunting in the sport-abounding Vosges: a diplomatic intrigue ensued, of which we only know the fatal results. Generally speaking, the Franks hated King Bernard. His faithful counsellors, Wala and Adelhard, had been taken from him, captives,

741—987 convicts, lingering in the cell of Corbey and the island of Hermoustiers. Hermengarda employed
814—819 her wily emissaries: Bernard was inveigled out
817—818 of Italy: the Frankish nobles, who brought the
King Bernard inveigled out of Italy:—meets Louis at Chalons. proposition which induced him to abandon the country where he was defended by his people and protected by the Alps, pledged themselves upon their oaths for his safety. He proceeded to seek a compromise with his uncle. A conference was held as far up as possible in the Gauls, and where the old Franks were strongest, at Châlons on the Saône. Bernard was appalled by his danger: he threw himself at the feet of Louis and implored forgiveness; but the inveterate Franks would not allow of mercy.

The subsequent transactions are related contradictorily and confusedly. None of the historians on this side the Alps liked to expatiate upon the subject; they were all imbued with the Frankish feeling. Hermengarda's share in the transactions would have been concealed from posterity but for the Chronicle of one Andrew, a Milanese. Bernard and his adherents were brought to trial before the great Council at Aix-la-Chapelle. The safe-conduct went for nothing. The chief rebels, with the exception of the three Bishops, were condemned to death. Louis hesitated to confirm the sentence. A commutation of punishment was insidiously suggested. A confidential adviser,—was it not Hermengarda?—spoke or hinted to the following effect—"Let Bernard and

818. March, April. Bernard and his adherents tried and condemned at Aix-la-Chapelle.

his three counsellors, Egidius, Reinhard, and Rainier the son of that traitor Hardrath of Austrasia, who rebelled again and again against your father, be blinded."—If Louis did not give a decided refusal, he did not prohibit: nay, his reply was interpreted into a direct assent. Perhaps he hardly understood the proposal. To an undecided and irresolute mind, the plainest words convey a sound of uncertainty. 741—987 814—819

Three days afterwards King Bernard was dead. According to one version of the tragical story, Bernard resisted desperately against the five executioners sent to tear out his eyes, and he was killed in the conflict. Some say that he and the other prisoners, after they had sustained the dreadful punishment, committed suicide in despair. The dungeon secrets were never distinctly disclosed; but, that the prisoners expired miserably, was certain. The corpse of King Bernard was conveyed to Milan: they buried him in Sant' Ambrogio, where his body lies. The epitaph tells nothing of his mode of death. One son he left, bearing the ancestorial name of Pepin, who remained obscurely in the power of Louis-le-débonnaire. The three Bishops were kept in custody, Theodulph at Angiers. The lives of the other parties implicated in Bernard's revolt were spared, but all their property was confiscated to the Crown. It was assumed in like manner that the infant Pepin had, through his father's delinquencies, forfeited all right to

Bernard's miserable death.

741—987 814—819 Italy. No advocate or friend spoke on his behalf, and the kingdom was united in domain to the Imperial Crown.

Louis compels his brothers Drogo, Hugh, and Thierry to become monks.

§ 31. Hitherto the three young brothers of Louis-le-débonnaire, Drogo, Hugh, and Thierry, continuing in the palace, had experienced his cordial affection. At his father's behest, he swore to be their guardian: no jealousy, no ill-will appeared, and the oath had been conscientiously fulfilled. Threatening suspicions were now excited that some discontented party might raise up the Princes as his competitors. Apparently these apprehensions were causeless, but once excited and indulged, Louis could not dispel the dread. He determined to rid himself of his brothers. Monks they must be, a monastery their prison. He compelled them to be shorn against their will:—the foreboding anticipations of Charlemagne were realized. Louis-*le-débonnaire*, Ludovicus *Pius*, committed the harsh and unrighteous deed which his dying father forbade. The reluctant youths took the irrevocable vows against which their souls revolted, vows scarcely possible to be truly kept by them, and yet not to be violated without sin.

818. July 3. Death of Hermengarda.

§ 32. If Hermengarda instigated the cruel punishment and consequent death of Bernard, as is the prevailing opinion, she did not live to enjoy her success; she did not live to see Lothair, her favourite son, the crowned King of Italy—her own death speedily ensued. This loss fell

heavily upon Louis-le-débonnaire. He and Hermengarda had grown up together, and he loved her tenderly. About this time he had been engaged in active and fortunate military operations: he conducted a very successful expedition against the Armoricans, the Celts were reduced to submission; Benevento submitted without a struggle; the Gascons were defeated, Lope Centulla, their Duke, accepted the boon of banishment; the Sclavonians yielded implicit obedience, and the authority of Louis seemed to pervade the whole Empire. 741—987 814—819

But the triumphant Emperor rejoiced not in his prosperity. His mind was saddened: men excused him, but his conscience smote him. Bernard's ghastly spectre haunted him; he could not conceal from himself that his splendid Empire was insecure. Soon would his sons either quarrel with him or amongst themselves. Harassed, depressed, self-reproached, he talked of abdication: he would retire into a monastery—a half wish, which the speaker could scarcely have realized. Louis, warmly and fondly affectionate, was entirely unfitted for solitude: he could not bear to sever himself from earthly ties; moreover, he always felt that he ought not to abandon the duties of government which had been committed to him. Those about him, his counsellors, urged him to contract a second marriage. Faithful to Hermengarda, Louis had not looked on

Mental depression and sorrow of Louis.

741—987
814—819

any other woman with eyes of desire; nor would he court by proxy, or take a wife upon report. So they actually assembled at the palace the daughters of his counts and nobles; and from the maidens presented to the Widower's choice, he, before the year of mourning had expired, selected a blooming, beautiful, brilliant, high-spirited, accomplished and witty Princess, who, besides her personal and mental gifts, had the recommendation of appertaining to one of the most powerful houses of the realm.

819. Louis marries his second wife Judith.

Guelph Count of Altorf, (died 820,) and his descendants.

§ 33. GUELPH the Agilolphing was her father: Wilhelm Tell and the *Eidgenossenschaft* have so dimmed the earlier eras of Swiss history, that we rarely advert to the importance of Transjurane and Alpine Helvetia as constituting the very core of Burgundy: the Dynasts who ruled beneath Burgundian or Imperial Supremacy are almost equally forgotten. Amongst a thousand travellers on the Lake of Lucerne, has one of these tourists any reminiscence of Guelph Count of Altorf, so illustrious by his descent, but more illustrious through his progeny? JUDITH, the damsel selected by Louis-le-débonnaire, was Guelph's eldest child.

Ethico, founder of the historical Guelphic family, (died 830).

ETHICO, Conrad and Rodolph, his sons, are each in their degree historically conspicuous. Most particularly Ethico the eldest, the ancestor of Cunegunda or Cuniza, wife of Azzo Marquis of Este, founder of our Guelphic family. From

Azzo came the Guelphic dukes of Bavaria and of Saxony, and subsequently of Brunswick and of Lunenburg, thus rendering Ethico the historical stem of our own Imperial line. 741—987 / 814—819

CONRAD, the second son of Guelph of Altorf, stands at the head of another lineage of great consequence: he married a daughter of Louis-le-débonnaire, and therefore the step-daughter of his sister Judith, who is called "Adelaide," which denomination may be either a proper name or an epithet. Conrad was Abbot of Saint Germain of Auxerre, not to be confounded with Saint Germain l'Auxerrois, and he bears the title of Abbot, Count and Duke of Auxerre, accordingly; the Abbey of Auxerre narrowly escaped being completely converted into an hereditary principality. Conrad was probably also Count of Paris. This Conrad, distinguished dynastically as "Conrad the first," had three children, Guelph, Conrad "the younger," and Hugh, two of whom succeeded somewhat irregularly to his dignities. Conrad I. Abbot, Count, and Duke of Auxerre, (died 862). ... his children.

RODOLPH, the third son of Guelph of Altorf, held a high situation in the Court of France, but deeply suffering in the revolutions of the times: he attained no higher station than the Comitial honour. Count Rodolph (died 866).

GUELPH, grandson of Guelph of Altorf, and eldest son of Conrad, according to the Carlovingian usage and his family pretensions, obtained his provision entirely from the Church. Abbot Guelph, the grandson, Abbot of Auxerre, &c. (died 881).

741—987 of Saint Riquier or Centulla, and, like his father, Abbot of Auxerre, he died without known progeny.

819—830

Conrad the younger, Abbot of Sens, Count of Paris and Rhætia, (died 881).

CONRAD, second son of Conrad, called *Conrad the younger*, Abbot of Sens, was also Count of Paris and of Rhætia, much engaged in wars with the Northmen. We shall resume his descendants in a subsequent paragraph.

Hugh, Abbot of Tours, &c. Count of Burgundy, &c. (died 887).

HUGH, third son of Conrad, was as warlike as his brother. He was Abbot of Saint Martin of Tours, Saint Vedast of Arras, Saint Bertin at St. Omers, and, like his father and elder brother, Abbot of Saint Germain of Auxerre. Moreover he is called by historians Count of Burgundy, Count of Orleans, Count of Anjou, and Duke of Neustrian France; but the perplexing frequency of the name "Hugh" throws some difficulty upon his biography. He left one daughter,—PETRONILLA, espoused to the bold Tertullus of the Gastinois,—the mother of the Plantagenets.

Petronilla his daughter ancestress of the Plantagenets.

CONRAD "the younger," dynastically counted as "Conrad the second," to whom we must now revert, was the father of RAOUL or RODOLPH the first, King of that portion of Transjurane Burgundy which under his son, RODOLPH the Second, subsequently expanded into the Kingdom of Arles. The erection of this Kingdom caused the severance of the countries on the left bank of the Rhone from the Crown of France till the close of the twelfth century. ADELAIDE, the daughter

Rodolph I. (886—911.) Rodolph II. (911—937.) Kings of Transjurane Burgundy, afterwards the Kingdom of Arles.

of Conrad the second, who married RICHARD 741—987
Duke of Burgundy, surnamed *le Justicier*, was
by him, the mother of RAOUL (brother-in-law of 819—830
Hugh-le-grand) King of France.

This meagre summary concerning a period not obscure from want of historical evidence, yet offering great difficulties in historical investigation, is most abundantly suggestive of thought. It bespeaks more of the confusion prevailing under the Carlovingians than a volume of disquisitions. In particular biographies, and in the *Origines* of families, dull as they appear, the historian discovers the clearest clue to the destinies of nations, the best corrective of dreamy generalizations, imaginations more arid than the driest facts, results without premises, philosophications meaningless as the melodious moanings of the Æolian harp.

§ 34. The introduction of a step-mother into a family, always a hazardous experiment, was at this troubled and eventful era of fermenting discontent in a great Empire, rendered aggravatedly perilous by the concourse of contrarieties and dangers besetting Louis-le-débonnaire until his dying day. Without doubt, Judith's charms contributed to influence him in the first instance; but, apart from this consideration, there were many reasons conducing to the preference she obtained. The Romanized Franks and the Germanic interests were beginning to oppose each

741—987
819—830

other. Louis-le-débonnaire seems now almost unconsciously to have felt a prescient confidence in the German people, inclining his mind more to them than during the earlier years of his life. Judith, cheerful, affectionate, noble, belonged to a purely German and very distinguished House. Like the other ladies of her era, she would have been held unfit for her station had she not been well versed in the Grammar-latin tongue, therefore her mere knowledge of the language implies no extraordinary proficiency. But it was Judith's encomium that she diligently cultivated her varied talents; and the learned men who inscribed or dedicated their works to her, felt that in this homage there was no unseemly flattery.

Character of the Empress Judith.

Court favourites,—

§ 35. Even if Louis-le-débonnaire, the widowed father of three tall sons, had not really reckoned somewhat above forty years of age, and might have been reckoned above fifty, the prudence of his choice, would nevertheless have been dubious. Under existing circumstances the position of a young and attractive Queen in such a depraved coterie as the Court of Louis-le-débonnaire was a domestic and national misfortune. Louis grieved at the evil, but he could not destroy the contagion. The leprosy was in the walls. The least reproachful designation appropriate to the Pfaltz was to call it a breeding nest of political cabal and unprincipled treachery; the main fomenters being the Monarch's sons. The

Abbot Hilduin the Archicapel-

second marriage of Louis-le-débonnaire had been urged on by a party, as a party measure: it is impracticable to follow out these machinations in their details; we can only guess at them from the consequences. Thus guessing, we can just discern that the party who after Hermengarda's death dissuaded Louis-le-débonnaire from continuing a widower, was in opposition to the party of the sons. 741—987 819—830 Ilanus, Bernard, son of William of Orange.

Hilduin, the Archicapellanus, was now the leading minister, a signal pluralist, holding three Abbeys distinguished amongst the most venerated Sanctuaries in the Gauls, Saint Denis "in France," Saint Germain des Prés, and Saint Médard at Soissons; the three yielding in rank to none save Saint Martin of Tours, all most opulent, and Saint Médard, strong as any fortress in the realm: not content with this accumulation, he desired more. A new and powerful favourite however had begun his slippery career: a new object of homage and enmity, Bernard, son of William of Orange, and godchild of Louis-le-débonnaire. Abbot Hilduin.

§ 36. Count Bernard's rise is connected with a catastrophe, the mystery whereof is not dispelled by the minuteness with which the event is narrated. Bera, Count of Barcelona, the Emperor's intimate friend, was appealed of treason by the Count Sanila; a case for battle-ordeal, to be fought, if according to the Frankish tra- 820. Bera, Count of Barcelona, appealed of treason by the Count Sanila.

741—987
819—830

ditions, nearly after the manner directed by our ancient English common law, justly compared to a rustic conflict—no sharp weapons allowed: appellor and appellee dismounted, wielding club and staff.

Bera and Sanila, however, were both Visigoths: to combat on horseback, with sword and spear, was their ancestorial right: that right they claimed, and the claim was allowed. In all things and above all things, the Mediæval Church dreaded the awful responsibility of venturing to impose limitations upon the power of Faith. National customs were inveterate; hence the Church had not yet been able to arrive at any clear and consistent decision concerning ordeals, or, as they were termed, "the judgments of God." These proceedings were not only excused, but even sanctioned by the clergy and laity; though occasionally individual judgment dissented, and some began to enquire whether the judicial combat and the trials by fire or water might not be rash temptations of Providence. According to its pristine application, the battle-trial was the ordeal least chargeable with presumptuous temerity, being simply a return to the law of nature. In some of the barbaric kingdoms, good policy diminished the inconveniences of these duels. Nevertheless the battle-trial was exceedingly perverted within the ambit of the ancient kingdom of Burgundy, where it was traditionally called the *Lex-Gundo-*

baldi, or *Loi-Gombette*, having received great extension from a constitution which King Gundobald had made. 741—987 819—830

Agobard, Archbishop of Lyons, a very learned Prelate, the strenuous opposer of image-worship, and possessing much influence, who had been often called to witness and deplore the mischief resulting from judicial combats, addressed a very earnest and well-reasoned letter to Louis-le-débonnaire, exhorting him to repress this objectionable usage. The letter affords a spirited and interesting portraiture of society, and particularly displays the perplexities resulting from the diversified laws subsisting in the Frankish Empire. Gundobald was an Arian, and Agobard considers his heresy as affording a strong presumption against his legislation. But the main tenor of the argument is sound; and Agobard, as a theologian, argues that battle-trials were no longer warranted by the Scriptural examples usually adduced in their support. Proceeding from Agobard, this testimony was the more irrecusable, inasmuch as his disposition was intolerant and fiery; and the prohibition of the water-ordeal by an Imperial Constitution promulgated in the Council of Worms, may be traced to Agobard's admonitions. Battle-trial condemned by Agobard, Archbishop of Lyons. 829 Water-ordeal prohibited.

Louis-le-débonnaire could hardly avoid agreeing with Agobard: moreover he was persuaded that Sanila was a malicious accuser.—Therefore

741—987 he exerted himself to prevent the duel, acting sincerely but feebly. His mediation was ineffectual.

819—830 Bera and Sanila galloped into the lists at Toulouse, their shields slung, their weapons in their hands, and the funeral bier stood before them ready in the field, prepared for the vanquished man; living or dead he must deck the gallows-tree. Face to face, Bera and Sanila reined in their coursers, awaiting the signal from the Emperor. Louis might have withheld the signal: he ought to have done so, but the people went with Count Sanila, and he dared not. The Count of Barcelona yielded to his enemy's skill, strength, or fortune, was bound in chains, cast upon the bier, and carried away from the scene of conflict, a disgraced and hooted traitor. Louis would not permit the sentence of death to be executed; he absolved Bera from guilt, and he therefore sent the defeated combatant to Rouen, where he remained at liberty. Though Louis-le-débonnaire grieved at the misfortune of the innocent, he could not resolve to act up to his own convictions, or perhaps was restrained by his advisers. Popular opinion branded Bera as a traitor: his honours and dignities were forfeited: the County of Barcelona was granted to Bernard of Orange —a suspicious transaction—and the County or Duchy of Septimania was added thereto.

820
Single combat at Toulouse between Bera and Sanila: the former defeated.

820.
Bera's county of Barcelona given to Bernard, together with Septimania.

Louis then bestowed upon Bernard in marriage a Princess who was either his sister or his half

sister, the excellent Doduana, who calls the Emperor her brother, and they were married in the Pfaltz of Aix-la-Chapelle.—The manual of devotion still extant in the original Latin, and composed by Doduana for the use of her sons, from whom she was separated by Bernard's profligacy and harshness, is a most pleasant and touching memorial of her maternal affection, acquirements, scriptural knowledge and piety. It is in this work that she notices her relationship to Louis-le-débonnaire.—As for Bernard, he insinuated himself more and more into favour, was appointed Chamberlain, and became the Sovereign's most intimate confidant, to the extreme detriment of the realm.

741—987

819—830

The Princess Doduana married to Count Bernard.

§ 37. Louis-le-Germanique was born to Louis-le-débonnaire when King of Aquitaine, six years before his accession to the Empire. After him, no more babes had been brought to the Font. It is very certain that so soon as the three sons, Lothair, Pepin, and Louis were old enough to speculate concerning the future enjoyment of their father's dominions,—and at how early an age were not such speculations entertained?—they would scarcely have rejoiced very heartily had they been summoned by the gossips into their mother's darkened chamber, to welcome a fourth brother.—Had such a brother been born subsequently to the promulgation of the *Charta Divisionis*, when their three portions were definitively

The sons of Louis-le-débonnaire: their enmity against Judith.

741—987 assigned, they would unquestionably have considered that fourth brother as an odious intruder.
819—830 Their sordid feelings, however, were unawakened during Hermengarda's life-time, for she had ceased from child-bearing: but when the tender, blooming and luxuriant Judith became their father's wife, the contingency—whether near or remote—of an addition to the Imperial family rendered the second marriage doubly distasteful. Judith's merits only set her step-sons more against her. Her talent incensed them, her cheerfulness provoked them. She was immediately the object, as she afterwards became the persecuted victim, of their mean and unmanly hatred. They and all their numerous and encreasing partizans regarded the winning Beauty with unmitigated enmity and scorn. These sentiments became manifest; and whilst encircled by magnificence and outward prosperity, Louis sank into deeper melancholy. Reminiscences and forebodings, the absent and the present, the past and the future, the living and the dead, all troubled and grieved his soul.

Discontents pervaded large and influential classes. Notwithstanding his good intentions, the Clergy generally distrusted him. His sons, though divided by mutual grudges and envyings, united in jealousy against the Empress Judith: they pressed hard upon their father; and how were they to be conciliated? One year and another year had passed—the young Judith was still

childless; no chance, the world surmised, of her ever being otherwise, unless by violating her marriage-vows: rumours were rife—we have hints concerning them. Louis yearned for peace: and in order to remove all uncertainty concerning the succession of Lothair, Pepin and Louis-le-Germanique, so that even were Judith to bear him a fourth son, their wealth, their state, their honours should remain undiminished, Louis-le-débonnaire determined, by making further concessions, to ensure content and harmony. A vain project; for, as the first step in his new scheme of conciliation, he encreased the pre-eminence of Lothair.

741—987
819—830
821. Louis determines to make further concessions to his sons.

To this eldest Son, the Emperor designate, he promised Italy in domain, negociated a marriage for him with Hementruda, daughter of Hugh Count of Alsace, called the Poltroon, but whose cowardice was rather a species of monomania than timidity in the proper sense, for he was very able and very powerful. Then ensued the merry Mayday of Nimeguen: the great Council of the Empire assembled in Charlemagne's Burg. Ecclesiastical buildings being the usual places of convention, we may suppose that they sat in the circular sanctuary—now the only vestige of the sumptuous palace—whose form, like Charlemagne's own Basilica at Aix-la-Chapelle, retraces the Churches of Helena at Jerusalem. Here the nobles, prelates, and proceres

821. May 1, Great Council at Nimeguen: confirmation of the Charta Divisionis.

741—987 of the Empire appeared—the *Charta Divisionis* was read before them, paragraph by paragraph.
819—830 Confirmed again by the oaths of the assembly, the establishment of the Imperial dignity in the person of Lothair, and the partitions of the realms and territories between Lothair, Pepin and Louis, became the organic Law of the Empire, the definitive settlement by which all parties were bound.

821—822. Louis-le-débonnaire's encreasing melancholy...

§ 38. A restoration of tranquillity was seemingly effected, yet no relief ensued for the desponding Louis-le-débonnaire. Hitherto there was one recreation which always aided his bodily health and refreshed his anxious spirit, the chase; but hound and horn, and the darting of the Moorish javelin in the wilds of the Frankish Vosges, ceased to give him pleasure. All the enjoyments of life sunk amidst his melancholy broodings upon the wrongs he had perpetrated or permitted. He had profaned Holy Orders: he had broken the solemn promise given to his father: through his command were his nearest of blood placed in a captivity painful to their bodies and perilous to their souls, tempting them to apostasy or despair: husbands separated from their wives: the innocent branded with contumely or pining in banishment and poverty: writhing in the grasp of the executioner: dying in agonizing misery:—all through him. His past actions rose before him with scathing vividness, and after struggling, he suddenly determined to

make compensation for the wrongs. He began by reparation and restitution. The prisoners were released. Bernarius returned from Lerins: Adelhard was summoned from Hermoustier, and, invited to the Palace, took charge of the royal household: Wala came forth from his unwilling seclusion at Corbey, and was received by the people in triumph.—All the nobles banished for their participation in King Bernard's insurrection heard their sentence revoked by the Emperor's free pardon, and repaired joyfully to their homes and lands.

741—987

819—830 recalls Wala, &c., from banishment...

Hugh, Drogo, and Thierry beheld their brother a suppliant at their feet, beseeching forgiveness. The reconciliation was cordial and enduring. Hugh was installed in three Abbeys, Saint Bertin, Saint Quentin and Noailly, and appointed to the office of Archicapellanus or Chancellor. He is sometimes styled Count Hugh, and it is supposed that some Burgundian district constituted his County; but, as we have before observed, there were several Counts bearing the name of Hugh in Burgundy, and it is extremely difficult to distinguish amongst them. Hugh was honest, brave, and true, but he lived quite as a layman: mention is made of his son Stephen: we may or may not infer that he was married; for it is a rather whimsical subterfuge of Père Anselm the genealogist, to assume that Stephen was called the son of Hugh, as being a monk in some one of his three Abbeys. However, be this as it may, Hugh

821—822. ...seeks to be reconciled to his brothers.

Hugh, Abbot of three Abbeys, died 844.

741—987 the Abbot was killed in battle, with many other Abbots of the same class as he.

819—830 Drogo, Bishop of Metz, died 855. Drogo obtained a Canonry in the Cathedral of Metz, where he lived royally and merrily: nevertheless he was a sound and useful Churchman. Elected to the See of Metz, he proved a good Bishop, a comfort and support to his brother Louis-le-débonnaire. — Thierry appears to have been contented to continue as a Monk in his monastery.

Louis disturbed in conscience. § 39. Were these outward acts of equity and kindness a sufficient spiritual atonement for injustice, culpable negligence, or crime?—Louis had not silenced his conscience, and he therefore determined to ease his mind by appearing as a public penitent. Even as his sins had been committed before the world, so did he seek that his repentance should be shewn forth in the face of day. History presented to him one example of a Christian monarch who rose from his humiliation to greater honour. Before the gates of that Basilica where the murdered Bernard was entombed, had Theodosius cast himself at the feet of Saint Ambrose, submitting to reproof, entreating forgiveness, and accepting the conditions which the Church imposed. In the annals of the Empire was there any Cæsar whose authority had been more cheerfully obeyed than the triumphant, the glorious Theodosius, who united the grandeur of the old Roman to the virtues of the Christian hero? A great Council was convened at Attigny—Attigny

822. Council of Attigny.

on the Aisne, not far from Soissons, an ancient palace of the Merovingian kings, where the noble Witikind had performed homage before Charlemagne, by whom so many thousands of his countrymen had been slaughtered. 741—987 819—830

Here sat the prelates and princes of the Empire, the people thronging in as witnesses of their Sovereign's contrition. The uncrowned Louis came forth in penitential garb, and made before the assembled multitude a full and earnest acknowledgment: how he had sinned against Drogo, and against Hugh, and against Thierry, and against Adelhard, and against Wala, and against Bernarius, and against Bera, and against all whom he had persecuted and despoiled, banished and put to death; but chiefly against his murdered nephew King Bernard; and many other sins did Louis confess, of which no one had dared to accuse him. And he had thought over and rehearsed all he could recollect of his forefathers' sins and cruelties, and more particularly Charlemagne's, and the trespasses which Charlemagne had committed against the Church; and for all he asked pardon. The prelates heard his confession, and declared the penances, according to the principles then prevailing, the tokens of sincerity and means of grace, alms, prayers, bodily chastisement, stripes, vigils, abstinence, such as were imposed upon Edgar and sought by Plantagenet, the only monarchs who, after Louis, are recorded to have

822. Confession made by Louis before the Council: submits to penance.

741—987 819—830 openly testified their contrition for their sins; and, the burthen removed, he rebounded into activity, resuming the duties and trials of royalty with renewed vigour and energy.

817—829. Era of Louis-le-débonnaire's outward prosperity.

§ 40. Upon the accession of Louis-le-débonnaire, we have seen how cordially the authority of Charlemagne's son had been accepted. The nations rejoiced in his Empire. His marriage with Judith gave a new impulse to his apparent prosperity. Even when the penitent of Attigny had been most sorrowful, the Empire presented an aspect of cheerful dignity:—whilst the Master of the Feast knows the bitterness of his own heart, the world does not care to be disturbed in the banquet's enjoyment by knowing the sorrow; and an era of six or seven years ensued, characterized by activity, excitement, success and splendour.

Louis now principally resorted to the towering palaces in the Rhine-land, monuments of paternal magnificence. Ingelheim and Frankfort, when the Diets were assembled there, exhibited the temporal Head of the Western Commonwealth,—*Ludovicus divinâ propitiante clementiâ, Imperator Augustus*,—surrounded by every attribute of majesty and honour. Prelates, nobles and people all convened—Austrasia and Neustria, Alemannia, Suabia, Bavaria, Burgundy, represented by their Bishops and their Abbots, the Dukes and the Counts wearing their golden

Splendour of the Imperial Diets—Costume of the Counts.

coronals and clad in the Roman chlamys, which modern fashion only prevents us from discerning in the Parliamentary robes of our Peers. In this gorgeous senate Louis sat enthroned, Judith by his side. Had Charlemagne ever thus presented a Consort with such imperial honour? 741—987 819—830

In the year subsequent to the Council of Attigny, an event ensued at which the people marvelled and discussed; imparting the utmost joy to Louis, and filling Lothair, Pepin and Louis-le-Germanique, with spite and vexation—an unexpected event—Judith presented her husband with his fourth son. The infant was named Charles, after his Grandsire; and as he became older, his fine lofty forehead exaggerating the absence of the flowing locks which usually adorned the Frankish noble, caused him to receive the name of Charles-le-Chauve, by which he is universally designated in French history. 823. July 15. Birth of Charles-le-Chauve.

The Borderers had given most trouble to Charlemagne: his apprehension of the resulting dangers instigated him to take more efficient measures for restraining these semi-domestic enemies. Louis continued the same policy with extraordinary success, obtaining great influence all around his varied empire. The Wends and other Sclavonian tribes, so obstinately contending against Teutonic ascendency,—that stubborn battle of twelve centuries, still undecided,—accepted the protection which the imperial Crown 819—825 Sclavonians submit to Louis-le-débonnaire;

741—987 bestowed. Their mutual hostilities induced them to claim the intervention of Louis-le-débonnaire;
819—830 —Sorabians, Obotrites, Bohemians, Wilzians, Moravians, Avars, obeyed his behests, and submitted to his decisions. Meligast and Celeadragus, rival brethren, sons of Liubi, implored his arbitration upon their claims—Ceadragus, the son of Thrasco, humbly testified his repentance for his insubordination, if not rebellion.

Then appeared a legation from a Barbarian Chieftain, whose very name had hitherto been unknown—never hitherto subjected to the Carlovingian Crown—Omortag, King of the Bulgarians, imploring the friendship of Charlemagne's son. The Bulgarians were a people crushed between Greek and Teuton, and they therefore courted the guarantee of the Frankish Empire.

also the Bulgarians.

Michael, the treacherous friend and successor of Leo the Armenian, that Leo who, like Charlemagne, might glory in the epithet "Iconoclast," was fain to acknowledge a brother Emperor. A stately and solemn embassy appeared from the Blachernæ, the Ambassadors bearing with them as a grateful gift the works ascribed to the Athenian convert who believed upon the preaching of Saint Paul. Louis caused the manuscripts to be deposited in the Abbey of Saint Denis, where they were accepted as an inestimable treasure. Some years afterwards, Hilduin, imploring the pardon of Louis-le-débonnaire for his ingra-

Complimentary embassy from the Emperor Michael the Stammerer.

titude, received from him the command to compose the life of the Saint. An opinion had prevailed that Dionysius the Areopagite, probably Dionysius the first Bishop of Athens, and Dionysius, or Denis, certainly the first Bishop of Paris, were not to be distinguished from each other; and the affectionate though uncritical labours of Hilduin, confounding hagiology and apocryphal fable, completed the delusion. 741—987 819—830

From Rome Louis-le-débonnaire received due homage. Upon the death of Pope Stephen, Pascal, called to the Papal throne by the Roman clergy and people, had sought the confirmation of his election from the Emperor.—So also Pascal's successor Eugenius; and the Diets of the Empire were repeatedly graced by Pontifical Legates—Benedict the Archdeacon, Quirinus the Primicerius and Theophylact the Nomenclator; Leo, the Magister Militum, and Sergius the Bibliothecary, reverently performing their obeisance, acknowledged, on behalf of the Pontiff, the temporal supremacy possessed by the representative of the Cæsars. 817—824 Submission of the Papal See to Louis-le-débonnaire.

The Abbot of Mount Olivet comes from the Holy Land, attracted by the munificence and kindness of Charlemagne's son. The Abbot of Mount Olivet.

The Republic of Venice, cautiously steering between Byzantium and Rome, permits her acute representative, George the Presbyter, to follow as an attendant in the train of the Count of George the Venetian becomes a retainer of the Court.

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Friuli. The individual in question was curiously distinguished by his skill. Equally versed in music and mechanics, he was able to construct "that delightful instrument called the Organ, producing the sound," as the Monk of Saint Gall carefully explains, "by the wind blown through pipes of brass." This George was employed to build the first Organ which ever pealed along the vaulting of Aix-la-Chapelle.

Occasional exertions of military power were needed to sustain this Imperial dignity. The ineffectual revolts of the distant March-lands gave Louis the gratification of success; just enough peril to dispel the monotony of opulent and pleasurable prosperity: thus the Sclavonians made a show of resistance, but were put down.

Other campaigns added still more to his reputation. Charlemagne himself had only reduced the Bretons into an impatient subjection. Morvan, the Celtic chieftain, refused his tribute: Louis-le-débonnaire advanced into the country. Morvan was slain, and his head brought to the Emperor. He was succeeded by Judicael, a Prince or *Mactiern*, also known—his name barbarised or corrupted by the Franks—as *Uidemaculus* or *Wiomarch*. Louis-le-débonnaire determined to break the strength of the Celts. Associating to himself his sons Pepin and Louis, he led his Imperial host into Armorica: Rennes

818, 822. Military expeditions conducted by Louis-le-débonnaire against the Bretons.

yielded, and Louis receiving the hostages given by the Bretons, returned in triumph to Rouen. 741—987 819—830

§ 41. Far more important in their relations to the future fortunes of France, of England, of the World, were his transactions with Rollo's precursors: he gave the precedent which settled the conquering Northman on Neustrian ground. About the time when Louis-le-débonnaire was engaged against the Sclavonians, the keen-eyed Scandinavian and Cimbric pirates, always observant of opportunities and knowing how to seize them, renewed their inroads upon the Belgic shores. Louis, however, was fully prepared: he had continued the precautions suggested by Charlemagne's forethought. He knew the cities and monasteries most likely to attract, and the estuaries most open to receive them. From Seine to Flanders the Frankish troops watched the coasts. The Northmen effected a landing: they were repelled by the Imperial forces, took to their ships, sailed down the Channel and round into the Atlantic, and compensated themselves by plundering Aquitaine. But notwithstanding the daring of these greedy marauders, the Danskermen, as a nation, confessed the Imperial power; and an important Leader was bought off to be a friend. 820. Transactions with the Danes: they attack the coasts, but are unable to enter the interior.

At the commencement of the reign of Louis-le-débonnaire we noticed his interference between two competitors, or rather parties, then con-

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826.
Harold King of Jutland baptized at Mayence.

testing the superiority of Denmark—the sons of Godfrey King of Lethra, and Harold King of Jutland. Both belong to English history: from the lineage of Godfrey came "Eric of the bloody-axe," "King of the Pagans" in Northumbria, whilst Harold was grandfather to *Gorm-hin-rige*, Gorm the mighty, the Gormund, Codrinus, Guthrun or Guthrun-Athelstan, of our English historians, who in King Alfred's time conquered East-Anglia, and settled the Danelaghe. Harold, when he first sought the assistance of Louis-le-débonnaire, did homage to the Frankish crown; and the imperial forces, Franks and Sclavonians, crossing the Eyder, replaced him in a portion of his dominions.

Again expelled, again Harold resorted to his Suzerain; and so revered was the imperial authority, that the Dane determined to protect himself by becoming to all intents and purposes a member of the Western Empire. The worshipper of Thor and Odin could not decently claim admission into the Latin Commonwealth: this impediment was now removed. Harold, his wife, and his son Godfrey, were baptized in the vast Dom of Mayence. Louis stood as sponsor for King Harold; Judith undertook the like office for his Consort; Lothair accepted the same duty for Godfrey their son, a future though transient feudatory on the borders of the Seine. Louis invested Harold with the purple robe of estate, girt him with his own

826.
Investiture of Harold,

sword, dropped the golden coronal on his head. Harold, kneeling before the Emperor, repeated his homage, placing his hands between the hands of the Emperor, and received from him a three-fold grant;—a County or Graffschaft between Rhine and Moselle, jocosely said to have been selected for the purpose of supplying the jovial Danes with a store of good wine;—another, and more important Fief or Benefice, Rustringia, a rich and extensive Gau or Pagus, included in the ancient Frisick territory, and subsequently erected into the Duchy of Oldenburg, to which was also added the flourishing emporium of Doerstadt, now almost obliterated from the map, nay even from historical memory;—lastly, the kingdom of Denmark, which Harold acknowledged he would hold of the Imperial Crown.

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the homager of Louis for a county in the Rheinland, the Duchy of Oldenburgh, and the kingdom of Denmark.

Mox, manibus junctis, Regi se tradidit ultro,
Et secum regnum, quod sibi jure fuit.
Suscipe, Cæsar, ait, me, necnon regna subacta:
Sponte tuis memet confero servitiis.
Cæsar at ipse manus manibus suscepit honestis:
Junguntur Francis Danica regna piis.

Louis-le-débonnaire might boast that he had accomplished greater things than his father could have hoped for. No longer was that fierce Dane a dreaded enemy, but a feudatory and ally, whose interest was united to the prosperity of his Sovereign: Harold was now lord of a rich and attractive domain, his own, though surrounded by the Frankish territory—a Markgrave, whose private

741—987 / 819—830 interest would excite him to protect the Empire from invasion—and, through the bounty of Charlemagne's son, an accepted member of that same Empire, participating in its honours and glories. In subsequent times, when the Heralds came forth from the Frankfort Roemer Saal, and proclaimed the style of the successor of the Cæsars, the epithet of *Mehrer des Reichs*, "Encreaser of the Empire," called forth the loudest responding shouts of the people—could not Louis-le-débonnaire most truly assert the title as his own?

Fatality of misfortune attending Louis-le-débonnaire.

§ 42. In all these transactions there ought to have been every element of stability: renown abroad, good government, so far as the supreme authority extended, at home, wise laws made, the imperial judges dispatched upon their circuits to administer justice, the frontiers diligently protected, enemies subdued, merit encouraged, and a very earnest and sincere desire on the part of the Monarch to do his duty—yet all in vain: never were the boundaries of the Carlovingian Empire so widely extended as at the juncture immediately preceding that Empire's fall.

Nothing peculiar can be discerned in the failings of Louis-le-débonnaire, or in the disappointments of his exertions. We observe him constantly striving after more than he could effect; never realizing his high aspirations, and counteracting by transient weaknesses the permanent good which the excellence of his character

was calculated to bestow. All this is according to the ordinary course of human nature: the specialty in the history of Louis-le-débonnaire was the destiny by which his inconsistencies have been brought more into evidence than the analogous failings of any other mediæval or modern monarch endued with equal piety and sincerity, and his errors rendered more fatally destructive. Sovereigns far less strenuous have resisted adverse fortune and successfully opposed their enemies; but Louis was called to reign over an Empire containing within itself the elements of disintegration and ruin: his most bitter and implacable enemies were his own sons. 741—987 819—822

His tenderness, his sweetness, his affection, kept him halting between two opinions: whether rigid or lax, stern or merciful, his conduct turned against him. He began a comprehensive ecclesiastical reform; but the cunning "clerks of the chapel," his ministry, continued to profit by the abuses which he had promised to restrain; and in these abuses he himself concurred, expecting by his good temper and compliance to promote peace and good-will. Could there be a stronger testimony brought against Louis by the advocates of sound ecclesiastical discipline than the example of his own brother Hugh, the stout warrior, holding the three Abbeys of Saint Quentin, Saint Bertin, and Noailly? Such compromises of principle, exaggerated by faction and discontent, destroyed the confidence placed in his conscien- Inconsistencies of Louis-le-débonnaire, so severely visited upon him.

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819—822

tiousness: the Court grew worse and worse. The compensations he had made to the injured were imperfect. Bera was pining in degraded poverty at Rouen, whilst the fawning dissolute Count Bernard plumed himself as Count of Barcelona.

But the most grievous portion of his conduct related to Italy. Deeply had Louis deplored his culpable injustice against King Bernard, and on behalf of Bernard's adherents he had acted mercifully: they were recalled, and restored to their honours and lands. The restitution therefore of the Lombard kingdom to Bernard's son Pepin ought to have ensued as a necessary consequence; but the most subtle amongst the deceits by which the root of all evil tempts the righteous, the deceit imparting to selfishness the flavour of self-denial, and to covetousness the colour of liberality, the desire of family aggrandisement, the deceit which became the ruling passion of Louis, and from whence his most grievous punishments arose, the desire of encreasing his substance for his children, prevailed. Louis-le-débonnaire kept the rapine, and confirmed Lothair in the inheritance.

822—823. Lothair sent to take possession of Lombardy, accompanied by Wala.

Immediately after bewailing the death of King Bernard in the Council of Attigny, Louis despatched Lothair to take possession of Italy, selecting for him, as his minister and adviser, the very man whom he, Louis, had so terribly aggrieved. Yielding in the first instance to a panic suspicion, proceeding without law, punishing the untried Wala as a traitor, he now trusted Wala,

equally untried, as the most faithful of subjects and friends, placing him exactly in the position where he would be most forcibly instigated to revenge, and most able to do harm. 741—987 819—822

Lothair had been declared his father's consort and successor in the Imperial dignity; but this title was only inchoate: the benediction of the Roman Pontiff had not been bestowed, the concurrence of the Roman people had not been asked, nor was Lothair clearly acknowledged as having a legal right to any practical share in the Imperial Government. A burst of authority, a *coup d'état*, might render him a pageant, not an Emperor, or when confronted by his father, an Emperor possessing less direct power than his brethren, the kings of Bavaria and Aquitaine. They had substantive domains, he had none. But Italy was now given to him, a powerful and virtually independent kingdom: a fortress-kingdom; and there Louis-le-débonnaire installed him, as if he had sought to lend his selfish, deceitful son the means of edging him off the throne. 822—823

Wala supported Lothair with the utmost strenuousness, aided him by his astute counsel, joined him in every thought, plan or scheme which could weaken the authority of his father. Against Louis, the stern, inflexible Wala entertained a mingled feeling of anger and contempt: they crossed the Alps, and the way rapidly opened for further enterprize.

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822—823
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§ 43. Upon the partition of the Empire decreed at Aix-la-Chapelle, Louis, with the consent of his three sons, had resettled the affairs of Rome. The Imperial rescript, which Canonists and Legists were used to quote by its initial words, *Ego Ludovicus*, gave a new foundation to the Papal authority. The document exists in the form of a grant addressed to Pope Pascal, who had succeeded to the Apostolic Chair upon the death of Pope Stephen. Romanists and Protestants have agreed in endeavouring to eliminate this Charter as far as possible from ecclesiastical history, though constituting one of the most important passages in the mediæval annals of the Papal See till we reach the Hildebrandine age. Four copies are kept in the archives of the Vatican.—In addition to the various donations made by the Patrician Pepin and the Emperor Charlemagne, Louis, their successor, confirms to Saint Peter the city and duchy of Rome, Corsica and Sardinia, and very many other territories in Campania, Calabria, Apulia and elsewhere, of which the greater part are still comprized in the Pontifical States, or have been claimed by the Papal See.

The decree by which Louis-le-débonnaire enlarges Saint Peter's patrimony, and confirms the elective franchise of the Roman people.

The right of the Roman Clergy and people, and the Roman people alone, unmingled and uncontrolled, to elect the Pope, is acknowledged, renewed, and defended by the Cæsar. Without the confirmation of the Pontiff, the title of that Cæsar was incomplete; and yet Louis inserts an

express and stringent reservation of the Imperial Supremacy over the dominions which he cedes—a most complicated combination of authorities, being nevertheless perfectly intelligible when we examine the principles, concurrent though antagonistic, by which the keys of Saint Peter and the diadem of Augustus, the chair of the Pontiff and the wolf of the Republic, the Church and the Fourth Monarchy, were severally sustained. 741—987 822—825

Lothair advanced to Rome. Pope Pascal and the Romans came forth to meet him. On Easter-day he received the Imperial crown before the altar of Saint Peter, was hailed as Cæsar and Augustus, and the Pope declared that henceforward he was to possess all the rights of the pristine Emperors. Lothair assumed the government vigorously. His name was associated with that of his father in public acts, *Ludovicus et Lotharius, divinâ providentiâ Imperatores Augusti.* The Roman people shortly afterwards, Eugenius being Pontiff, took the oaths of allegiance to Louis and Lothair jointly; and thus was effected a third and complete partition of the Empire in this miserable reign—a partition under the disguise of an union—Louis-le-débonnaire, the father, holding his splendid Court at Frankfort or Aix-la-Chapelle, Lothair, the rival son, at Pavia, having half and wanting all, preparing to deprive his father of whatever remained to him of majesty or power.

April 5, 823. Lothair crowned as Emperor at Rome by Pope Pascal. His name associated to that of his father in public acts.

825. Roman people take the oath of fealty to him.

CHAPTER II.

LOUIS-LE-DEBONNAIRE AND HIS SUCCESSORS, TO THE FINAL DETHRONEMENT OF THE CARLOVINGIAN DYNASTY.

824—987.

French history, how studied, employed by the French for political advocacy. Thierry's views upon this tendency.

§ 1. VERY diligently have the French studied their own History with reference to political discussion, and still more for the excitement, the extenuation or the advocacy of political action. They began even before the revival of literature. One of their most distinguished Historians has recently brought forward this tendency as a species of accusation against his fellow-countrymen: the spirit of their historical system, he complains, is only a reflection of the spirit of party.—If there be any guilt in such a party-course, no culprit is more brilliant and successful than he.

From Gregory of Tours downwards, French history has been treated as a vast repository of texts—materials presented for improvement by the political enquirer. Contradictory as the assertion may appear, France, that land of Revolutions, has been fed by historical traditions. Close and clear reasoners are the French people, reasoners who endeavour to guide themselves by inductions from facts and realities, unlike the Germans, so prone to become absorbed in the

vastness of abstract speculation, mind brooding upon mind. All ranks and orders, noblesse and bourgeoisie, hierarchy and parliament, rochet and longrobe, cloth of gold and cloth of frieze, have laboured to establish the justice of their claims by appeals to History. Speculative History has been combined with the practical conflicts of the State, and the evidences of History, supporting or supposed to support each adverse pretension, have been grouped into argumentative or systematic order. 824—987

Surely we need not quarrel with those who have thus been incited to historical disquisition: in such impulse there is no ground for blame. The past instructs the present by the positive application of historical facts, bestowing upon them their highest value. If unused, where is their worth?—hoarded coins, kept out of circulation, an armoury in which the weapons embrowned by rust are hanging against the damp, green wall. We do not say that an historian must necessarily be a politician, or that he cannot be intelligently laborious except as the expounder of a doctrine or a creed, or interesting without speaking as the organ of a particular party; but it is a great help to him if he be so. These feelings from within give him a motive the more. No writer can narrate impressively unless he feels forcibly; and there is no influence which will impel any one who

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really deserves the name of an Historian so energetically, as the earnest desire of propagating opinions which he believes it to be his duty to teach or proclaim.

Points of resemblance between the revolutions of the reign of Louis-le-débonnaire and the proceedings of the leaguers and the revolutionists of the revolution.

The Duchesse de Joyeuse sent her scissors to Henri de Valois—a symbolical gift, a token, a hieroglyphic,—to warn him how well he deserved the enforced seclusion of the long-haired Kings. It was a chance that Henri was not shut up in the Abbey at Soissons. The Revolution of the ninth Century offers many analogies to the troubles of the League, they breathe the same spirit; but with respect to the results occasioned by personal character, this Carlovingian revolution approaches closer to the Tricolor. Louis-le-débonnaire was the *Louis-Seize*, Judith the *Marie-Antoinette* of the Carlovingian era: the most effective manœuvres of the party headed by Wala and Lothair consisted in the able, pertinacious, and virulent attacks directed against the reputation and honour of the Empress. The corruption of the Court was inveterate—Louis had utterly failed in his endeavours to begin well at home. He had always feared to probe the wound or apply the cautery. The profligacy of the Palace passed from intrigue and gallantry to assassination and murder—depravities and crimes so often shading into one another, garlands of roses round the drugged bowl. The resplendent beauty of Judith, her wit, her spirit,

her free and open manners, were all so many snares to her, exposing her to censures and accusations, encouraging and embittering her malignant and unsparing enemies. Slanders and rumours soon settled into a definite accusation. Count Bernard of Septimania, the godson, the intimate friend and counsellor of Louis-le-débonnaire was universally reported to be the seducer of the Empress: she and her paramour were seeking to compass her husband's death: he, a degraded and passive wittol, and that young child, Charles, on whom he doated, the offspring of adultery. 824—987 824—829

§ 2. Open a mediæval *geste* at a venture: the chance is, that the plot turns upon a Queen's incontinence:—the bonhomme of a husband hears, shudders, and believes the denunciations received from the profligate courtier whose advances she has repelled, or the spiteful dwarf whipped for his insolence, or the wanton serving-wench seeking to win the easy Sovereign's heart, that his dear spouse, with whom he has lived years in peace and comfort and worshipped as a model of conjugal fidelity, is an adulteress. Without any further examination she is abandoned to the waves in a leaky boat, or driven into the desert to be devoured by lions, or chained to the stake amidst the pile of faggots where she is to be burned alive. Upon the same agreeable theme many pleasant variations are grounded. The 824—828 Approach of the Revolutionary period.

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gentle Troubadour sought to vitiate woman's chastity by his harmonious verse. The clever, sarcastic, scurvy Trouveur delighted in woman's degradation. The Minstrel represents the probability of female frailty as outweighing all moral or physical improbabilities. The Queen-consort is taken in labour; and the malignant hag, the Queen-dowager, reports to her dutiful son that her daughter-in-law has been delivered of a log of wood, or a puppy dog, or seven puppy dogs, as the case may be. The King translates these preternatural births into portentous evidence of his wife's crime, and condemnation then ensues as before, the innocent Lady being however always ultimately rescued.

False accusations against female chastity a staple theme in mediæval romances.

The prototypes of these tales are unfortunately not rare in authentic mediæval history. Very slight proofs, mere surmises, or incredible accusations were accepted or employed by the mediæval sovereigns for the purpose of ridding themselves of their consorts. They constitute the basis of the proceedings in the regal-divorce causes, at all times the scandals and perils of the throne. France and Germany in particular offer instances of such calumnies carried to an atrocious extent. The most magnanimous and disinterested exertions of Pontifical power consist in the checks or corrections by which the Church defended female innocence and restrained the wild lasciviousness of kings. Such was the

protection given by Innocent the Third to the friendless and desolate Ingeburga of Denmark. Lothair, the second son of the Emperor Lothair, second in birth, second in name, but the first king of the kingdom of Lotharingia or Lorraine, the persecutor of Theutberga, was a worthy precursor of Philip-Augustus. Philip-Augustus was a worthy follower of Lothair. Each example, however, offers peculiar features. Unquestionably many a royal-divorce suit which excites pain or surprize was prosecuted groundlessly, yet in good faith, by a corrupt husband, whose accusing conscience led him to an easy belief of the misconduct imputed to his wife: he judged her by his own standard. 824—987 824—828

With Louis-le-débonnaire, the same process of moral induction, often applied so fallaciously, whether as the source of approbation or censure, praise or blame, produced exactly the opposite results. He, wavering in his opinions, and constitutionally prone to timid credulity, wholly put aside all the calumnies by which Judith was assailed. Not a single suspicion, from first to last, ever disturbed the honest heart of Louis-le-débonnaire: his fond delight in Judith continued unbounded. Indeed, from what we gather concerning her, she very fully deserved his tenderness and love. To their young son, Charles, Louis clung with yearning affection. The boy was constantly with his parents, and the Emperor and the Empress brought him forward as a Crown- Encreasing affection of Louis-le-débonnaire for Judith and Charles.

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Prince in the Diets of the Empire. During that magnificent ceremonial, when Harold the Dane performed homage, Charles is described by an eye-witness as joyfully coursing along the marble pavement before them:—

> Ante patrem pulcher Carolus inclitus auro
> Lætus abit, plantis marmora pulsat ovans.
> Judith interea regali munere fulta
> Procedit.——

The unshaken confidence of Louis-le-débonnaire in Count Bernard we have already noticed. He was brought higher into trust, treated as the most intimate friend of the imperial family; and the Count of Septimania was intruded as an imperial vicar into the dominions of Louis-le-Germanique, certainly trenching upon the privileges of that son.

Anxieties of Louis-le-débonnaire for the establishment and safety of Charles.

§ 3. The paternal fondness of Louis-le-débonnaire for his young Charles was now darkening into the great trouble of his reign and life. The tripartite division of the Empire between Lothair, Pepin and Louis-le-Germanique was intended to be final and conclusive. Advisedly promulgating the grant upon the request of the States of the Empire, Louis had placed his sons in possession. Again, in the Placitum at Nimeguen, the Prelates and Nobles confirmed the compact, equally appertaining to the Sovereigns and the people. Consistently with this ratification, this act of settlement, what provision could be made for the young Charles? Louis-le-

débonnaire had scarcely anything left to him worth acceptance which he could bestow: an abbey, when one should become vacant, was the only valuable appanage he could grant: the best of these preferments were appropriated and the Court filled with greedy expectants for the first which should open to competition. But all doubts and uncertainties must have merged in a more fearful anticipative inquiry: how was Louis to protect the freedom, the life of his child? How would the Emperor Lothair, King Pepin and King Louis act towards the son of the suspected, defamed and hated step-mother—a half-brother, excluded by the legislative entail? They, however, did not allow him even this claim to consanguinity. The sons of Hermengarda, or their partizans, asserted that "Charlot" was an adulterine bastard, a *mamzer*, no brother at all. Perhaps, according to family custom, they would cause him to be degraded, or shorn in a monastery, like Hugh and Drogo and Thierry, or condemn him to death upon suspicion, and then pardoning him like King Bernard, as a great mercy put out his eyes.

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828. Louis-le-débonnaire treats with Lothair to assent to the endowment of Charles at the expence of Louis-le-Germanique.

In this strait, Judith unquestionably co-operating, the hopes and plans of Louis turned wholly to the one object of securing a Kingdom for Charles: a desire which could not be effected without a radical unsettlement of the Empire, revoking the act declared to be irrevocable. He

824—987 might be encouraged in this dangerous attempt by the discontents which the *Charta divisionis*
824—829 and the Treaty of Nimeguen had already occasioned amongst the benefitted parties. A political schism had arisen between the three crowned brothers: Pepin and Louis-le-Germanique groaned at their *senior's* supremacy, and the *senior* because his *seniority* north of the Alps was imperfectly defined. Lothair, the Emperor, might not have any objection to sanction a further subdivision of his brothers' portions in Germany and the Gauls, by which process their powers would be diminished.

Louis therefore treated with Lothair secretly, and obtained his assent to the promotion and endowment of Charles-le-Chauve. Louis-le-débonnaire proposed that the endowment should be effected at the expence of Louis-le-Germanique, a fourth partition of the Empire. Louis-le-débonnaire planned that this new kingdom should be composed of the territories of which Duke Bernard had assumed the government,—"Alemannia, Rhætia and Transjurane Burgundy," a territory wholly of the German tongue. A Diet was convened at Worms, to which all the sons were summoned. Pepin kept away. Lothair retracted his dishonest consent, united himself to Louis-le-Germanique: both were affronted and offended in the highest degree, and testified against the dismemberment. But Louis-

829. Council at Worms, *fourth* partition of the Empire: Alemannia, &c. taken from Louis-le-Germanique, and given to Charles-le-Chauve.

le-débonnaire persevered: the before-mentioned dominions were given to Charles; and the young Prince, placed under Bernard's care, was sent to take possession of the newly erected realm. This was the *fourth* partition of the empire. The education of Charles was entrusted to Bernard, and, notwithstanding the troubles of the times, pursued steadily. 824—987 829—830

Charles-le-Chauve became as well imbued with literature as his father and his grandsire. Important chronicles by which we now profit, owe their origin to the liberal obedience which his suggestions commanded. His court was the resort of the learned, whom he encouraged by munificence, but more efficiently by example and generous rivalry. Literary cultivation and talent of Charles-le-Chauve.

An acute metaphysical theologian, he delighted in epistolary discussions, exercising the ability of opponent and respondent. Charlemagne gave to the Western Church the sublime hymn *Veni Creator:* his grandson, instructed by the example, cultivated the same noble talent, and his compositions were adopted in the Gallican liturgies.—An expressive token of his classical taste may be discerned in the name *Carlopolis*, by which he sought to honour his favourite palace—Compiègne, and the city he there designed to found.

§ 4. Louis-le-débonnaire, aware of the machinations forming against him and Judith, 829—840. Progress of the re-

824—987 trusted the more implicitly to Count Bernard, accumulating upon this minion every token of confidence. The attacks directed against the favourite were construed into evidences of his loyalty. This conduct accelerated the progress of the revolution. The rays of general discontent acquire their fiercest heat when concentrated upon the one hated head. No political change is so strenuously prosecuted, as when the propelling agents are vivified by their antipathy to the one man singled out for the sacrifice: the abstract sentiment concreted by individual feeling, national grievances exaggerated by particular jealousy. Or it may be asked whether any popular movement ever takes place until circumstances render some one man the visible and tangible mark of rancour, rightly or wrongly entertained. Laud swung down the monarchy in the person of Charles Stuart: Judge Jefferies determined the Revolution. Count Bernard was hated by the Emperor Lothair, by King Pepin and by King Louis-le-Germanique, as the efficient supporter of their detested pseudo-brother Charles. Equally so by Archbishop Agobard, possibly on account of his immorality; but worst of all was Bernard hated by his own brother-in-law Wala, his loudest, most inveterate, most cogent and dogged accuser. It is a strange moral insanity that kindred can rarely see the absurdity of befouling their own nest. The close connexion

829—830 volution: active part taken by Wala

Bernard the object of peculiar enmity.

between Wala and Bernard increased the acerbity of the feud. Wala encouraged in every way the odium cast upon guiltless Judith's supposed paramour. Every effort was made throughout the now-commencing revolution to irritate and excite the public mind. 824—987 829—830

§ 5. A libel and pamphlet literature arose, the crest of the foaming waves, a nationally characteristic literature, re-appearing in the subsequently corresponding crises of the ancient monarchy. The *pièces justificatives* of the *Mémoires de Louis-le-débonnaire* should be bound up with the *Mémoires de la Ligue;* the *Mémoires de la Ligue* introduce the *Mémoires de la Fronde,* and all should be numbered consecutively and made into one set, as introductory to the *Mémoires de la Révolution Française.* Libel literature of the ninth century.

In such a collection we should find Archbishop Agobard's addresses to the people, and also the reply to Agobard's addresses—the *Conquestio Domini Ludovici Imperatoris,*—the pathetic lament in which the dethroned Louis, like another Charles Stuart, narrates the indignities he sustained. The collection would also include a very curious political Biography of Wala, the source supplying the materials for our narrative of his youthful adventures. This work consists of a series of conversations, in which the several individuals concerned are designated by fictitious

824—987
829—830

names—a plan instigated equally by the desire of concealment and the lurid drollery often accompanying the most fatal intrigues, the morbid merriment elicited by intense anxiety. The interlocutors apply the most vituperative language in disparagement of Count Bernard. They call him *Naso*, a name ludicrously contrasting with the personal epithet characterising the Count of Orange his father, *Guillaume-au-court-nez*. Louis-le-débonnaire and Judith are scorned under the appellations of Justinian and Justina: Pepin is Melanius: Lothair, Honorius; and Louis, Gratian;—but the hero is Wala, under the more euphonic denomination of Arsenius.

The *Epitaphium Arsenii* a vindication of Wala.

Indeed the *Epitaphium Arsenii*, a title given to the biography in consequence of the addition of a second and concluding part, made after Wala's death, is completely devoted to the justification of his public and private conduct throughout the Revolution. But Paschasius Radbertus the apologist, his disciple at Corbey and afterwards Abbot, has performed an unlucky service to his friend's memory. His vindication displays the extreme bitterness of Wala's character. We learn the extent of Wala's hostility against Louis-le-débonnaire by the attempted extenuation.—Antiquaries would have been sorely puzzled by this extraordinary composition, had not the Hercules of archæologists, Dom Mabillon, who unearthed the single existing manuscript, also in-

geniously discovered the key which decyphered the mystery. 824—987

It may be remarked, that the literary fancy of employing fictitious names, which amused an Alcuin and a Charlemagne, was common during the Middle Ages. Belonging to this particular era, we have a threnody upon the death of Abbot Adelhard, also due to Paschasius, an eclogue in which the *Vieille Corbey*, the mother monastery in Picardy, and young Corbey the daughter on the Weser, alternate their lamentations as Phyllis and Galatea. 829—830

The Councils, considered as ecclesiastical, often oscillated in character between synods and secular parliaments. The Bishops were virtually or actually the elected representatives of their diocesan cities; and matters, in our estimation purely secular, were therein treated and discussed. This commixture of spiritual and temporal affairs resulted from the pervading authority of the Church exercised through the Hierarchy—an authority, the blessing of the mediæval era, notwithstanding its inevitably concomitant human defects, aberrations and abuses. Wala led the opposition, his loud harangues declaring that the decline of the Empire was occasioned by the incompetence of Louis-le-débonnaire. All the mischiefs ensuing from the parricidal ambition of his sons, the selfish partizanship of the nobles, the people's faithlessness, were attributed to the Sovereign, the sufferer; and his participation in the govern-

Wala takes the lead in the Councils—attacking Louis-le-débonnaire.

824—987 ment of the Church, such as had been excused or applauded in Charlemagne, was imputed to 829—830 him as an unjustifiable usurpation. Wala was a lover of truth and a lover of justice; but exaggerated virtues may prove more deceitful and mischievous than acknowledged vices. Wala's dramatic biography affords some conception of his ungovernable impetuosity, and enables us to form a vague hypothesis concerning the motives which instigated him.—Did not Judith tease him by her clever and sarcastic tongue?—Against Count Bernard, vain and profligate, Wala was spurred by contempt, family bickerings and political jealousy; and, exulting in his own firm and iron character, he despised the pliability and indecision of Louis-le-débonnaire.

830. Feb. 8. Expedition against the Bretons.

§ 6. At this juncture, Louis-le-débonnaire undertook another raid-royal against Armorica, now governed by Nominoé, a prince literally taken from the plough, and who had been confirmed in his dominion by the Carlovingian crown. Lambert commanded at Nantes as Count of the Breton Marches, where the Romanised Franks settled in considerable numbers. Louis-le-débonnaire set his army in motion during Lent, that holy time when, according to the precepts of the Church, the truce of God ought to have been most strictly observed,—so urgent was the supposed exigency, the alleged revolt of the Celtic King,—an unfounded allegation, say the Breton Historians, who maintain that Nominoé con-

tinued faithful to Louis-le-débonnaire, but that Bernard and Count Lambert the traitor suggested the inroad to forward some scheme of their own. 824—987 829—830

Anyhow, the expedition was most unfortunate. Such was the general state of affairs, that every shrewd and clearsighted waiter upon opportunities began to plan how he could profit by the revolution, which all, save the Sovereign, knew was impending. Louis might have had a sufficient token of his own debility when he marshalled, or rather endeavoured to marshal, his army against the Bretons. A starved array:—the larger number of the nobles and troops who ought to have obeyed his summons, refused. Some, as we infer from subsequent proceedings, professed scruples about the Lenten season: nevertheless no scruples of any kind prevented their mustering with determined hostility against Louis-le-débonnaire in that city, which, after centuries of obscurity, rarely varied by any important event, was now destined to become the *primum mobile* of France, may be of the civilized world. The Military Summons of Louis disobeyed.

§ 7. French writers, French historians, French ecclesiastics, all Frenchmen, whatever may be their principles or views, are unanimous in asserting that the royal decree of the Merovingian Clovis rendered Paris the capital of France. This is an article of national faith;—but rarely has there been a more signal example of faith yielding to authority, without evidence and against probability. When Pope 1622. Paris not the actual capital of the French monarchy till the accession of the Capets.

824—987 Gregory the Fifteenth, at the request of Louis son of Henri-quatre, erected the See of Paris into an Archbishoprick, he assigns the antient preeminence of Paris as a reason for the promotion in the Gallican hierarchy given to her Prelate, then Jean-François de Gondy, brother of the Cardinal de Retz, whom he succeeded. If the validity of the concession depended upon the truth of the recital, the Papal Bull would be void; for nothing is more certain than that Paris never became the capital of France until after the accession of the third dynasty.—Paris made the Capets, the Capets made Paris.—A mere archæological question thus acquires the greatest value in French history.

829—830 Paris not an archiepiscopal See until the reign of Louis Treize.

Julian's affection for Lutetia was kindled by the rustic plainness and simplicity gracing the island and its pleasant vicinity. Lutetia, under the Roman domination, continued unhonoured by those privileges and institutions which distinguished the great cities of the Gauls, enabling Toulouse and Tournay and Nîmes, and so many others, to deduce their municipal genealogy in uninterrupted line from the Republic or the Roman Empire. The vigorous defence which the inhabitants had maintained against Cæsar earned the displeasure of the conquerors, and Paris is placed in the lowest rank, amongst the Vectigales of the Empire. Compared with the cities distinguished by their traditionary reputation or as seats of government, Rheims, where Clovis was baptized,

Paris, a city of inferior order under the Romans, Merovingians and Carlovingians.

Soissons, where he was installed in royalty, Orleans the erudite, Metz, proud of her immemorial antiquity,—the *bonne ville de Paris*, however proud she might be in after times, dwindles into a provincial town. 824—987 829—830

Clovis, it is true, occasionally held his Court in the Imperial Palace of the Cæsars, which, though at some distance from the shores of the island-city, was connected therewith. Some of his immediate successors, Clodomir, Childebert and Chilperic, also dwelt there, but they were frequently attracted away by halls and towers affording the enjoyment of wood and wold. The palace of a Merovingian or Carlovingian Sovereign was worth nothing without a hunting-ground. Paris was neglected more and more during the concluding periods of the first dynasty; and Charlemagne, excepting perhaps when Paris might be on his road, never resided there at all.

Importance of the Isle of Paris derived from the command of the river Seine:

But though destitute of royal favour, Paris had within her from the first foundation of the Frankish monarchy, aye, and long before the foundation of the Frankish monarchy, the elements of that importance which she afterwards acquired.

As a Christian city, though her Bishop was only a suffragan of Sens, yet great veneration was rendered to the memory of her first prelate Dionysius, enhanced by the legendary traditions of the Areopagite, whilst the great Monastery of which Saint Denis was the patron, and the other

824—987 powerful and opulent foundations, Saint Germain
829—830 des Près, Saint Germain l'Auxerrois, Sainte Geneviève, and Saint Laurent, rendered the vicinity one of the most interesting ecclesiastical districts in the kingdom.

But the influential cause which elevated mediæval Paris into a metropolis of permanently national pre-eminence, whatever other claims she might possess upon moral feeling, will be best understood if we consult the map and consider the position of the island-city,—look upon her armorial bearing, the Bark and expound her symbolical heraldry.—Down to Mantes the Seine, then much broader than at present, was called "the Water of Paris;" and, from the Gaulish times, Paris was held by the Navicularii or Bargemen, who, subsequently incorporated as a Collegium according to the Roman law, became, by virtue of royal ordinances, the municipality of the Hôtel de Ville. The Prevôt des Marchands rose to the station of her chief magistrate: her political influence sprung out of her mercantile activity and opulence. Whoever held Paris commanded the Seine; and Paris, hitherto almost unobserved in the Carlovingian Empire, now bursts into notice. The City of Revolutions begins her real history by the first French Revolution. Paris, where the influence, whether personal or constitutional of the Sovereign was then at its minimum, which owed nothing to his favour or his bounty, where he was neither respected nor

Paris occupied by the revolutionary party.

feared, and where the shadows of the Merovingian kings interred at Sainte Geneviève might seem to threaten the usurping lineage, was appointed as the place of muster for the Revolutionists. There the whole hostile party, the clergy, the troops, the nobles, assembled. 824—987 830

§ 8. Pepin of Aquitaine came forward as the Leader of the insurrection. As soon as the banner was raised, Lothair and Louis-le-Germanique joined the king of Aquitaine. Noble objects, according to their proclamation, incited the insurgent sons—love for their parent, love for their King, love for their country. Louis was held in thraldom by an adulterous consort and her insidious paramour: they sought to deliver the Emperor from the domestic conspiracy which threatened his throne and life. Louis-le-débonnaire was completely without support: Count Bernard fled, Judith took refuge in Laon, the hill-fortress of the Frankish kings. 830. March—May. Outbreak of the revolution. The Royal Family taken prisoners.

Louis repaired to Compiègne, was seized by his sons, and subjected to shameful violence, not a priest or soldier, councillor or comforter, stood by him. Judith they pursued to the rock of Laon. Dragged out of Saint Mary's Monastery, no sanctuary, no manly feeling, protected the helpless Empress. They reviled her, ill-treated her, threatened her with death: they held out that she had no hope of mercy unless she could induce her husband to become a monk, and vacate the throne—the last Merovingian Louis subjected to personal violence.

824—987 had done so. Louis had once sought to be a monk: he was already a monk in heart—why
829—830 not become one in habit, and be happy in a monastery? But Louis resisted. Called to perform the duties of a Sovereign, he would not abandon these duties. The menaces against Judith became fiercer. In order that she might save her life, Louis advised her to put on the veil. As for himself, he required time for consideration. Conrad and Rodolph, the brothers of the Empress, were seized, shorn, and placed in custody in separate monasteries. Count Bernard escaped his enemies: not so his brother Herbert, who was caught and blinded. The sons harassed their father by lacerating his feelings. Judith was hurried from monastery to monastery, and at last imprisoned at Poitiers, in the monastery of Saint Radegund, of which the desecrated Church still exists, unroofed, but otherwise a perfect Carlovingian monument.

Judith, cruelly treated by her step-sons.

830—831. Counter-revolution begins.

§ 9. Louis-le-débonnaire, however, was still supported by a powerful party. He, his friends and adherents had been taken by surprize: had he fallen back at once upon the great independent cities towards the Rhine, they would have enabled him to withstand the power of Paris. He was loved and pitied, nor would the sound Germanic portions of the Empire easily renounce their Sovereign. The jailer-sons were compelled to relax in the custody of their prisoner, venerable through his sorrows. He promised to reform the

abuses of government, principally in relation to Church-affairs, and the counter-revolution was now rapidly maturing. Lothair nevertheless assumed the supreme authority, treating his father as a dethroned monarch and his brothers Pepin and Louis as his vassals, to their great indignation. They suspected that they had been overreached:—had they not been playing Lothair's game?

824—987

830—831

Disunion between Lothair and his brothers.

The confidants of Louis-le-débonnaire craftily suggested to him that he might detach Pepin and Louis-le-Germanique from their elder brother, and employ the faithless against the disobedient: an item of degrading policy added to the family account and encreasing the sum total of wrong. Gundobald, a monk, ambitious and unconscientious (afterwards Archbishop of Rouen) was the negotiator. A *fifth* partition of the Empire was proposed.—Lothair to be restricted to Italy, the kingdoms of Pepin and Louis-le-Germanique to be encreased and a competent endowment given to Charles-le-Chauve. The revulsion of feeling in favour of Louis, became impetuous amongst the northern and eastern populations of the Empire. It was agreed that a general Placitum should be summoned for the purpose of a pacification. Lothair proposed that the Assembly should be held somewhere in Romanized Gaul; but Louis, knowing where his own strength was to be found, convened the Placitum at Nime-

Schemes employed by Louis for the purpose of promoting fresh disunion—a *fifth* partition of the empire proposed.

The cause of the restoration prospers.

824—987 guen, amongst or nigh his peculiar adherents. The Germans generally felt deeply for the humi-

830—831. liation which the son of Charlemagne had sus-

Louis-le-débonnaire replaced in his authority. tained, and rose enthusiastically in his favour. Lothair was urged by his partizans to give battle to his father, but he dared not. Louis-le-débonnaire was replaced upon the Imperial throne, and, reinaugurated, he reassumed the exercise of his power. The leaders of the revolt were tried, and found guilty of high treason; Louis-le-débonnaire's mercy remitted the sentence of capital

Submission of Lothair and his brothers. punishment. Wala was ordered to return to his monastery at Corbey and live according to rule, but he would not acknowledge that he had been in the wrong; and his obstinacy was punished by imprisonment in a cavern near the lake of Geneva.

Judith clears herself of the charges brought against her by wager of law, and Bernard by wager of battle. Judith, restored to her husband, the vows she had taken upon compulsion were pronounced to be null. Proclamation was made that any one who could prefer any charge against the Empress, still stigmatized by report as an adulteress, should come forward. No witness appeared: nevertheless, according to the antient usages of the Franks, she cleared herself by compurgation or wager of law—she declared her innocence upon oath, and the compurgators swore that they believed in the truth of her asseveration. The compurgatory process, common under various modifications to all the antient nations, could never be otherwise than an uncertain mode of trial, yet wisely

adapted to the imperfection of human judgment and the exigencies of human society. The legist will find it impracticable to suggest any more eligible mode for repelling a grave accusation positively preferred, though grounded only upon common fame—*troth* undistinguishable from *truth*, —affirmative evidence unattainable, and negative evidence unavailable.—Bernard vindicated himself against the imputation by wager of battle. He challenged his accusers, but no accuser dared to meet him in the lists. Lothair was deprived of the Imperial authority, and returned to Italy, Pepin to Aquitaine, and Louis-le-Germanique to his diminished kingdom, Alemannia being administered on behalf of Charles-le-Chauve; and Louis-le-débonnaire hastened to Remiremont in the Vosges, resorting again to the scenes which had delighted him in his bright youthful days, the streams swarming with fish and the forests stocked with game and deer. 824—987 832—833

§ 10. It must be accepted as an incontrovertible axiom, that a restoration never places a monarch exactly in the situation which he held before: he comes in by a new title. Louis can scarcely be said to have been restored: the violence which ejected him was transient, his case was not the resumption of an authority which had ceased, but rather the triumph of a party over a faction. Louis had defeated Lothair: the North-German interest had prevailed over Ro- Reanimation of the revolutionary party.

824—987 manized France. Much as Louis deserved the love of his subjects, he failed to retain their confidence. The Lothairians, as we may call them, Agobard being their chief intellectual leader, maintained that the conduct of Louis was wholly illegal:—by disturbing the settlement of the kingdom, violating the compact upon which the primary partition of the Empire was founded and the *Charta divisionis* confirmed by oath, he was an instigator of perjury, a delinquent against the state.—All these motives are expressed in Agobard's manifesto. *Audite omnes gentes*, are the words by which Agobard begins his address: sternly and solemnly energetic, he fulminates his political anathema, and the sentiments were universally adopted by the Revolutionists.

832—833

832. The sons revolt again.

A period of distracting anxiety ensued. Louis, mistrustful of his sons, yet not daring to shew his suspicions: the sons only waiting an opportunity for commencing hostilities. Louis soon gave them that opportunity. Pepin behaved discourteously and ungraciously, refused to attend a general Placitum, and disturbed the Christmas festivities by an abrupt departure from the Court. Louis construed this conduct into a revolt, and prepared to act accordingly. Louis-le-Germanique, from whom so large a portion of his dominion had been wrested for the benefit of Charles, made a general levy of all his subjects, Germans and Sclavonians,

bond and free, and prepared to recover Alemannia, the old Suabian land. Yet Louis-le-débonnaire, undismayed and uninstructed by adversity, and never abandoning his ruling idea, only sought to turn all the circumstances to the advantage of his darling Charles, and proposed a *sixth* division of his empire. He adjudicated that Aquitaine was forfeited by Pepin: this kingdom he would give to Charles, and Lothair should receive the remaining portions of the Empire. 824—987 833.

Louis attempts to gain Lothair, by sacrificing Pepin and Louis-le-Germanique. He proposes a *sixth* partition of the Empire.

The proceeding was equally harsh and unconstitutional: the Aquitanians claimed to have a voice in the election of their sovereign: no one knew the right better than Louis-le-débonnaire, but his doting fondness for Charles blinded him.

If the Aquitanians made a show of assent to the transfer, their consent was extorted; and amongst the many errors of Louis-le-débonnaire, none was more conducive to calamity. All the enemies of Louis recovered their transiently depressed energy. Wala was delivered from his cavern. The alliance between Lothair, Pepin and Louis-le-Germanique was renewed, and they declared open war against their father. Hostilities were recommenced by them, considerately and vindictively. Lothair marched from Italy accompanied by Pope Gregory the Fourth, who had succeeded to the Pontificate, a Roman by birth, and to whom Rome owed many monuments of magnificence. The Pontiff had been

828. Pope Gregory IV. consecrated.

824—987 persuaded to sanction by his presence the parricidal invasion.

833. 833—June. The Luegenfeld or Field of Falsehood.

§ 11. Near Colmar, in the heart of that noble undulating plain of fertile Alsace, between the Rhine and the lengthening ranges of the Vosges, the region so cherished by Louis-le-débonnaire, is a hill then known and reverenced as the *Siegberg*, the "mountain of victory;" the champagne country below being denominated the "bloody field," the *Roth-feld*,—names transmitted by oral tradition, and bearing record of some desperate conflict, which, fought there in the pristine ages of the Teutons, had left no other trace upon human memory. Here the armies encamped, host against host, tents ranged opposite to tents, the sons against the father. A neutral ground separated the camps: on either side the blow was delayed. Faint and lingering feelings of decency and duty restrained the unnatural children: earnest affection induced the father to proffer peace and forgiveness. Pope Gregory had associated himself to Lothair, ostensibly as a mediator. Louis treated and parleyed, but ineffectually: thus whilst the old Emperor wasted the valuable time, his cunning sons improved the delay, and they now warred by seduction and treachery. An unrestrained communication and intercourse subsisted between the two camps, troops and chieftains mixed and mingled as friends: this Bishop or that Count was bribed to retreat from

Louis betrayed into the power of his sons.

the failing cause, others were flattered away or warned against the folly of adhering to a crazy old man, and thus incurring the vengeance of the young Sovereigns. 824—987 833.

A cruel defection ensued: Counts, Bishops, Abbots, Commanders, all deserted Louis: hardly any one even tried to resist the contagious treason. The two armies became one army, the combined army of the allied brethren. A very few hesitated, as if they thought of continuing faithful, but Louis would not allow his friends to share in his misfortunes.—"Do not abide with me,"—said he; "do not peril life or limb for my sake: go over to my sons." When the abandonment was completed, when priests, nobles, soldiers, servants, even to the meanest, had departed from him, Louis-le-débonnaire came forth from his tent, accompanied by the Empress Judith, holding their boy Charles by the hand, and the old man, the matron and the child became captives in the power of the foe. Louis deserted by his followers, &c. Louis, Judith, and Charles made prisoners.

The victorious sons seemed somewhat moved: greeting their father they embraced him; yet this token of affection or respect was a mockery, for they treated their parent as a degraded and contemptible enemy. They had promised Louis that Judith should not be separated from him, but they immediately violated that promise, and subjected her to rigid detention. Louis and the young Charles continued under arrest in Lothair's tent

824—987 till they were removed to their respective places of confinement.

833. Thus ended the present conflict. The glorious visions of the primeval heroes, hitherto hovering over hill and plain, were henceforward dispelled by the hard reality of modern felony. So shameful was the falsity displayed, that from this time forth the *Roth-feld* lost its ancient name. No longer the *Roth-feld*, the encrimsoned field of ancestral victory, but the *Luegen-feld*, the "Field of Lies:" the honest German soil was perennially branded by the treachery. On the *Luegen-feld* the trust and the faith and the power and the spirit of the Frankish race passed for ever away.

Persecutions inflicted upon the Imperial Family.

§ 12. Lothair, Pepin and Louis-le-Germanique immediately began to consider the partition of the Empire; but first they had to dispose of their prisoners. Judith was sent across the Alps to Tortona. At Pruhm, now an established State-prison, a cell was prepared for Charlot. Louis-le-débonnaire, who had been kept in close custody by Lothair, was transferred to Soissons. Humiliated, despised, a willing penitent and yet an indignant monarch, they incarcerated him in that tower, which, together with the sepulchral crypt of Chlothaire and Sigebert, alone remains to mark the site of the magnificent Abbey. Abbot Hilduin was well contented to turn the key upon his benefactor and master. All parties during this revolution appealed to the passions of the

Louis-le-débonnaire imprisoned in the Abbey of Saint Médard.

people—the sons of Louis, to justify their wrongs against their father, the father, to obtain compassion, if not vengeance, for his wrongs.—"They placed me here," says Louis himself in the *Conquestio*, the Complaint in which he details his misfortunes, "striving to drive me to an abdica- "tion, being well aware how I honour the sanc- "tuary and how I venerate the memory of Saint "Médard and Saint Sebastian. They continually "perplexed me by false intelligence: sometimes "they told me that my wife had become a nun; "sometimes that she was dead; sometimes that "my innocent Charles, whom they knew I loved "above all things, was shorn as a monk; and in- "asmuch as I, deprived of my kingdom, my wife, "my child, could not bear these griefs, I passed "my days and nights in tears and sorrow."—

824—987 833.

Extract from the *Complaint* of Louis-le-débonnaire.

Louis still steadily refused the surrender of his Crown, but his enemies persevered in assailing him with ingenious and inexorable consistency. They worked upon his truly tender conscience. He knew his own sins: he appeared again as a penitent before the altar, clad in sackcloth and deprived of his sword.

And now ensued the catastrophe to which all the preceding transactions had been tending, the deposition of Louis-le-débonnaire—not the first example in the middle ages, yet nevertheless most memorable in the series of lessons afforded equally to people and to kings, those lessons

833. Deposition of Louis-le-débonnaire.

824—987 which all must take, though they may refuse to profit by them. The power of deposing kings
833—834 is inevitably deduced from the Divine right of kings. Their high office is vicarial and delegated. The dominion given to Sovereigns by the King of kings is not inherent or indefeasible, but conditional on their governing according to law and justice.

The doctrine of royal responsibility as laid down in Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity.

Solemnly and truly has an enlightened conscience pronounced that "on earth there should "not be any alive altogether without standing in "awe of some by whom they are to be con- "trolled and bridled." "The good estate of a "commonwealth within itself is thought on no- "thing to depend more than upon these two "special affections, fear and love: fear in the "highest governor himself, and love in the sub- "jects which live under him. The subjects' love "for the most part continueth, as long as the "righteousness of kings doth last; in whom "virtue decayeth not, as long as they fear to do "that which may alienate the loving hearts of "their subjects from them." "In the mighty "upon earth, (which are not always so virtuous "and holy that their own good minds will bridle "them), what may we look for, considering the "frailty of man's nature, if the world do once "hold it for a maxim that kings ought to live in "no subjection: that how grievous disorders "soever they fall into, none may have coercive

"power over them?"—The eternal law of God, irrespective of any humanly devised policy or legislation, creates the original compact between King and people: and the dethronement of the Sovereign who violates the bond is the deserved penalty. The Divine displeasure chastises the monarch through His appointed ministers of righteousness or wrath, even though those ministers may be His enemies. 824—987 833—834

The proceedings by which Louis-le-débonnaire was deposed, irregular.

But in this particular case the violent and irregular proceedings which professed to deprive Louis-le-débonnaire of his regal authority, are not to be vindicated by the general doctrines which authorize the exercise of this transcendently exceptional power. The tribunal was altogether incompetent: an irregular convention of certain Bishops of the Gauls, assembled without proper sanction, and destitute of any jurisdiction over the Head of the Empire: a conventicle, a conciliabulum, good for nothing. The charges to which we have before alluded were futile, the arguments irrelevant, and the ceremonies and doctrines of the Church prostituted and perverted for the purpose of forwarding the parricidal projects entertained by Lothair and his brethren.—The pretended judgment was the worst of all social crimes, an act of force cloaked in the garb of justice, and therefore bringing justice into disrepute, and casting obloquy upon the very principles by which justice is sustained.

824—987

835—836
The second counter-revolution. Louis-le-débonnaire again restored.

§ 13. But the phases of this Revolution succeeded each other with national rapidity. A very large and influential party continued faithful to the monarch, though they had neglectfully surrendered him to his fate. The shame of the *Luegen-feld* was upon them: they were appalled by the disclosure of their own corruptions. The more unmixed portions of the Franks, as well as the purely Teutonic dominions, rose in arms to deliver the Emperor. The three brothers quarrelled. Lothair was now the reigning Emperor, Cæsar and Augustus, without a partner in his dignity: Louis and Pepin found that they had worked to give him an undivided supremacy. Louis-le-Germanique began to testify an apparent sense of duty towards his father: Pepin, open hostility to both his brothers. Lothair astutely evaded the contest. The old Emperor and the young Charles were severally released and brought to Paris.

Conferences ensued between Lothair on the one part, and a powerful deputation proceeding from the German realms on the other part. The threatening aspect of the Germans aided their arguments. They demanded the liberation of their old Emperor: Pepin was advancing with his army; Lothair retreated. Louis-le-débonnaire entered the Abbey of Saint-Denis: the Bishops absolved him. Girt again with his sword, the symbol of power, his re-accession was announced

by the people's cheerful acclaim. Wife and child were restored to him. No disobedience, no rebellion could harden the heart of Louis: the guilty sons were too happy to avail themselves of his facile tenderness; and after some incidental movements of partial and receding hostility, we behold him re-established on his throne. 824—987 835—836

Lothair was ultimately settled in Lombardy, holding his court at Pavia. With him resided Wala; and it was an effective conducement to the present transient respite, that he, the old man, once the fomenter of the revolution, the cause of such bitter dissension between father and son, was now most desirous to promote peace;—the best component qualities of his energetic character were revived during the brief space of life which remained to him.

835—836. Renewed Incursions of the Northmen.

There was great reason indeed that the Empire should be united: the Danes, the Northmen, had been re-appearing in great strength, emboldened to more incessant depredations than at any previous period, circling round and round the Gauls, but particularly directing their attacks to the Belgic coasts. The great commercial city of Dœrstadt was again ravaged. In this city alone they burnt and destroyed fifty-four churches, and they settled in Walcheren, then a portion of the Delta of the Scheldt, subsequently broken by the raging floods into the five *Zee-land* islands. They were also evidently directing themselves

824—987 towards the estuary of the Seine. Could they gain possession of the islands embraced by the meandering river, each would be a Danish fortress in Gaul.

835.

Louis-le-débonnaire was fully attentive to the defence of the realm; but the realm was not so dear to him as his child, Charles; and he and Judith were more and more wrapt up in that son. They were both dissatisfied with the portion assigned to Charles; and although Louis had suffered so bitterly from his previous endeavours on behalf of the boy, he actually planned a *seventh* partition of the empire.

835.—June A *seventh* partition of the Empire proposed, in the Placitum at Crémieux.

He accordingly summoned a great diet at Crémieux, on the Rhone, near Lyons, where he proposed his scheme. No inconveniences, no obstacles, no dangers, restrained him from the attempt. Italy, all the territory south of the Alps, should continue to be ruled by Lothair. Aquitaine, the kingdom of Pepin, received a considerable extension—the whole territory between Seine and Loire, and thence also beyond the Seine up to the confines of the Belgic tongue. Louis was to lose Alemannia, but large cessions were made to him on the north—the whole tract between Scheldt and Rhine—by which he would gain Aix-la-Chapelle as his capital; and Charles, in addition to Alemannia, taken from Louis, was to rule Provence, the greater part of Burgundy; the dioceses of Rheims, Laon and

Treves, and other adjoining or interspersed dominions. 824—987

The proposition, a complete dislocation of the Empire, was however, for the present, abandoned. Louis-le-Germanique, who would on no account part with any territory of the German tongue, rejected the overture with great indignation. Lothair also was grievously dissatisfied: he would never surrender Aix-la-Chapelle, so consecrated by the remembrances of Charlemagne—Charlemagne's palace, Charlemagne's tomb. 836.

Old Wala undertook the laborious journey from Bobbio, for the purpose of negotiating some pacific settlement. Louis and Judith received Wala with entire heartiness and goodwill, in which he fully participated. All mutual wrongs and grudges were forgiven, and expectations raised that Lothair and Louis-le-Germanique would yield. It was agreed that a Diet should be convened at Worms, where Lothair would attend, and conform to his father's injunctions. The appointed time arrived: no Lothair at the Diet. Contagious fevers were prevailing in Italy: Wala died at Bobbio. His sincerity as well as his influence over Lothair now became manifest; for Lothair, no longer tempered by Wala's advice, evaded the meeting at Worms, and again began to machinate against his father. Whether the pestilence in Italy extended to France, or whether, like trees coevally planted in an avenue, they were all 836. Pestilence, and general depression of the Country.

284—987 wearing out concurrently, it so happened that
837. the greater number of the individuals who had distinguished themselves most in the Revolution died about this time. Many of them had been the enemies, the bitter enemies of Louis, but they were men of renown: he had been reconciled to them, he mourned their loss as losses to the State, and he also received the fate of his contemporaries as a warning to himself. Whilst a general depression prevailed throughout the realm, the Franks lamented their declining fortunes, and laid all the blame upon their governors.—Foolish people, smitten people: their own faithlessness, their own cowardice aggravated the evils they sustained.

Louis meditated a pilgrimage to Rome, partly for political reasons, partly for devotional purposes; but he was arrested in his progress. The Northmen were again plundering and ravaging the Belgic shores. A comet glaring in the sky, a globe of fire as it is described, added to the contagious dismay. Louis summoned his host to meet at Nimeguen, where Charlemagne's Burg, as yet unassailed by the Scandinavian, still maintained the pristine imperial splendour. He had determined to take the command in person, and to conduct his army against the enemy, but the Northmen did not wait his approach: they returned to their ships unscathed, laden with booty. Years before the death of Charlemagne provision

Further ravages of the Northmen.

had been made for the guarding of the coast. The loss and disgrace were bitterly felt, but the success of the inroad was entirely owing to the pusillanimity and treachery of the Franks, who neglected the directions which had been given for watching the shores. 824—837.

§ 14. During these calamities Judith continued her misguided endeavours to procure a more ample establishment for the young Charles. Amidst all the dangers of the times she urged Louis-le-débonnaire to the determination of trying an *eighth* partition of the Empire. A Diet was held at Aix-la-Chapelle, where so many reminiscences of sorrow, trouble and disappointment were accumulating; and in this assembly he bestowed upon Charles the largest, finest, and most commanding portion of his northern dominions. In the description which the Chroniclers afford of these territories, we encounter the usual uncertainties arising from a vague enumeration; but the boundaries are stated with sufficient clearness to shew that the cessions extended from the Saxon lands to the Atlantic, and as far South as the borders of Aquitaine. 837. Placitum at Aix. Eighth division of the Empire in favour of Charles-le-Chauve.

Charles-le-Chauve was solemnly inaugurated. In the presence of Louis-le-débonnaire, the prelates and nobles of the newly-erected Kingdom were required to take the oaths to the Sovereign and to become his vassals. All who held royal Benefices or Feuds commended themselves to the Inauguration of Charles-le-Chauve.

824—987 young King at the behest of the Emperor, and became his men.—The ceremony was distinguished by a significant novelty. When the clergy advanced to the throne for the purpose of performing their fealty, Hilduin, Abbot of Saint-Denis, appeared as premier Prelate, the Archbishop of Rheims being set aside; and the first amongst the laity was Gerard, the first recorded Count of Paris. The recent transactions had manifested the importance of the island-city, and the station assigned to Count Gerard, answering as the premier peer of the new kingdom, denotes the pre-eminence Paris began to assume.

838.

This great political transaction was a desperate venture, which again brought the whole Empire to the verge of ruin. The three sons of Hermengarda were wholly opposed to this magnificent endowment of Judith's intruding son. For the benefit of Charles-le-Chauve, and without any other reason, the best parts of western and southern Germany had been swept into his net—an outrageous confiscation. But Louis-le-Germanique, true to his name and supported by his people, was determined not to part with a single *Gau* which spake the German tongue; and he prepared for resistance. The usual vacillation of Louis-le-débonnaire was provoked into firm determination: acting as a soldier, he determined to regain a once deserved reputation, to shew that he, Charlemagne's son, had fought under

Discontent of the three elder brothers.

the standard of the Great Emperor of the West. 824—987
He summoned his Host to meet at Mayence.

839—840
838.
September.
Council of Kiersey on the Oise.—Further partition of the empire (being the *ninth*) proposed in favour of Charles-le-Chauve.

Lothair avoided any conflict, and Louis-le-débonnaire proceeded in prosecuting the establishment of Charles upon the throne. A Diet was held at Cérisy, or Kiersey, on the Oise. The more he had given to Charles the more he sought to give; and, with doting infatuation, a further partition was now tried by the old Emperor for the *ninth* time. He decreed that Louis-le-Germanique had forfeited all his dominions except Baioaria—Alsace, Saxony, Thuringia, Austrasia, Alemannia, all taken away. Charles-le-Chauve, now fifteen years of age, was solemnly pronounced to be out of wardship, and his father girt him with the sword of manhood. Hitherto Charles had been too young to rule in the Kingdoms assigned to him: henceforward he was to reign. For the purpose of effacing the still subsisting recollections of his reputedly-dubious origin by the *prestige* of historical traditions, he was crowned "King of Neustria," like his illustrious namesake and grandsire.

839—840.
Mutations in Aquitaine.—Death of Pepin.

§ 15. At this juncture, Pepin, the most affectionate of Hermengarda's sons, (and yet he had rebelled three or four times against his father) died, leaving two children, Pepin the second of that name in Aquitaine, and Charles. The Aquitanians determined to have the boy Pepin as their King. Emeno, Count of Poitiers,

824—987 and Bernard his brother, were the leaders of the national insurrection. From this family descended *Guillaume tête d'étoupe*, or Shaggy-poll, Count of Poitiers, Count of Auvergne, and Duke of Aquitaine, who married the Adela or Princess Gerloc, also called Heloisa, daughter of Rollo. It is always very interesting to observe such lineages clearing themselves out of the darkness.

839. The Aquitanians proclaim the younger Pepin, but his grandfather excludes him from the succession.

The election of the younger Pepin was not however carried unanimously. Certain nobles and others declared that the Aquitanians were bound to wait for the sanction of his grandfather the Emperor. Louis-le-débonnaire refused his assent, and gave his reasons.—The young Pepin was wild, boisterous, and required good training. He would remove his grandson from Aquitaine, and educate him in his own palace, for the Aquitanians would ruin him—a most ungracious declaration from Louis-le-débonnaire, born in Aquitaine, educated in Aquitaine, and thoroughly assimilated to Aquitaine from his earliest youth.

Pepin, as he grew up, became equally distinguished by his beauty and his turbulence: headstrong, bold, irascible, debauched, fearless, the very prototype of a ballad-hero. The national privileges of the Aquitanians enabled them to share in the selection of their sovereigns: the spirit, if not the letter of the *Charta divisionis*, promised to the younger Pepin his father's kingdom. It is very possible that the boy Pepin, already

manifested some of the faults which marred his talent and energy after he had been rendered reckless by injustice and misfortune; and an easy self-delusion convinced Louis-le-débonnaire that the wayward grandson he wished to disinherit was absolutely irreclaimable. Young Pepin's pretensions or rights must yield to the welfare of the Empire—another and more eligible successor must be found. Louis revived the sentence of forfeiture which he had pronounced against Pepin the father. Lothair had an ample provision: the undutiful Louis-le-Germanique was unworthy of favour. Who then ought to rule Aquitaine? Who so deserving as Charles King of Neustria?—upon him accordingly was the realm bestowed. 824—987 839

§ 16. And yet there were those about Louis-le-débonnaire who lauded him for his prudence and kindness.—This wonderful infatuation put an end to all hesitation on the part of Louis-le-Germanique. Levying all his forces, Germans and Sclavonians, he invaded Alemannia and recovered the territories which had been usurped from him. The Aquitanians rose in revolt on behalf of the boy Pepin. Earth and heaven appeared in confusion. Another comet became visible in the sign of Aries, pendant over the nether world with threatening fire. Streams of asteroids were again seen, and the Northmen renewed their dreadful ravages. Nevertheless, striving against errors and calamities, Louis-le-débonnaire, though Renewal of the civil wars—attacks of the Northmen.

824—987 suffering from infirmities which had brought on a premature old age, was stirred to greater vigour. Even Lothair found it expedient to temporize, and he repaired to his father at Worms.

839

A great Placitum was held nigh the Garden of Roses, and Lothair, kneeling before his father, entreated pardon for his repeated acts of ingratitude and disobedience. But this apparent contrition was directed to a cunning scheme of aggrandizement: Lothair complained that he, the Emperor, the firstborn, was still deprived of a fair and equitable proportion of the great Carlovingian inheritance: so many of the arching circles had been broken away from the Imperial crown, that the mutilated diadem was a crown of dishonour. True to his ruling desire, the advantage of Charles-le-Chauve, the basis of the treaty was easily settled by Louis-le-débonnaire.—The younger Pepin to be wholly excluded, Louis-le-Germanique restricted to Baoiaria proper, without any appurtenances or appendages—nothing but Baioaria. Grandson and son, brother and nephew, thus excluded and despoiled, Louis-le-débonnaire concluded the *tenth*, the last proposed partition of the Empire, offering to Lothair —either that he (Lothair) should plan out the division and leave the choice to Charles,—or that he (Louis) should make the division. Lothair accepted the latter suggestion. To him, as Em-

Proceedings at Worms between Louis-le-débonnaire and Lothair.

Tenth partition of the empire made by Louis.

peror, were assigned the Eastern territories (Bavaria excepted)—all the lands beyond Meuse and Rhine—various Burgundian districts, chiefly in modern Switzerland—modern Provence and all beyond to Italy.—The residue was given to Charles-le-Chauve, who, by anticipation, we may call king of France, though as yet the name of "Francia" appertained only to a particular portion of his territory on the western side of the Rhine. 824—987 839—840

But this partition required to be enforced by the sword. The young Pepin, the boy Pepin, was still in Aquitaine. Emeno and the national party, by a sudden and successful movement, had gained possession of the country, and caused the boy to be crowned as their king. Louis-le-débonnaire was immediately in action: with Judith to comfort him, and the young Charles to delight him, he crossed the Loire. His promptitude produced delusive obedience.—Convened at Clermont, the magnates of Aquitaine performed homage to Charles-le-Chauve: provoked to unusual sternness, Louis-le-débonnaire testified a vindictive sense of justice depriving Emeno of the County of Poitiers, and condemning to death numerous offenders; who, as it is said, conjoined the offences of rapine and rebellion. 839—840. Aquitanian insurrection—the insurgents reduced by Louis-le-débonnaire.

§ 17. Compelled to be satisfied with Aquitaine's uneasy and enforced submission, Louis-

824—987 le-débonnaire was speedily called away to renew his unhappy warfare. Louis-le-Germanique bursting out from Bavaria, and heartily supported by his people, had reoccupied Alemannia. Louis-le-débonnaire buckled on his burnished hawberk,—and leaving Judith and Charles at Poitiers, marched against his contumacious son. So energetic was the old father's rally, that Louis-le-Germanique was compelled to retreat into Bavaria; and Louis-le-débonnaire, victor in this deplorable conflict, summoned a Diet of the Empire to be held at Worms on the Feast of Saint Rumbold, the first day of July then next ensuing.—Lothair was commanded to attend for the purpose of advising on very important affairs, probably the complete subjugation of his German brother.

840 March—April. Revolt of Louis-le-Germanique—he is defeated by his father.

But the end was nigh—Louis-le-débonnaire never saw any of his children again. At Frankfort on the Maine he stayed his progress: it was springtime, past Whitsuntide.—The season had been rendered awful: on the eve of the Ascension the sun was totally eclipsed, and the stars shone with nocturnal brightness. His stomach refused nourishment, weakness and languor gained upon him. Uneasy and seeking rest, the sick man fancied that he would pass the approaching summer upon the island which, dividing the heavily gushing Rhine, is now covered by the picturesque towers of the Pfaltz; and

840. May. Eve of the Ascension. Great eclipse.

he desired that a thatched lodge or leafy hut should be there prepared, such as had served for him when hunting in the forest or as a soldier in the field—lying on his couch, he longed for the soothing music of the gurgling waters, and the freshness of the waving wind. Thither was he conveyed, his bark floating down from stream to stream. Many of the clergy were in attendance—amongst others, his brother, Archbishop Drogo, who at this time held the office of Archicapellanus: and Drogo received the last injunctions which the son of Charlemagne had to impart. 824—987 840

His imperial crown and sword he sent to Lothair, with the earnest request that he would be kind and true to Judith the widowed empress, and keep his word and promise to his brother Charles. Dying of inanition, the bed of the humble and contrite sinner was surrounded by the priests who continued in prayer with him and for him till he expired. He died on the third Sunday in June; and his corpse was removed to Metz, and buried in the Basilica of Saint Arnolph, without the walls of the city. 840. June 20. Death of Louis-le-débonnaire.

Imperii fulmen, Francorum nobile culmen,
Erutus à seculo conditur hoc tumulo.
Rex Hludovicus pietatis tantus amicus;
Quod pius a populo, dicitur et titulo.

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§ 18. EMPIRE, tomb, epitaph, basilica, have all disappeared: all are nullities.—A dislocated 840, 841 Confusion occasioned

824—987 arch is sometimes held together by a single shrivelled tendril of withered ivy: when the de-

840—841 cayed stalk breaks, the stones separate, and the fabric falls.—So long as Louis-le-débonnaire lived, the presence of the old man, his name, his title, the habitual respect he still commanded, imparted to the Carlovingian Empire an aspect of constitutional unity; but with his death terminated the slight coherence which until then the dominion had retained.

by the death of Louis-le-débonnaire.

The political relations and affairs of the Empire had become so complicated and involved by the repeated partitions and by the transactions attendant upon the partitions—promises accepted and promises rescinded, charters granted and charters annulled—that Lothair, Louis-le-Germanique, Charles-le-Chauve and Pepin, had each a quarrel against one or the other or others of them. Humanly speaking, no one could be decidedly blamed, no one clearly justified: every one amongst them could urge some *grief* which was more or less well founded.—None were absolutely in the right, none absolutely in the wrong, and yet each had some plausible reason to offer in support of his own claim, or against the claim of his adversary. Lothair designated as Emperor by the Charter, accepted as Emperor by the Magnates, crowned as Emperor by the Pontiff, hailed as Emperor by the Roman people, asserted a paramount sovereignty. Monarch of monarchs,

Seigneur as well as *Senior*, his vassal brothers were not to reign otherwise than in subordination to the Imperial diadem. Louis-le-Germanique had been deprived of the largest portion of his dominions in favour of Lothair and Charles-le-Chauve, and Lothair and Charles-le-Chauve would not restore them. Louis-le-Germanique insisted that the stipulations in the *Charta divisionis* were in his favour; Lothair, the like: Charles-le-Chauve was no party to a compact executed before he was born. Pepin, deprived of Aquitaine, struggled for his very existence. Though scarcely more than sixteen years of age, this young Prince—one of the many who have missed celebrity for want of a minstrel—obtained singular importance through his spirit, his indomitability, and his hold upon the uncertain loyalty of the people, whether during the brief seasons when he ruled as King, or when he wandered as a pretender. Pepin, the embodied personification of Gascon pugnacity and versatility, became a principal personage in the conflict which ensued and a plague to Charles-le-Chauve, until being finally secured by his uncle, he expired in dreary captivity.

824—987. 840—841

There were large classes and influential individuals who yearned for peace. However unfortunately some of the higher clergy had been involved in the political dissensions, still the main body had been diligently working in the

Impracticability of maintaining peace.

824—987 obscurity which best ensures a conscientious discharge of duty: whilst the sounder members of
840—841 the hierarchy and laity, keenly sensible of the Empire's misfortune, deplored the national sins. But the bitter passions between the brethren opposed any pacification. Each was surrounded by advisers who expected to profit by dissension. Neither could the Sovereigns or their advisers resist the encreasingly energetic sense of nationality, the fresh life arising amongst the races, which in the first instance severed the nations of the German tongue from the nations of the Roman tongue, and subsequently aided in producing the other States and Powers composing the Latin or European Commonwealth.

None of the sons had followed their father's body to the grave. None mourned or made a show of mourning: the trumpet was the Emperor's dirge, and the shout of armies his requiem. Lothair upon receiving the tidings of his father's death, immediately caused his own accession to be proclaimed throughout the Empire, declaring the extent of the authority he assumed. He threatened the infliction of capital punishment upon all who might refuse to take the oaths of fealty: at the same time he promised not only to confirm, but to encrease the grants made by his father. A sufficient degree of uncertainty attended the tenure of a *Benefice* or a *Lehn* (I avoid using the term *Feud* as long as I can), to

Lothair claims the paramount imperial sovereignty.

occasion some degree of expectation and anxiety upon the accession of a new Sovereign. He might refuse a renewal, or ask an exorbitant price for the concession; and the conduct adopted by Lothair would work upon the nobles both by interest and by fear. 824—987 840

§ 19. Three brothers, and a nephew the son of a brother, four bitter and inveterate enemies, stung and stimulated by long-continued contests, successes and defeats, hopes inspired and hopes destroyed, wrongs inflicted and wrongs sustained —it was obvious that some two or some three must coalesce, and equally was it obvious that the contest could not terminate unless or until some one or more of them should be completely put down. Lothair, crossing the Alps, attacked Louis without even a challenge or declaration of hostilities: none was needed. The Bavarian king opposed a stout resistance. Lothair therefore desisted from his operations in the East of the Empire and attacked Charles-le-Chauve. The young king of Neustria was in considerable perplexity,—his realm was in a state of insurrection. Armorica threw off his supremacy: the Aquitanians had risen for the support of Pepin. Lothair advanced far into France, modern France; and the two greatest personages in that part of the kingdom, Hilduin Abbot of Saint-Denis and Gerard Count of Paris, the first who had sworn allegiance to Charles, were the first to break

Lothair commences hostility.

He gains upon Charles-le-Chauve.

824—987 their oaths, and transfer their worthless faith to Lothair.

840 All the territory north of the Loire was in a manner lost to Charles, and all south on the point of being so; therefore he solicited peace. Lothair was willing to treat; for Louis-le-Germanique, cordially aided by his Germans, was pressing hard against him on the Eastern side of the Empire. Lothair sought to gain time, and suggested terms. A conference was appointed to be held at Attigny, the scene of their father's penitence, and a new partition of the Empire was proposed. Lothair was quite ready to sacrifice his nephew, consequently he offered Charles the dominions of Pepin,—Aquitaine, together with Septimania, Provence and ten counties between Seine and Loire. The latter proposal, obscure to us, was perhaps intended to convey all Neustria except Armorica.

Lothair proposes terms to Charles-le-Chauve.

Charles demurred, but requested Lothair to spare their brother, Louis-le-Germanique, who now was in distress. Whilst he was uniting the Germans under his banner, the Sclavonians were rising against him, and the Northmen, hovering round the coasts, and filling the channel with their vessels, encreased the dread and confusion.

841. But Charles was young, conciliating, accomplished, gentle, and yet possessing great firmness. He had prospered under his adversities, he gained over the affections of many of the nobility and

Charles-le-Chauve encreases in influence.

chieftains, was successful in conciliating the fickle Aquitanians, withdrawing a portion of the wavering chieftains from Pepin, and compelling the submission of the worthless Bernard, Count of Septimania, who had latterly revolted from his old patron and master Louis-le-débonnaire, and supported the adverse party.—Not long afterwards this faithless and depraved man, who had caused so much evil to his country, being involved in some further treason, was put to death by Charles-le-Chauve. 824—987 840

§ 20. Louis-le-Germanique now desired to ally himself to his brother Charles: the latter had gained and inspired confidence. Having well considered his plan of campaign, he prepared to cross the Seine, and establish his authority in Paris, a position of which the importance was now fully appreciated by all parties. The passage of the river was disputed by Lothair's adherents amongst the nobles, but the Merchants, the Corporation, as we should say, of Paris, assisted Charles. By their advice he marched to Rouen, and took possession of a fleet of vessels lying off the city in the ample Seine, and probably intended to co-operate with the coast-guard of the estuary below. He then occupied Paris and the adjoining country, lodged himself in the Palais des Thermes, and celebrated the Paschal feast before the altars of Saint-Germain and Saint-Denis. 841. Successful campaign of Charles. He occupies Paris. Charles-le-Chauve at Paris.

824—987

840

The regalia brought to him from Aquitaine.

Splendour, show and finery distinguished the Franks, priests, warriors or kings. In after life no monarch delighted himself more in magnificence than Charles-le-Chauve; but he was now unwillingly reduced to a state of squalid simplicity. So hasty had been the march of Charles and his troop, that the young General-King had brought nothing with him on his horse save his armour, and the single suit of clothes all dusty and sordid which he wore. Beggarly apparel ill befitted *Pâque-fleurie*, the joyous vernal festival; but there was no wardrobe, and thus on Easter Eve, having risen from the bath—for these delicate and luxurious Roman customs prevailed, and long continued to prevail in the Gauls,—he could only prepare to put on again the soiled and faded clothing he had put off, when at the very moment there came up, unbidden and unexpectedly, a small detachment, a *manipulus* from Aquitaine, bearing crown, sceptre, mantle; and the noble young king appeared before the Parisians and the Army in the full paraphernalia of royalty.

Such an unexpected change in outward circumstances excited equal wonder and delight. A reassumption of royal state, contrived and premeditated, would not have had much moral effect; but the unforeseen accident, accepted as a happy omen, gave new courage to the adherents of the young King.

This incident is minutely related by one who was present, Charlemagne's grandson, the historian Count Nithard; and inasmuch as he deemed the matter of great importance, it becomes so to us; we must accept the wares at the market-price of the day. That the regalia should have been conveyed so speedily and safely to Paris from such a "vast distance" *per tot terrarum spatia*—they probably had been deposited at Toulouse—excites Nithard's peculiar thankfulness and astonishment, and not without reason The transit was really very difficult. They had to traverse central France, over and amongst the crags and lava-streams and mounds of fresh scoria, intersecting mountainous Vivarais and Auvergne, ejected during the tremendous eruptions which, in the fifth century, had encreased the terrors of the Gothic invasions Even in the reign of Louis-Quatorze so imperfect were the means of communication, that during a season of scarcity north of the Loire, it was found impracticable to supply Paris from the harvests of the fertile Limagne. 824—987 841

§ 21. Lothair's policy was always peculiarly tortuous.—Availing himself of the paltry passions and inclinations of men, he was fully bent on the destruction of his brother Louis, so earnestly and determinately, that he, whilome a parricide in intent, was now in heart a fratricide. Adalbert Count of Metz bore a deadly hatred against Lothair's hatred against Louis.

824—987 Louis-le-Germanique. Much favoured by Lothair,
841 Adalbert had been recently incapacitated by illness, but he unexpectedly recovered, so as to promise the means of assisting Lothair's fell designs. Lothair having promoted Adalbert to the royal Dukedom of Austrasia, secretly treated with the troops of Louis: they abandoned their Sovereign, and, utterly destitute of support, he retreated to faithful Baioaria, his own land.

The frustration of any coalition, moral, political, or military, between Charles and Louis, was in Lothair's mind, at this juncture, the most important object he could attain, and he stationed a large body of troops under Duke Adalbert's command in Rhætia, for the purpose of preventing the union of the allies. But communications had been opened between Charles and Louis; and Charles moving westward, Louis in concert with him advanced consentaneously from Baioaria, and encountered the imperial troops. They were thoroughly routed and with great loss, and Adalbert was slain, to the extreme gratification of Louis. The junction so dreaded by Lothair ensued at Châlons: the triumph which the two brothers had gained over the third brother and their fellow-countrymen excited the greatest rejoicings.

May 13, 841. Louis defeats the troops of Lothair.

Triumphant junction of Louis and Charles at Châlons.

In the encampment of the combined armies there was an universal jubilee; but there were others rejoicing more deeply—those who had

watched every movement of the inveterate brethren, who had entered as heartily as themselves into the interest excited by the suicidal conflict.— 824–987 841

Whilst Franks and Germans, Austrasians and Neustrians are exterminating each other, the Northmen have begun to gather the rich harvest which, for them, Charlemagne's son and Charlemagne's grandsons have so diligently prepared.

§ 22. England was at this period pestered by the Danish marauders. Ethelwolf, King Alfred's father, whose reign is concurrent with the conclusion of the reign of Louis-le-débonnaire and the first seventeen years of the reign of Charles, was just able to keep the Danes in check; nevertheless the Heathens became bolder and bolder; never daunted, never dispirited. London, Canterbury, Rochester, were stormed and pillaged, and our southern coasts and ports seem to have been constantly annoyed or occupied by them. The great Danish invasion of Neustria.

The unity which pervaded the achievements of the pirate-warriors sustained them in all their enterprizes until their mission was fulfilled. Whatever may have been their internal dissensions and enmities, they conducted their enterprizes as one people,—one nation actuated by one spirit, having one object in which they all concurred; and, encouraged by their success in Britain, they now pursued their enterprises more fiercely in the Gauls. Unity exhibited by the general conception of the Danish or Scandinavian invasions.

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Henceforward, and until their conflagrations were extinguished, the Gauls and the British islands, the North Sea, the Channel and the Atlantic coasts, nay, even the Mediterranean, may be considered as included in one vast scheme of predatory yet consistent invasion; and their systematic assaults, descents, and expeditions, whether consecutive or simultaneous, accelerated or delayed, almost indicate a grand design of rendering Latin Europe their Empire.

Their plan of invasion.

The Northern fleets and vessels, however dispersed in action, were always in communication with each other, so that the several Hosts and Bands might assist in their mutual exigencies, or best profit by their mutual good fortunes. In the British islands as well as on the Continent their operations were uniform. Fleet after fleet, squadron after squadron, vessel after vessel, they sought to crush the country between river and river or between river and sea, a *battue* encircling the prey.

Alterations in the levels, &c. of the coasts, &c.

The *littoral* has sustained many alterations, —cliff and beach, length and level, height and depth, have changed and interchanged. Estimated according to a general average, we may assert that, bordering on the North sea and the Channel, and as far as the Scheldt, the land has gained and the sea has lost: beyond the Scheldt, the land has lost and the sea has gained. The bays on the coasts of France and England were

generally much deeper than they are at present, and the rivers more abundant in water, whether flowing in the stream, spreading in the sheeted broad, or stagnating in the marsh. It is very important to notice these facts: such physical mutations, rarely recollected by historians, have been almost universally neglected in historical geography, a branch of science yet imperfectly pursued. We have (for example) never seen a single map of Roman Britain whose delineator has not joined the isle of Thanet to the Kentish land. On the Gaulish coasts, the tides, particularly in the Seine, rose much higher up than at present; and many of the existing peninsulas which cause the river's sinuous course, encreasing the landscape's beauty, were then not *presqu'isles*, but completely eyots and islands.—The French academicians, who have investigated these questions with the most conscientious diligence, leave us in doubt whether the isle d'Oisselle, a very important and celebrated military post during the northern invasions, has not been obliterated by alluvion.

824—987
841 Alterations of the course of rivers, &c.

The facilities thus afforded for penetrating into the country encouraged the Northmen's desperate pertinacity—the seas, the blue billows, the *bolgen-blaa* of the Danish ballads, were their home. Beaten off from the Belgic or Neustrian coast, they would ply the oar and hoist the black sail for Essex or Kent, East Anglia or Northumbria.

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Discomfited on the northern shores, they darted southwards in search of refuge or of spoil. If they lost their booty in England, Italy offered more: if the field were covered with the dead, Jutland, Denmark, Norway, would send off their berserkers to replace the slain; and the slain were quaffing mead in Valhalla.

841. May 12. The Danish fleet, commanded by Jarl Osker, enters the Seine.

Hitherto, however much the Northmen had troubled the Frankish Empire, their depredations were confined to the coasts. The precautions adopted by Louis-le-débonnaire, ill-served and neglected as he had been by the Franks, were not fully adequate to repel the Pirates; but he had sufficiently protected the inland territory. Never yet had the Pirate vessels floated on the fresh waters: never had their crews seen the land on either side.

But immediately after Charles had withdrawn the Frankish squadron from Rouen, the acute and active Northmen, who had been watching their opportunity, occupied the estuary of the Seine.

Osker, hitherto undistinguishable amongst the Danish captains of the Channel fleet, conducted the expedition: an unusually high tide facilitated the invasion.—On the eve preceding the very day when Louis cut up and dispersed the Frankish army under the Duke of Austrasia's command, did Osker's fleet enter the brimful river. The Seine flood-tides were then accompanied by a

sudden head or rise of waters; the sea conflicting with the river, similar to the *Eager* or *eau-guerre*, so remarkable in the mouth of the Severn: the roar could be heard five leagues off. As their vessels rowed upwards, and the crews contemplated the unfolding of the winding shores, how the prospect must have delighted the Northmen during this their first navigation of the Seine: the fruitful fields, thick orchards, the bright, cheerful, and healthy cliffs, and the succession of villas, burghs and monasteries, basking securely in the enjoyment of undisturbed opulence. Generations had elapsed since the country had been visited by any calamity, the Northmen had been kept off, and commerce and agriculture equally contributed to the people's prosperity. But the Danish fleet never slackened oar or sail, the crews never touched the land: they had a great object in view, they would not halt to plunder now,—lose the tide, not they! 824—987 841

Osker was seeking to secure the booty of Rouen by a *coup-de-main*.—Gallo-roman Rothomagus, and the various suburbs and villages included in its modern municipal *octroi*, constituted a congeries of islands, another Venice upon Seine. The ground-plot of the present flourishing city was either partly occupied or much intersected by the ramifying channels of the river, as well as by various rivulets, the Renelle, the Aubette and the Robec, the *Roth-bach*, or *red-* Position of ancient Rouen.

824—987 841 *beck*, the red stream—a name of which the etymology perplexes the ethnographist, uncertain whether the Teutonic roots should be claimed for the Gaulish indwellers, or the Scandinavian invader.—The bed of the Seine came very nigh the Cathedral; the Church of *Saint Martin de la Roquette* was so called in consequence of its being built upon a small rock in the middle of the waters, and the parishes of Saint-Clement, Saint-Eloi, and Saint-Etienne were insular likewise. The city was fired and plundered. Defence was wholly impracticable, and great slaughter ensued: it was reported that the archbishop was killed. This, however, was not the case: Gundobald, the Prelate, escaped like the monks of Saint Ouen, who fled, bearing with them the relics of the Saint; but the Monastery, then standing beyond the city precinct, was sacked, and the buildings exceedingly damaged. It is thought, however, by some architectural antiquaries that the *Tour des Clercs*, the Romanesque fragment now incorporated with the exquisitely delicate Flamboyant structure, is a portion of the apse belonging to the original Basilica. Of the Cathedral, hardly one stone remained upon another; nor were the injuries which the sacred structures of Rouen received during this invasion effectually repaired, until the piety of Rollo and the Normans restored the fabrics their forefathers had destroyed.

14—16 May. Rouen burned and plundered.

Osker's three days' occupation of Rouen was remuneratingly successful. Their vessels loaded with spoil and captives, gentle and simple, clerks, merchants, citizens, soldiers, peasants, nuns, dames, damsels, the Danes dropped down the Seine, to complete their devastation on the shores. They had struck the first blow at the Provincial capital, and were now comparatively at leisure. 824—987 841

Dagobert and Clothaire's foundation, Jumièges, preeminent for sanctity, was surrounded by a large and populous bourgade, which had grown up under the fostering protection of the Abbey. The monks dispersed themselves, after burying a portion of their treasure. So complete was the scatteraway, that one of the brethren never stopped till he reached Saint-Gâll. This incident furnishes an anecdote for the history of melody. The fugitive bore with him an antiphonarium, containing various *sequences*, a rhythmical and cadenced Church-song, then much in use in the Northern Gauls. Now, at Saint-Gâll, there was a young monk named Notker, possessing a singular talent for music: this science he studied deeply; and the Neustrian sequences, a style of composition hitherto unknown there, suggested to him the composition of others, which produced a great effect upon the liturgical chant prevailing during the middle ages. 24, 25 May. The Danes at Jumièges and Fontenelle.

Below Jumièges the Danish fleet came opposite to another monastery dedicated to the

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founder, Saint Wandregisilius, whose harsh and uncouth name has been supplanted by the pleasanter sounding denomination derived from the adjoining fountain. Fontenelle was then as flourishing as Jumièges: there were seven churches clustering together, the monastery was environed by vineyards and gardens; and the monks, who had cleared away the woods, were diligent in every branch of their calling: their library was amongst the richest in Neustria. Warned by the example of Jumièges, the community offered money to the Danes, and the accepted gift purchased for them a perilous respite.—We become acquainted with the devastations inflicted upon the monasteries, because they possessed historians to commemorate them; but every locality on the shores of the Seine as well as the adjoining country, suffered equally from the Danish fury. Most probably it was during this invasion that Juliabona, the modern Lillebonne, proud in her temples and amphitheatre, her marble and gilded statues, was destroyed, and ruins covered the remains of magnificence, now brought to light again by antiquarian zeal. The Danes then quitted the Seine, having formed their plans for renewing the encouraging enterprize,—another time they would do more.—Normandy dates from Osker's three days' occupation of Rouen.

Charles and Louis negociate for peace.

§ 23. This terrible and terrifying visitation, though we trace its influence upon the conduct

of the contending brothers, could not check their hostilities. Whether the Pagus Rothomagensis and the other dioceses and provinces ravaged by Osker, belonged at this juncture to Charles or to Lothair, neither could give any help or spare any force for the defence of the country against the invaders. Charles, however, felt the calamity keenly. Rouen he claimed, as included in his own Neustrian realm: compared also with Lothair, he was conscientiously desirous of effecting a restoration of peace, and entertained a more lively appreciation of the transgression which these unnatural dissensions involved. His youth, instead of being a disadvantage, encreased his influence; and however subsequently depressed by vicissitudes, lapses and misfortunes, he often retraced some of the noble characteristics which had adorned his grandsire. 824—987 841

Louis allowed his brother to take the lead in the transactions which ensued. Charles and Lothair were contending less for territory than for sovereignty, and negociations were commenced, prosecuted in good faith by Charles, but astutely by Lothair: the younger brothers seeking to obtain a speedy and satisfactory pacification, the elder, by procrastination, to encrease his forces and profit by the pressure Charles was sustaining. Louis and Charles humbled themselves before Lothair, but he interpreted their offers into symptoms of artifice or terror. Each succeeding Proposal made them to avert hostilities.

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proposal they made was rejected or evaded. Would Lothair accept all they had in their camp? money, gold, jewels, tents, equipments, stores, all except their horses and arms?—or, as we should say, allow them to retreat with the honours of war? Would he be satisfied with a large encrease of territory, to be ceded by Louis and Charles, extending from the Ardennes to the Rhine? If this was unsatisfactory, let the whole of "France" be divided, and he should choose his share.—Any reasonable concession to obtain quiet for Church and State, and prevent the shedding of Christian blood.

Hostile movements continued by both parties.

§ 24. Lothair had been concentrating his forces. The Burgundians from Jura to Rhone supported him cordially. He relied much upon the Aquitanians, and the boy Pepin was rapidly advancing at their head to aid his Emperor-uncle: Charles had been equally active. Towards the end of June the armies both took their positions in the vicinity of Auxerre: Charles and Louis at Tauriac, Lothair about Fontenay, and anxiously, for though Pepin and his contingent were momentarily expected, they had not come up. Lothair pitched his imperial tent upon a rising ground, "*la montagne des alouettes.*" Marshes, copses, and the valley of a small river, then called the rivulet of the Burgundians, separated the armies. Hostilities were suspended by the negociations, which continued during three

841. 21—23 June. Position of the armies in the vicinity of Auxerre.

days. On the third, the mystic eve of Saint John the Baptist, Charles and Louis renewed their offers. Lothair required a delay till the morrow: for no other reason, as he asserted, than that he might be able to form such a determination as should be for the common profit and blessing of them all. This asseveration was solemnly confirmed by oath—oaths cost him nothing,—all Lothair wanted was to gain a day. Pepin, he knew, was advancing rapidly, and in the course of a few hours the tramp of the Aquitanian cavalry was heard, and the forces joined.

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23 June. The parley.

On the Feast of Saint John the Baptist Pepin appeared in the camp at Tauriac, but he had no answer to give on the part of Lothair; and the brothers then, seeing that there was no hope of determining the great controversy otherwise than by force of arms, solemnly summoned Lothair to abide by the judgment of God. They and their Host would meet him and his Host in the valley on the following day, at two hours after midnight, when the dark twilight contends with the dawn;—they defied him.

24 June. The challenge.

Lothair received the message with insolent contempt, but gladly accepted the challenge; and on the morrow of Saint John the Baptist, the long bright merry summer-day, ensued the direful battle-strife, kings, nobles, kinsmen, each smiting against kings, nobles, and kinsmen, with infuriated antipathy. Louis-le-Germanique directed

25 June. The great battle of Fontenay—defeat of the Emperor Lothair.

824—987 the onslaught against Lothair: a second division was commanded by Charles-le-Chauve, the third by Count Adelhard. Count Nithardus, the historian who relates the tale we tell, fought in this division, and he speaks with soldier-like pride of the service which his sword then rendered, whilst Angelbert, Count Nithard's brother, was ranged under the standard of Lothair.

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Never since that tremendous battle in the Catalaunian fields, when Hun and Ostrogoth contended for the mastery, had the Gauls witnessed equal slaughter. What the Roncesvalles "dolorous rout" appears in romance, Fontenay becomes in authentic history.

The traditions of the slaughter of Fontenay.

National traditions deplored the loss of an hundred thousand combatants. Moreover, the custom of Champagne was ever afterwards appealed to, like the gavel-kind custom of Kent, as the living record of a boon obtained, though from a very different cause, the concession made to affliction, not the reward of steadfastness and bravery. Champagne possessed a peculiar privilege derogating from the otherwise universal maxim of the French law, the doctrine which forbade the derivation of nobility from the distaff, whereas in Champagne, nobility was transmitted by maternal descent, irrespective of the father's blood; and this privilege was supposed to have been bestowed for the purpose of preventing the otherwise imminent extinction of the aristocracy.

The loss was proportionally severe in both armies: in both the ranks were equally mown down by the mutual energy of destruction. Lothair's army was, however, thoroughly routed: the Emperor and his troops fled in confusion, and the corpse-encumbered greensward was left in the power of the Neustrian and German kings. 824—987 841

Listen to the wail which rises from the field of Fontenay—the rude and barbarous rhythm of the warrior, who, fighting to the death against his brethren, encreased the carnage which he escaped and deplored. The lament of Angelbert, the brother of Count Nithard.

Bella clamant hinc et inde,
Pugna gravis oritur:
Frater fratri mortem parat,
Nepoti avunculus;
Filius nec patri suo
Exhibet quod meruit.

Gramen illud ros et imber
Nec humectet pluvia:
In quo fortes ceciderunt
Prælio doctissimi:
Plangent illos qui fuerunt
Illo casu mortui.

Hoc autem scelus peractum,
Quod descripsi rytmicè,
Angelbertus ego vidi
Pugnansque cum aliis,
Solus de multis remansi
Prima frontis acie.

Laude pugna non est digna
Nec canatur melode:
Oriens, meridianus
Occidens vel aquilo
Plangent illos qui fuerunt
Illo casu mortui.

Maledicta dies illa
Nec in anni circulis
Numeretur, sed radatur
Ab omni memoria:
Jubar solis illi desit,
Aurora crepusculo.

Noxque illa, nox amara,
Noxque dura nimium,
In qua fortes ceciderunt
Prælio doctissimi,
Pater, mater, soror, frater,
Quos amici fleverant.

§ 25. Success, even when most joyful, the attainment of any hope however lawful, is always

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followed by heaviness, frequently by sadness; but this was a victory without success, a day altogether of horror and of mourning. Charles and Louis and the chieftains who had survived, assembled themselves in deliberation. Some of the commanders, hot and embittered, clamoured for revenge, urging the Kings to chase the retreating foe, and end the feud by condign vengeance. Piety and pity prevailed; and it was agreed that they should sheathe their swords and await the better thoughts which the following day, the Lord's day, might suggest. They employed themselves in comforting and tending the wounded;—and after Mass had been sung they gave burial to the dead, the last of the seven works of mercy.

26 June, 841.

The mournful morrow of the victory.

Kings and people now sought the instruction of their Pastors. War, the vengeance of God upon nations, is an essential condition in the present captivity of the Church, for war and bloodshed cannot cease upon earth until the Church is triumphant—Her duty is to abide in patience and faith whilst the Vials of wrath are pouring out, until the time of times, when all the kingdoms of the World shall come to an end and the kingdom of God prevail, when the great and dreadful Advent shall ensue, and the bow be broken, and the spear snapped in sunder. So long as the lusts of man call down the chastisement of wars and fightings, so long must that

chastisement be humbly endured. In the present case, the Bishops, conforming to the prevailing theology, considered that an appeal having been made to the Lord of Hosts, though none of the combatants might be guiltless, yet much extenuation could be found for those who had sincerely waged the war in defence of right and justice. Each man was therefore to examine his own conscience, and repent if he had been in any wise actuated by vain glory, covetousness or revenge.—Three days of humiliation, fasting and prayer were enjoined; and the injunction thus given was devoutly obeyed. 824—987 841 Three days of fasting and penitence after the battle.

The decree of retribution against the descendants of Charles Martel was now manifest—Henceforward the existence of the Carlovingian Empire was but a continued agony. The glory of the Franks was lost, their strength taken from them, their power consumed. They became the jest and scorn of their enemies, and, more bitter, of themselves. Nevertheless there was left amongst them the seed of national regeneration: they were gifted with the most rare of all national virtues—nay, that virtue without which no other national virtue can avail, national self-knowledge, leading to national repentance—they neither flattered themselves nor deceived themselves: they never sought to conceal the extent of their misfortunes, nor tried to excuse or palliate their national transgressions and sins, but acknow-

824—987 ledged that, low as they had been brought, they deserved their humiliation.

842 Lothair's cause declining, he renews negociations with Charles.

§ 26. The Northmen recommenced their attacks with aggravated fury. That the Royal brothers should unite against the common enemy had become an impossible idea. All the endeavours of the contending parties continued absorbed in the one main object of mutual harm and destruction; and, however weakened by the slaughter of Fontenay, their forces continued for the present nearly as equally balanced as before. Charles concentrated his troops about Paris: Lothair began to treat. Political ambition was mingled in him with perverseness, and the most uncharitable dislike of his second brother. Lothair had been strenuously assisted by his nephew Pepin, but he was quite willing to sacrifice the young Prince and to abandon him to Charles, provided Charles would equally abandon Louis. —All France, excepting Provence and Septimania, should belong to Charles.

842. Feb. 14. Treaty and oath of Strasburgh (see p. 66.)

The offer was rejected. Charles strengthened his alliance with Louis, and the compact of Strasburgh, that memorable testimony of the formation of language and the separation of races, confirmed the bond. The cause of Lothair on the whole, was declining:—none of the brethren had been guiltless towards their father, and he, the most guilty, prospered the least. The contest had become well defined, Lothair

seeking a full and entire supremacy over the Empire, his brothers striving to confirm themselves as independent Sovereigns. Lothair had by his own acts irreparably damaged the very authority he now sought—he was snared in his own devices. Constantly opposing his imperial father, he had taught the lesson of a more stubborn resistance against himself. Why should Charles and Louis-le-Germanique render more obedience to the Emperor Lothair than Lothair had done to Louis-le-débonnaire? 824—987 842

The greater portion of the German nations, those in whom the Teutonic sentiment was most vivid, identified themselves with Louis. Powerful forces, Bavarians, Suabians, poured in to join him, mustering at Mayence. Lothair was in the Pfaltz of Aix-la-Chapelle, still rich with the treasures of Charlemagne, precious metals and jewels and wonders of Byzantine and Syrian and Arabian art. Harold the Dane the Count of Rustringia, Count Hatto and Otgar Archbishop of Mayence, were stationed near the Moselle, for the purpose of defending the passage of the river; but the combined armies of Louis and Charles advanced rapidly and powerfully both by land and by water. On their approach, the Archbishop and his fellow-commanders fled; and when Lothair heard that the enemy had penetrated as far as Sintzig, he, seized with terror, abandoned Aix-la-Chapelle, clearing the Palace of all its March,—April, 842. Louis and Charles advance against Lothair. Flight of Lothair.

824—987 treasures; and, for the purpose of satisfying his soldiery, breaking in pieces even the wonderful
842—843 planisphere, the memorial of Charlemagne's opulence and science.

§ 27. Louis and Charles took possession of
842. the pillaged and deserted Pfaltz. Bishops and
Council at Aix-la-Chapelle, Lothair's flight construed as an act of abdication. Clergy were convened in Council at Aix-la-Chapelle. The Kings moved the hierarchy to deliver their judgment.—All the offences which Lothair had committed were adduced against him. The Prelates declared that his disobedience, his perjuries, his implacable hostility, the evils he had brought upon the people, rendered him unworthy of authority.—He had agreed to abide the Battle-ordeal, and was condemned: he had ratified the condemnation by his flight, his throne was vacant; how could order be best taken for the welfare of Church and State?

Their decision was uncompromising, the Bishops unanimously determined that Lothair's royal authority having ceased, his French and German dominions should be shared between his two brothers. Louis and Charles respectively chose twelve arbitrators: Count Nithardus was one of them, and here unfortunately occurs an hiatus in Nithard's manuscript. His most interesting memoir suggested by Charles-le-Chauve, when they were on their journey to Châlons, as after mentioned, is left unfinished. He composed the history at intervals, waiting to complete the work

for leisure, which never came. The fourth and concluding book is fragmentary, and the particulars of the proposed partition are lost; but subsequent proceedings sufficiently denote, that, generally speaking, the Rhine and Meuse indicated the boundaries—from Rhine and Meuse to the West, the kingdom of Charles, from Rhine and Meuse to the East, the kingdom of Louis.—With the countries on the other side of the Alps, the Synod did not deal: Italy was beyond their jurisdiction, that Kingdom appertained to the Emperor. The Carlovingian Empire was beginning to be disentangled from the Roman Empire, and the Prelates at Aix dared not venture to assume any authority over the Crown which the Pontiff and the Roman people had bestowed.—"Lothair has lost his rights over us, but we do not touch Augustus Cæsar."

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842—843 Partition between Louis and Charles-le-Chauve proposed by the Aix-la-Chapelle decree.

§ 28. The Aix-la-Chapelle decree, however, though a very powerful demonstration, was, for the present, only an abortive project: Septimania and Burgundy did not concur: Rome and Italy ignored the transaction altogether. Lothair reassembled his troops, and stationed himself with an imposing degree of force towards the Rhone. Negotiations were opened at Châlons—fancy King Charles and Nithard riding thither side by side, talking over the classical composition of the Count's history—A new partition was proposed by Lothair: Italy, Bavaria and Aquitaine were

842—843. Transactions and events until the conclusion of the treaty of Verdun.

842. Negotiations opened at Châlons.

824—987 842 respectively to be treated as indivisible kingdoms: he, Lothair, to have Italy—Louis, Baioaria, and Charles, Aquitaine: Pepin's rights were completely abandoned—the residue of the Empire to be divided between the brothers. With caution however and courteous discretion, Lothair suggested that the honour of his Imperial Crown might entitle him to the largest portion of territory; whilst, somewhat less explicitly, he intimated that he was not unwilling to acknowledge the independence of his brothers' realms.

Wearisome delays ensued. National troubles, affecting all parties, encreased.—The approach (as men believed) of Attila's resuscitated Horde, the Hungarians, the Mogers, two hundred and sixteen thousand monsters who ate human flesh and drank human blood, and who were hungry and thirsty for their cannibal feast and food, might perhaps be heard as a far distant roar.—Flanders, Armorica, and Aquitaine were terribly ravaged by the Scandinavians, and domestic treachery aided the pirates. Bordeaux, Xaintes and Nantes were pillaged, the latter city desolated, the inhabitants dispersed or massacred, and the surrounding country rendered waste unto the borders of Anjou. These expeditions profited so well to the Vikingars that they henceforward afflicted the Loire as much as the Seine.

Invasions of Saracens and Northmen.

The Moslem forces occupied Benevento, Bari, great part of the Kingdom of Naples, and ultimately profaned Saint Peter's shrine and sacked

and plundered Imperial Rome. Other turbaned hosts from the opposite coast of Africa, imitating the Baltic tactics, sailed up the Rhone. Charles Martel had expelled the Saracens from Arles, but the progeny of Charles Martel could not wield his weapon. The miscreants stormed the city; and the amphitheatre circuit, converted by them into a fortress, is still crowned by their Mauresque towers. 824—987 842

§ 29. The cosmical phenomena, so physically and morally important during the mediæval era, continued and encreased. The heavens throbbed with blue and red and yellow fires: comets and cometary beams traversed the sky—tremendous earthquakes encreased the alarm—The volcanic Rhine region was particularly disturbed, but the concussions were not confined to this locality. Commencing with earth-thunder, the shocks prevailed seven days throughout the Gauls, the subterraneous "bellowings," as they are described, recurring periodically at certain ascertained watches and hours of night and day. To these were added keen famine and dire pestilence. Cosmical phenomena, earthquakes, fires in the sky, &c.

Taken in the wider sense, every physical phenomenon is an historical incident, whether affecting the material condition of man or his mind—the pestilence-breathing blast not more so than the Aurora's innocuous beams. Feebly and faintheartedly would Livy, the rebuker of a corrupt and apostate generation, have fulfilled his Physical phenomena, to be considered as historical incidents.

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high mission, had he not constantly and faithfully borne witness to the prodigies whilome received by his forefathers, as testifying the active presence of the Deity, teaching them to nourish their strength by confessing their weakness, and to acknowledge that their power was a free gift, which the Gods, the Divine warnings contemned, would take away.

Pyscholo-gical reality of omens and prog-nostics.

Science cannot dispel this lurking belief, so flippantly denominated "superstition"—it is innate and unconquerable. If the weather be coarse during the national Fête, the tricolor is gloomy. The Parisian crowds are dispirited by the darkened heavens, and they loudly give utterance to their heaviness. That a bright gleam of sunshine should suddenly illuminate the House of Peers and dart down upon the Lords Commissioners when they declared the Royal assent to the Reform Bill, was joyfully accepted by the hardheaded unimaginative Radical as a happy foreboding.—Tokens, predictions, prognostics, possess a psychological reality. All events are but the consummation of preceding causes, distinctly felt though not clearly apprehended until the accomplishment ensues. Whilst the strain is sounding, the pre-established harmony of atmosphere, of nerve and of soul reveals to the most untutored listener that the tune will end with the key-note, though he cannot explain why each succeeding bar leads to the concluding chord.

§ 30. The notables and nobles from and in all parts of the Empire called for a pacification, and the call was obeyed. At Coblentz, the three envious brothers, the three grudging and hostile Kings, were convened in stately Congress, their nobles, their prelates and one hundred and ten delegates or commissioners,—a special Parliament. They held their Sessions in that edifice still appearing as the principal feature in the sunny and cheerful city, the twin-towered Church of Saint Castor. Apart from the mutual jealousies which would have embarrassed a plain question, great practical and political difficulties attended the negotiations. The negotiators were doing far more than they knew about: they began the plotting out of the future European community. Upon what principles were the divisions to be appropriated? Extent, fertility, opulence, laws, customs, all required consideration. Schemes were proposed and canvassed, dismissed and resumed, until the kings and diplomatists again assembled.

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842—843 Proceedings leading to the treaty of Verdun.

Three years after the death of Louis-le-débonnaire, the treaty was concluded, which, assuming the Carlovingian Empire to be the first, became the second stage in the organization of Western or Latin Europe.—The history of modern Europe is an exposition of the treaty of Verdun.

843. Aug. Treaty of Verdun, Carlovingian inheritance divided.

§ 31. A precedency quite unchallenged as to rank, though entirely undefined as to jurisdiction,

Lothair's precedency acknowledged by all parties.

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belonged to Lothair: "*Seigneur*" or "*Senior*," all questions concerning his authority were left undetermined. Whether the junior brothers were to acknowledge the natural right of the first-born or the political supremacy of the Emperor, no one can tell; yet in the opinion of the German jurists, the treaty of Verdun contains the invisible *punctum saliens* of the public law, which ruled, or professed to rule, the Romano-Germanic Empire.

The principle which connected the provinces and regions allotted to Lothair, was the average preponderance of some one or more of the Roman elements, either in the races or the laws, or the languages, or the institutions, or the traditions, or the opinions of the people. Italy became the territorial basis of the opulent and dignified endowments assigned to Augustus, who, crowned by the Pontiff, confirmed that Pontiff on his throne. In Rome, as all then admitted, none can rightly rule except the Emperor. Lothair's kingdom was therefore built upon Italy: but the name of Charlemagne, and the long-continued usages of government entitled Lothair to demand Aix-la-Chapelle, the constitutional Austrasian metropolis. These two Imperial residences, each the Cæsar's palace, each adding dignity to the other, the centres of the two great Cisalpine and Transalpine Crown-lands, were conjoined by an unbroken and continuous territory, including all the varieties of soil, climate and

Lothair's portion of the Empire.

production offered by the richest and most active portions of Europe, the wine and the oil of the South, the harvests and pastures of the North. 824—987 843

From the teeming floods of the German Ocean and the sands and denes of Frisia, Lothair's Imperial kingdom extended to the luxuriant regions of Capua, the olives and chestnut-groves of the Abruzzi, and the emerald and sapphire waves of the Mediterranean and Tyrrhene seas. The Cisalpine Eastern and Western boundaries were indicated or formed by the Scheldt, the Meuse and the two great rivers so kindred in the etymology of their names, so contrary to each other in their course, the Rhine and the Rhone. Not in all cases did the frontier reach quite up to the banks of the several rivers, yet that frontier was rarely, if ever, removed beyond a short day's journey from the river or the river-valley boundaries. Boundaries of Lothair's kingdom.

The compact and solid conformation of this realm, so scanty in average latitude but so ample in longitude, renders its chorography singularly conspicuous on the historical map; and we trace the demarcations imposed by the treaty of Verdun in the peculiar character of the architectural monuments still subsisting within the compass of Lothair's realm. The coincidence is indisputable; the particular cause of the coincidence is concealed amongst the mysteries of architectural development. The scenery of Rhine Peculiar character of the Lotharingian ecclesiastical architecture.

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and Moselle will always be associated in our recollection with the venerable ecclesiastical buildings adorning the landscape, and spreading over the adjoining districts in stately splendour. Their normal features are most distinctly pronounced in the church of Saint Castor, where the conferences were held: the tall, square, many-storied and compartmented bell-towers, the apse crowned by open galleries, and the other details which the eye impresses so clearly on the memory and the pencil delineates with so much facility, whilst the pen fails in pourtraying them.

Lotharingian Architecture.

Cologne may first present these combined peculiarities to the stranger; but all ancient Lotharingia abounds with them. When the traveller, pursuing his journey towards Lotharingian Italy, traverses the Alps through either of the *Chiuse*, the accustomed Lotharingian passes of Mont Cenis or Saint Gothard, the same models still appear; and had not the reverend Abbey Church of Saint Gall yielded in the last age to modern taste, that structure would have exhibited the type in vast magnificence. The Lotharingian style flourishes throughout the whole of Lotharingian Lombardy, which, besides the modern province so called, includes the Venetian Terra firma, Tyrol and Trent, Ticino, Piedmont, Parma, Piacenza and Modena. In Tuscany the Lotharingian style contends with the productions of another school, displaying more accurate reminiscences of Roman

art.—The City of the Cæsars proudly rejected ultramontane taste; but the usage of the bell enforced her priesthood to admit the Teutonic "Glocken-thurm:" the Basilica of "San Giovanni e Paolo," originally raised by the Roman Patrician Pammachius, the husband of Paulina, Saint Jerome's sister, was, during the subsistence of the Carlovingian domination, rebuilt by an architect taught in the barbarian colonies of Germany or Belgic Gaul. And the Lotharingian normal design lastly meets and abandons us at Rome. 824—987 843

Lothair's Kingdom on the North of the Alps is a grand Imperial highway athwart the Cisalpine Continent.—The territories on the East and on the West of this kingdom (West of the Rhone and East of the Rhine) naturally became the lots of Louis and of Charles, aggregating themselves respectively to the undivided kingdoms of Baioaria and of Aquitaine. Louis took as far North and East as Charlemagne's power had extended, Charles as far South as the Marches of Spain; and this division created territorial France. With the exception of Provence and some few portions of Lotharingia, there is not any where the value of fifty miles difference in frontier between the kingdom of France in the reign of Louis-Quatorze, and the kingdom given to Charles-le-Chauve by the treaty of Verdun. Some four years afterwards, Northmen and Saracens pressing harder, this Verdun compact (cer- The lots assigned to Louis and Charles.

824—987
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tain arrondissemens being completed by the supplementary treaty of Thionville) received a final ratification pursuant to a third treaty concluded at Mersen nigh Maestricht, when the kingdoms of the three brothers were respectively declared to be hereditary, provided the nephews consented to be obedient to their uncles, *si tamen ipsi nepotes patruis obedientes esse consenserint*, and various other additional articles and covenants, deceptively promising a permanent pacification, were engrossed in the tripartite chirograph which each monarch signed with his own hand.

847. Feb. Treaty of Mersen.

Relations between particular history and universal history.

§ 32. THE COMPLEXITIES, the intricacies, the alliances, the feuds, the dissensions, the distractions attending the dissolution of the Carlovingian Empire, render the historian dizzy in attempting to relate them: he is a traveller bewildered among confusing tracks in a driving snow-storm. But during this storm the states of modern Europe are rising: the storm is a spring-tide storm, a storm which breaks up the soil and stimulates germination: the buds begin to burst amidst the turmoil of the elements, and the silver lilies of France, and the gay genista of Anjou, nay, even the bright roses of England, are springing.

The instruction derived from the particular history of any one nation or state encreases in geometrical ratio to the student's knowledge of

universal history. No state, no population, not even the smallest or most inconsiderable, is absolutely inert in the macrocosm of humanity. Each state constitutes a system, involved or affected by other systems, orbs gyrating about other orbs, whirling in cycles and epicycles, sometimes obeying mutual attractions or yielding to mutual repulsions, fighting in their courses; and the utmost perfection of historical knowledge which any human capacity can attain must be imperfection—not knowledge, but a diminution of ignorance. This indeed must be affirmed concerning all human knowledge: there is no encrease of such knowledge, only a removal of obstructions, a picture faintly brought out by rubbing off the soil. The study of history ought to be a labour of love, but it is nevertheless a hard labour. Your hand cannot be aided by machinery. There is no "history for the million." In this branch of science, no small book can really teach you great things: your philosophy of universal history is a ghost, your epitome of universal history a skeleton: if you try to embrace the spectre, your arms go through and hug the dry bones, bones which no flesh will ever cover. 824—987

Nevertheless the richest narrator must occasionally epitomize, and the most barren epitomizer will of necessity be sometimes stimulated into abstract or general reasoning; yet since men

824—987 have begun to indite books, we cannot recollect more than one writer of history who has succeeded in effecting the symmetrical combination of condensation and expansion, text and comment blended in due proportion—he of the most admirable and most debased talent—the author of the *Decline and Fall.*

Carlovingian genealogies.

§ 33. For the purpose of conducting my reader through this era of consternation, and in order that he may better comprehend the course of European events in connexion with those of France, Normandy and England, I shall resume the narrative genealogies of the Carlovingian families until they become extinguished in the male line. I include in this, and in a subsequent chapter, some notices of the three rival Kingdoms, *Italy*, *Provence*, and *Burgundy* (the last two afterwards united into the Kingdom of *Arles*), which arose upon Carlovingian ground during the subsistence of the Carlovingian dynasty. I shall also indicate the partitions and divisions of the Carlovingian Empire, which were effected or sustained after the death of Louis-le-débonnaire: fragments shivering into fragments. Excepting in the Iberian peninsula south of the Ebro, every European power, living or defunct, sovereign or subordinate, speaking the Roman, Tudesque or Sclavonian tongues, has been either

mediately or immediately shaped out of these partitions. The reader must make for himself an universal history of Europe, seeking the complementary histories, determining according to his own views which histories he will consider as principal, and which as accessories.—It is my wish to help others as I have been helped myself, and to teach as I have been taught. 824—987

The difficulties of Carlovingian geography, onomastic nomenclature and textual arrangement.

Most assuredly, no period of modern history is so fundamentally important to the student as the Carlovingian era, or so difficult to comprehend—States independent yet conjoined, their geography repulsively difficult, territorial divisions marbled, spotted, or clouded and contorted into each other, complicated and broken,—no ordinary sized map of the Empire can exhibit the details with any approximation to clearness. Special maps are therefore required. A map can only exhibit one scheme of political boundaries, as existing at one given period of time: those professing to do more are so blurred as to be nearly useless. Large and small, general and particular, fifty maps would be needful to complete the Carlovingian Atlas.

Not the least of the obscurities arises from repetitions of names. "Charles" occurs eleven times in the Carlovingian genealogies, "Louis" nine times: there are six "Pepins," five "Carlomans" and four "Lothairs"; and the nobles draw only from the most scanty family onomastic nomenclatures. The epithets "Martel" and the

824—987 like, by which the Sovereigns are now distinguished, are never affixed to their names in the coeval histories. Even Charlemagne is merely "Carolus;" and during the later periods of the Empire there are so many homonyms as to confuse the most attentive investigator.

The concurrency of the several lines and branches adds exceedingly to the difficulty: their histories are not successive but synchronous, and the arrangement of the text in parallel columns (practised by some of my predecessors, of whose labours I thankfully avail myself), and which at first would be thought most natural, cannot be executed neatly or conveniently: the plan becomes unmanageable and wearisome; and the learned and eminent modern historians of France and of Germany, who have respectively combined the more prominent or leading Carlovingian incidents in one narrative, fail to extricate themselves from its labyrinthine perplexity. I therefore shall proceed according to lineages and individuals, rendering each section, as far as is practicable, a self-contained statement; yet, referring the reader to my former explanations, I must remind him that the plan pursued is not strictly methodical, but freely varied according to the bearing and nature of the matter. All the synchronous sections should be severally compared with each other, and thus placed parallel in the reader's mind.

The Carlovingian portions of Sismondi and Luden unsatisfactory.

See I. § 5. p. 145.

The people who live in the pages of the

historian, who speak through his books, are to be the reader's companions. He takes more kindly to them, if, occasionally looking behind, he is prepared for their approach, or, looking onwards, espies them on the road before him. It is not well for the personages of the historical drama to rise on the stage through the trap-doors. They should first appear entering in between the side scenes. Their play will be better understood then. We are puzzled when a King or Count suddenly lands upon our historical ground like a collier winched up through a shaft. Many genealogical details are given in the course of this history. When in common life we are introduced to any new acquaintance, we instinctively endeavour to render our ideas concerning him precise, by enquiring into his family and connections—where did he come from,—whom does he belong to—whom did he marry—how many children has he got—how are they settled? Nor is it an impertinent curiosity which prompts such questions: never do we thoroughly know the stranger until these particulars are ascertained. Historical characters present themselves to us as new acquaintances, new even when their names are familiar, for generally we only suppose we know them; and they should be treated after the same guise.—Genealogies are as important in the general, as they are in the special. It is a thoroughly vulgar error to sneer at the Herald be-

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Genealogies, their value in historical enquiries.

824—987. cause he is grotesquely clad, or to deride genealogical studies as vain enquiries because they may minister to vanity.

Utility of family histories.

The history of any one noble or private family—would that we had more of them composed with conscientious discretion,—is often an essential portion of national history, and always a perpetual commentary upon the national history. Such a family history gives you a vertical section of the strata, presented at one view. No other process affords an equally distinct disclosure of the chronological progress of human society. Inductive philosophy flourishes according to the copiousness and accuracy of the experimental observations upon which the science is founded. So far therefore as there can be any historical science, the observations made upon man, separately and individually, are the only legitimate sources of induction. Collective society displays the consequences and not the impulses.

Mediæval history is in danger of becoming either a weary task or a feeble romance: a dogmatic truism or a fantastic illusion. We are all of us apt to be tempted by the queer, the quaint, the æsthetic; and somewhat more attention than is needful is bestowed upon the measurements of high head-dresses and long-peaked shoes. Mediæval history has also been invested with a controversial character. Historians have insensibly become defenders or assailants: hence

Mediæval history, unnecessarily invested with a controversial character.

on the one part somewhat too much marvel and cry of wonder, and on the other part somewhat too much contempt and depreciation. The corrective is to be sought in those details which unite themselves to our ordinary sympathies, without misleading the imagination. 824—987

In the course of this work I have never shunned repetitions of any sort or kind, when I have found repetitions needful. Repetitions are not superfluities; nor is it surplussage to reiterate the same thought or fact under diverse combinations. The present generation can only commence the task of correcting the prevailing notions respecting the formation and policy, whether civil or ecclesiastical, of the mediæval European communities; and there is and will be a mighty conflict of opinions, right and wrong against right and wrong, to accomplish this end. In some provinces the rank weeds should be plucked up, in others the tangled forest felled. All we can expect from each historian is that he should stammer a few imperfect developments of truth: each enquirer partially elucidating some obscure passages in the progress of society: dispelling favourite or deluding visions or dreams: cutting, when practicable, the conventional pictures out of their frames, and replacing them by portraits taken from the life; but, above all, uncramping or shattering the pedestals supporting the idols which have won the false worship of the multitude, so

824—987 that they may nod in their niches or topple down. —My object, first and last, is to know the individuals and to make them known. Our Mother-tongue has played us a sorry trick in separating the meanings of "history" and of "story." "History" and "story" are one word in etymology, in fact, and in deed. The distinction imposed upon our minds by usage of speech causes us to forget that, in both, the subject is the same,—man and man's actions. What would a story be unless the tale-teller took the utmost pains to bring his personages before you?

Carlovingian lineages. *Lombard*, § 35. *Aquitanian*, § 36. *Lotharingian*, § 37-44. *German*, § 45-52. *French*, § 53-55.

§ 34. THE CARLOVINGIAN FAMILY must be considered as divided into five Lines or Houses. The *Lombard* line descended from PEPIN, the son of Charlemagne: the *Aquitanian* from PEPIN, the son of Louis-le-débonnaire: the *Lotharingian* from the Emperor LOTHAIR: the *German* from LOUIS-LE-GERMANIQUE; and the *French* from CHARLES-LE-CHAUVE. We have arranged the several Houses according to the duration of their several sovereignties. The rival royal lineages of *Italy* (when that realm was lost to the Carlovingians), *Provence*, *Burgundy* and *Arles*, have their places at the most convenient points of insertion after the reign of Charles-le-Chauve, and we will now take them in due order.

§ 35. THE LOMBARD LINE of the Carlovingian family, though deprived of royal honours, acquired subsequently great importance both in France and in Normandy, where Charlemagne's descendants long retained the respect due to their mighty ancestor's name. PEPIN, son of the miserable Bernard king of Lombardy, whom we left under his uncle's dubious protection, obtained an inadequate but tranquil appanage—the rich Abbey of Saint Quentin, and also Peronne, "Peronne la pucelle," castle and seigneury. This Pepin of Peronne had three sons,—BERNARD,—HERBERT —and PEPIN.

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840—1080 The Lombard line—origin of the House of Vermandois.

Pepin, son of King Bernard, Abbot and Seigneur of St. Quentin and Peronne, died after 840.

BERNARD, the eldest son of Pepin of Peronne, probably died in his father's lifetime: some writers connect him by alliance with the Guelphs of Bavaria.

HERBERT, the second son of Pepin of Peronne, succeeded both to the Abbey and the Seigneury, holding them conjointly; and, widely extending his power, he acquired the illustrious historical title of Count of Vermandois—noble, royal, imperial Vermandois,—from the Gallo-Roman name of the district.—A hamlet or village called *Vermandois* still exists; but antiquaries dispute much whether Saint Quentin be or be not the ancient Augusta-Veromanduorum. The dominion annexed thereto included the cities and territories of Rheims, Soissons, Meaux and Senlis.

Herbert the First, count of Vermandois, died 902.

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840—1080

The aforesaid Herbert, the *second* son of Pepin of Peronne, is dynastically, or amongst the Counts of Vermandois, reckoned Herbert *the First.* He had an only son Herbert (of whom we speak in a subsequent paragraph) and two daughters, the eldest, whose name is not known, married to Otho Count of Franconia, and BEATRICE, married to Robert Duke of France, son of Robert-le-Fort.

Pepin Count of Senlis and Valois, died after 893: his family.

PEPIN, the third son of Pepin of Peronne, became Count of Senlis and Valois, leaving a son or grandson BERNARD, the *Bernard-de-Senlis* of the Norman chroniclers. A sister or half sister of Bernard-de-Senlis, whose name is unknown, was the *poppet*, the *bonne-amie* of Rollo, and mother of his son and successor, Guillaume-Longue-épée. The great families of Valois, Saint-Simon and Hamme, all come from Vermandois.

902—943. Herbert II.

HERBERT, the only son of Herbert the first, dynastically reckoned Herbert *the Second,* was Count of Vermandois and also of Troyes, one of the most powerful feudatories of northern France. Well was he able to avenge himself upon the Carlovingians for the wrongs which his ancestor had sustained.

This Herbert the Second, had by his wife Hildebranda (according to some authorities daughter of Robert Duke of France, and if so, his own niece) five sons, to wit,—EUDES Count of Amiens,—ALBERT the First, Count of Vermandois,—RO-

See § 59.

Sons of Herbert II.

BERT Count of Troyes,—another HERBERT, who, upon the death of his brother Robert, became Count of Troyes,—and HUGH who at the age of five years was intruded by his Father Herbert into the Archbishoprick of Rheims—This absurdly indecent nomination was opposed, and Hugh ultimately deprived, but the disputes occasioned thereby were scandalously violent. Frodoardus of Rheims, the most valuable historian of his era, was persecuted and imprisoned for supporting the cause of Artaldus, the canonical competitor. 824—987 840—1080

Herbert the Second also had two daughters—to wit, ALICE or ADELAIDE wife of ARNOLPH Count of Flanders,—LUITGARDA married to her kinsman GUILLAUME-LONGUE-ÉPÉE, and after his death to THIBAUT-LE-VIEUX, or Thibaut-le-Tricheur, Count of Blois and Chartres; this Thibaut being the son of Gerlo the Dane, the near relation of Rollo. Daughters of Herbert II.

ALBERT, surnamed the "Pious," and dynastically reckoned Albert the First, married Gerberga, daughter of Louis d'Outremer.—We are under great obligations to Albert of Vermandois, for he introduced the first historian of Normandy, Dudo, Dean of Saint-Quentin, her Herodotus, to the patronage of Richard-sans-peur. 943—983. Albert I. Count of Vermandois.

The Fiefs of Vermandois and Valois were reunited in the person of Herbert the Fourth (the lineal descendant of Count Albert), whose only child Adela brought them to Hugh-le-Grand, Herbert IV., died 1080, his daughter Adela, married to Hugh, son of Henry I.

824—987 the Crusader, second son of Henry the First
840—1080 King of France—from Hugh and Adela came the second line of Vermandois and Valois.

The Aquitanian line speedily extinguished.

§ 36. AQUITANIA'S unfortunate line was speedily extinguished.—PEPIN King of Aquitaine, second son of Louis-le-débonnaire, left two sons,

Pepin II. died about 865. See Chap. III.

the despoiled PEPIN the Second, king, pretender, monk and pirate, married (as is supposed) to the sister of Robert-le-Fort, but who died in prison, childless; and CHARLES, whom his uncle Charles-le-Chauve persecuted into holy orders. Unwilling to submit, the young prince escaped from Corbey, attempting to regain his secular rights; but misfortune humbled his spirit, and he ultimately accepted the obligations against which he had rebelled: an exemplary priest, Archbishop of

Charles, Abp. of Mayence, died 863.

Mayence, chosen to the see by clergy and people, he worthily fulfilled the duties to which he was called.

840—855. Lothair and his lineage. Disobedience of his sons.

§ 37. LOTHAIR the Emperor, eldest son of Louis-le-débonnaire, left three sons, LOUIS, LOTHAIR and CHARLES. The lessons he, the father, had taught, were ill-calculated for the training of dutiful children. Avenging Nemesis compelled him to take a hearty drink from the self-same cup of bitterness: Louis, his eldest son, deprived him of the proudest portion of his Empire.

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840—855.

The election of Pope Sergius, made without Lothair's assent, excited his anger: he despatched a large army to Rome, commanded by Louis, for the purpose of enforcing obedience. Louis was thus placed in the same relative situation towards his father Lothair, as he, Lothair, had been placed with respect to his father Louis-le-débonnaire—entrusted with the like mission, exposed to the like temptation, furnished with the like opportunity. Pope Sergius and the Romans consistently acted in like manner as Pope Pascal and the Romans had formerly done. When Louis and the Frankish army approached the city, the Roman clergy and senators received the Emperor's son with royal honours. The Pope crowned Louis as King of Lombardy before Saint Peter's Altar. A second journey to Rome, a second *Rom-fahrt*, procured for Louis the Imperial Crown. It was not worth while to ask Lothair's consent: a species of mocking apology was made to him. Henceforward, though "*Lotharius Imperator*" might appear in Charter or Diploma, and the fealty-form be preserved to him, his sovereignty in Italy was gone. The prey Lothair tore from his father was snatched from him by his son.

844. Louis II. (see § 38, 44) crowned King of Lombardy by Pope Sergius.

Dec. 2. 850. Louis II. crowned as Emperor by Pope Leo.

Lothair's life wasted away obscurely and ignobly, his coasts grievously troubled by the Northmen, to whom he was compelled to cede large districts, no honour or respect rendered to his

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840—869

Imperial title, his health declining, his heart broken, the Pfaltz of Aix-la-chapelle, his ancestorial hall, became a wretchedness. He quitted the Palace once and for all, and, traversing the Ardennes repaired to Pruhm, the prison-house of so many of his family. Renouncing the world which was leaving him, he shrouded his head in the cowl, and died a professed monk in the Abbey. Yet posthumous vanity followed him there, and the monks adorned his tomb with a glorious epitaph.

Sept. 29. 855. Death of Lothair.

844—875 Louis II. eldest son of Lothair: see § 44.

§ 38. LOUIS the Emperor, the eldest son of Lothair, married the clever and intriguing Engelburga, supposed to be a daughter of the Duke of Spoleto, by whom he had two sons, who both died infants, and two daughters, one a professed nun, Abbess of Santa Giulia at Brescia, and HERMENGARDA, married to Boso, son either of Bovo Count of the Ardennes, or of Theodorick Count of Autun, and brother or half-brother of Richard-le-Justicier Count or Duke of Burgundy.

Hermengarda, see § 44, and chap. IV. § 2.

855—869 Lothair II. second son of the Emperor Lothair, and his lineage. See § 39—42.

LOTHAIR the second son, his father's namesake (also dynastically styled Lothair the Second), was betrothed to Waldrada, sister of Gunther, Archbishop of Cologne, but married to Thiutberga, sister of Hubert, Count, under Carlovingian supremacy, of Transjurane Burgundy, the Valais, Geneva and Chablais and the rest of modern Switzerland as far as the Reuss, moreover Abbot of three Abbeys, the royal Saint Maurice in the

Valais, Saint Martin of Tours and Luxeuil. He was killed in battle. 824 987

Lothair's conduct towards Thiutberga was detestably malevolent; and, seeking a divorce, he preferred the most foul and incredible accusations against her. The transactions connected with this repudiation do not belong to us, but they tended, far more than any political disaster could have done, to the degradation of the Carlovingian name. No children were born to Lothair the Second by Thiutberga, but by Waldrada he had one son, the unfortunate HUGH, Count or Duke of Alsace, and several daughters, two of whom must be noticed.—BERTHA, twice married, first to Thibaut Count of Arles, and secondly to Adelhard Marquis of Ivrea; and GISELLA married to Godfrey the Dane, who became a Carlovingian feudatory. Our attention must be directed to this Princess from the parallelism between her and Gisella, the daughter of Charles the Simple and wife of our Norman Rollo. 840—856

Hugh of Alsace. See § 43, and Chap. IV.

CHARLES King of Provence, the third and youngest son of the Emperor Lothair, died childless. 855—863. Charles of Provence. See § 41.

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§ 39. UPON the death of the Emperor Lothair his share of the Carlovingian inheritance, the Kingdom acquired by disobedience, violence, deceit and fraud, sustained further partitions: Lothair's piece of the rent garment was clutched 855—856 Partition of Lothair's Empire amongst his sons: their dissensions.

824—987 and tattered again and again by his nearest of kin, his three sons, and their two uncles, and the 855—856. sons and the sons' sons of his sons and uncles, till the lineage ended.

The process of political self-destruction which severed the Empire upon the death of Louis-le-débonnaire, continued after the death of Lothair, on a smaller scale, but with undiminished bitterness and virulence. The Emperor Lothair had directed and confirmed the partition of his third of the Carlovingian Empire, appointed to him by the treaty of Verdun. With respect to Italy, there was little to say; LOUIS, his eldest son, was in possession, Louis the Emperor, second of the name. But such confirmation as could be imparted by Lothair's declaration—for Louis-le-Germanique might contest his nephew's rights—was willingly bestowed.

Louis II. takes Italy. See § 44.

Lothair II. takes various Austrasian, Burgundian and other territories, constituting the Kingdom of Lotharingia or Lorrain.

To his namesake, his second son, designated dynastically in the Carlovingian annals as LOTHAIR the Second, the Emperor Lothair gave the ancient and venerable seat of government, Aix-la-Chapelle, those portions of the pristine Austrasia which had not passed to Charles-le-Chauve and Louis-le-Germanique, and Transjurane Burgundy. This Kingdom did not correspond exactly with any of the former constitutional divisions of the Empire. It included many races and many tongues, the Tudesque, the Belgic and the Romance, in various dialects. The possession of Aix-

la-Chapelle might have entitled the elder Lothair to adopt the style of King of Austrasia. But the associations connected with the *ancien régime* were fretted out by the multiplied divisions, subdivisions and changes which the Empire had sustained, and the *Regnum Lotharii* assumed, at a very early period after its erection, the denomination of *Lotharingia, Lothier-regne,* or *Lorraine.* 824—987 / 855—856.

The extent and importance of this realm will be best understood by adopting a description given in the terms of more modern geography.—Lothair inherited from his father the thirteen Cantons of Switzerland with their allies and tributaries, East or Free Frieseland, Oldenburgh, the whole of the United Netherlands, and all other territories included in the Archbishopric of Utrecht, the *Trois Evéchés,* Metz, Toul and Verdun, the electorates of Trèves and of Cologne, the Palatine Bishoprick of Liège, Alsace and Franche-Comté, Hainault and the Cambresis, Brabant (known in intermediate stages as Basse-Lorraine, or the Duchy of Lohier), Namur, Juliers and Cleves, Luxemburgh and Limburg, the Duchy of Bar and the Duchy which retained the name of Lorraine, the only memorial of the antient and dissolved kingdom.

CHARLES, the youngest son, received the remainder of Lothair's dominions, the counties of Ussez and the Vivarais on the right bank of the Rhone, various Burgundian provinces, including Charles, King of Provence. See § 41.

824—987 the duchy of Lyons, and generally the territories adjoining or bounded by the Jura, the Alps, Cot-
855—856 tian or Penine, the Rhone and the Durance.

The finest portions of the Troubadour father-land belonged to Charles. He held his Court at Lyons; but Provence proper, the land between the perennial rushing Rhone and the stony bed of the torrent Durance, was the most attractive portion of his dominions, and gave her name to the new kingdom.

856 Conference at Orbe: the two elder brothers endeavour to despoil the younger.

§ 40. In the year following their father's death, the three sons of Lothair came together at Orbe in the Burgundian Jura. The circular watch-tower of the castle where they assembled, a structure of very singular character, existed within our recollection, the last token of the dignity once possessed by the present obscure and insignificant town. As a matter of course, the three brothers met as rivals; and a quarrel ensued concerning the division of their inheritance. Louis, the Emperor, claiming all his father's dominions equally by pre-eminence and right of primogeniture, had a particular demand against Charles for the districts connected with the Alpine passes. Lothair for the same reason; whilst Charles also desired an extension towards the Alps or the Jura: so violently did they dispute that they came to blows in the Council-chamber. The scuffle being quieted, the two elder brothers, Louis and Lothair, though each was involved in sword-point

litigation against the other, agreed nevertheless cordially upon one proposition, that according to family precedent they would join in despoiling the younger and weaker. Lothair seized his brother Charles, and would have compelled him to be tonsured, but the nobles rescued the young prince from the hands of his brothers, and the design was frustrated. 824—987 856

The three sons of Lothair thus in conflict, their two uncles Louis-le-Germanique and Charles-le-Chauve prepared to assert their pretensions. They assumed that the treaties of Verdun, Thionville and Mersen conferred upon Lothair only a life-interest in his dominions, and that he being deceased, his sons had no right thereto.—Charles King of Provence, the youngest son of the Emperor Lothair, was the first who died, then King Lothair: the Emperor Louis, the eldest son, died last, and their several histories must therefore be related in corresponding sequence. But so long as they lived, they and their two uncles, Louis-le-Germanique and Charles-le-Chauve, and their cousins, Carloman, Louis and Charles, the sons of Louis-le-Germanique, and their second cousins Carloman and Louis the sons of Louis-le-Bégue and grandsons of Charles-le-Chauve, and the survivors and survivor of them, were worrying or warring for the dominions which had belonged to the cowl-clad corpse decaying beneath the convent-vault in the Ardennes.

Louis-le-Germanique and Charles-le-Chauve enter into the quarrel.

See § 41, 42, 44.

See § 45-52.

284—987

855—863

854—863. Charles King of Provence, summary of his history.

§ 41. CHARLES, King of Provence, possessed much talent, ability and goodness of disposition; but he was afflicted by epilepsy, and he therefore continued unmarried and childless. Brothers and uncles, all hungry for his dominions, looked on in longing expectation for the dropping of that frail life which stood in their way. Charles-le-Chauve was the most impatient. A favourable opportunity occurred in consequence of the encreasing infirmities of the king of Provence, who being unable to manage the affairs of government, acted by a noble who was appointed as a lieutenant or administrator. This inconvenient though needful arrangement displeased certain of the nobles, and they invited Charles-le-Chauve. France, at this period, was overrun by the marauding Danes, but Charles-le-Chauve was neither restrained by principle nor deterred by danger, and he invaded the territories of his helpless nephew. The subjects of that nephew were true men, and the rapacious uncle was driven back with disgrace. King Lothair was more prudent: he courted the sickly brother, who gratefully appointed him to be his heir. Charles died in a fit, and was buried in the Church of Saint Pierre at Lyons. This is not the Cathedral, but an abbatial Church, on the other side of the Saône.

861. Charles-le-Chauve invades the Kingdom of Charles of Provence.

See Ch. III.

Charles, king of Provence, died 863.

§ 42. LOTHAIR prepared immediately to take possession of his brother's bequest, provoking at once a family contest; but Charles-le-Chauve, extremely perplexed by the Northmen, could not participate in the fray, so the Emperor Louis and Lothair, the two surviving brothers of king Charles of Provence, had to fight the matter out. The Danes were in very great force in the north of Germany: they had twice entered the Rhine, and as far as Cologne, and below, the river and its banks were occupied by their fleets and troops; yet Lothair, abandoning the defence of his own country, attacked his late brother's dominions: the Emperor Louis also. Troubles and difficulties induced them to agree upon a pacification: Lothair took the Lyonnais, the Duchy of Vienne, afterwards the *Delphinat*, or *Dauphinée*, the Vivarais and the county of Ussez; but the country relapsed into great disorder, and ere long was severed from the Carlovingian crown.

824—987

863—869 Conclusion of the reign of Lothair II.

864 Contest between his brothers for the Lotharingian kingdom, which they agree to divide.

The dishonourable disputes arising out of Lothair's divorce occupied him during the whole of his reign. The Danes also continually troubled his dominions. Discredited and disgraced, he died of apoplexy at Piacenza. His wretched Queens, Thiutberga and Waldrada, both retired into monasteries.

Lothair II. died 8 Aug. 869.

824—987
869—888
Lotharingia, from the death of Lothair to Charles-le-Gras.

§ 43. After King Lothair's death nine family competitors successively came into the field for that much-coveted Lotharingia, as well as for the remainder of Lothair's possessions, the domains which had devolved upon him by the death of his brother Charles—a crowd of competitors; for every dispute in this distracted family was necessarily a European war. First of all Lothair's son, Waldrada's son, the bold Hugh Count of Alsace; next his brother, the Emperor Louis; then his senior uncle Louis-le-Germanique and his junior uncle Charles-le-Chauve; subsequently his cousins Carloman and Louis, the sons of Louis-le-Germanique; moreover, their namesakes, the other Carloman and the other Louis, sons of Louis-le-Bégue; and after the deaths of Charles-le-Chauve and of Louis-le-Bégue, Charles-le-Gras.

Hugh, Waldrada's son, the son of a crowned Queen, might adduce strong and plausible reasons for maintaining that he was legitimate; but the power and influence of his opponents, all having an equally adverse interest against this Prince, caused him to be pronounced a bastard.—If Count Hugh was not his father's heir, then, according to treaties, the kingdom belonged to the Emperor Louis, and if he was removed, Louis-le-Germanique, the *Senior* of the family, was the heir. Such rights as Charles-le-Chauve might possess would place him fourth in order; but Charles who, amongst the nearest of kin had least claim—if

any principle held good in these disputes,—was the first who made a seizure of the prize. Louis-le-Germanique was very ill, thought to be in danger of death, Louis the Emperor opposing the Saracens, the inveterate foes of Christendom, Charles-le-Chauve himself, extremely driven by the Danes, who were then ravaging the north of France; but the opportunity was too tempting to be neglected. Charles-le-Chauve occupied Lotharingia; and, Hincmar of Rheims officiating, was very solemnly crowned and anointed king, according to the forms and ceremonies which had hallowed the accession of the Merovingian and Carlovingian Sovereigns.

824—987 / 869—888

Sept. 9, 869. Charles-le Chauve crowned king of Lotharingia.

But this usurped Kingdom vanished, to the great depreciation of Carlovingian royalty. Whilst Charles-le-Chauve was triumphing in the acquisition of the Lotharingian Crown, the Northmen were levying contributions in Touraine and Anjou, and uniting themselves with the Bretons. Louis-le-Germanique recovered his health and assembled his forces. Pope Adrian solemnly censured Charles for his rapacity; and the monarch, however ambitious, had a tender concern upon his mind, his amours with Richilda, which occupied him as much as a Kingdom. The consequence was a mutual compromise of claims between the King of France and Louis-le-Germanique. They agreed to share Lotharingia. The lot of Charles consisted of Burgundy and Provence, and most of those Lotharingian dominions where the French or Walloon

Aug. 8, 870. Partition of Lothair's dominions.

824—987
855—875

tongue was and yet is spoken: the boundary-lines of the language not having sustained any material variation since the Carlovingian age; but he also took some purely Belgic territories, especially that very important district successively known as Basse-Lorraine, the duchy of Lohier, and Brabant. Modern history is dawning fast upon us. Louis-le-Germanique received Aix-la-Chapelle, Cologne, Treves, Utrecht, Strasburgh, Metz,—indeed, nearly all the territories of the Belgic and German tongues,—and by the award of the arbitrators, he was considerably the gainer.

This division was settled with cautious minuteness; and the schedule enumerates all the *parcels*, as a conveyancer would say. Language seems to have exercised considerable influence in determining the apportionment. The unknown compiler of the ancient vernacular history which has acquired traditional celebrity under the conventional title of the "Chronicles of Saint Denis," was so much puzzled by the uncouth Tudesque names that he left most of them out—he could not Frenchify them—*maintes autres villes et citez ne sont pas ici nommées, pour ce que le nôms sont en langue Thyoyse, ou l'on ne peut assigner propre François.* A special disquisition would be required to elucidate this transaction, and the investigation would be well bestowed, for it was in Lotharingia that the antient Teutonic organization of the *gau* was first obliterated by

mediæval Feudality in the strict and legal sense of the term; and the dismembered states were amongst the most important in France and the Germanic Empire. 824—987 855—875

Treaties, however, were completely illusory: when Louis-le-Germanique was on his death-bed, and Charles-le-Chauve nearly in the same state, the latter attempted to usurp the dominion he had ceded to his brother; but he was shamefully defeated. The continuation of this section, and the fate of Lothair's wretched son, Count Hugh, whose eyes were torn out by Charles-le-Gras, will be found in subsequent chapters. 876. Charles-le-Chauve contests the whole of Lotharingia. See Chapters III. IV.

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§ 44. Louis the Emperor and King, who survived his brothers and all their lineage—except Hugh of Alsace,—being engaged in the dissensions before narrated, reigned in a constant state of arduous, adventurous and varied conflict. The meteoric brilliancy of the Italian republicks has thrown the less popular, though not less instructive eras of her history under her Kings and Emperors, into comparative dimness. Mediæval Italy is, for the greater part, as an unenclosed waste—yet waste only because the land has been neglected, waiting for some historian to cultivate her fertility. Louis II. Emperor and King. See § 37, 38.

Calabria, Benevento, Apulia, swarmed with Saracen armies, threatening the whole of Italy.

824—987
855—875

At this period the Hesperian Peninsula was the bulwark of Latin Christendom against the common enemy. The jealousies of the Christians menaced the Empire with the subjugation sustained by Spain. The Counts and Dukes of Lombard blood never ceased to hate the house of Charlemagne, and the people of the south participated in those feelings. Adalgisius Count of Benevento, and another Count, Adalferius, yielding to the instigation of the citizens, rebelled against the Emperor. Combining with the Moslems, they basely and treacherously seized the Sovereign, whom they confined in the Castle. The names or titles of the Saracens who aided Adalgisius must be guessed at, under the disguises of *Saducto*, *Sado* or *Sadoan*, *Sogden* or *Sugdan*. Powerfully supported, however, by the Duke of Friuli and the Frankish soldiery, Louis was liberated; and a popular ballad is extant, written in alphabetical stanzas, commemorating the plot and the plot's frustration. This rhythm, which must have originated in some of the localities, where, however corrupted, the vernacular Latin had not yet been superseded by the lingua rustica or Romance, is a very remarkable monument of the grammatical confusion which disintegrated the classical tongue.

871. Louis II. traitorously seized at Benevento: coeval ballad upon his liberation.

Audite omnes fines terræ errore cum tristítia,
Quale scelus fuid factum Benevento Civitas.
Lhuduicum comprenderunt sancto, pio Augusto.

Beneventani se adunarunt ad unum consilium, 824—987
Adalferio loquebatur, et dicebant Principi:
'Si nos eum vivum dimitemus, certe nos peribimus. 855—875
'Celus magnum preparavit in istam Provintiam,
'Regnum nostrum nobis tollit: nos habet pro nihilum.
'Plures mala nobis fecit. Rectum est, ut moriad.'

Deposuerunt sancto pio de suo palatio;
Adalferio illum ducebat usque ad pretorium:
Ille verò gaude visum tamquam ad martirium.

Exierunt Sado et Saducto, inoviabant imperio.
Et ipse sanctè pius incipiebat dicere:
'Tamquam ad latronem venistis cum gladiis et fustibus.'

871 Louis-le-Germanique and Charles-le-chauve prepare to seize Italy.

Speedily did the tidings cross the Alps—the Emperor Louis is slain!—Joyful news this for his junior uncle Charles-le-Chauve, who had been eagerly coveting his nephew's inheritance; and he marched rapidly towards Mont-Cenis. Joyful news equally to his senior uncle Louis-le-Germanique, who immediately despatched his third and youngest son Charles to secure the Burgundian passes.—Was there any concert between these uncles and the Beneventine patriots? Had bruit or message from Adalgisius or Adalferius the Lombard Counts, or from Saracen Cid or Saracen Soldan, prepared the Kings of France and Germany for the intelligence?—But the expectations of both these kinsmen were disappointed: the safety of Louis became known, and moreover how completely he had been rescued from his enemies. Charles-le-Chauve, who had left France in prey to the Danes, halted at Besançon and

824—987 turned back; and the expedition headed by the younger Charles was abandoned.

855—875 Both retraced their journeys, but without retracting their designs. There was no period during the reign of the Emperor Louis in which he and his brothers and uncles were otherwise than unfriendly or inimical—always grudging, envying or fighting.

The Carlovingians exhausted all their bad passions on their nearest kinsmen, and reserved their amiabilities for strangers, a species of favouritism not very uncommon. Louis the Emperor was mild, charitable, merciful, generous and brave: under more auspicious circumstances he might have been another Trajan. He nobly asserted his imperial dignity against the cavils of the Constantinopolitan Emperor. Had not his strength been wasted in family dissensions, the Franks might have renovated the prosperity of the Peninsula, and emulated the glory of the Roman Empire. Prosecuting an undaunted warfare against the infidels, nine thousand (as it is said) fell, when opposed to the Imperial army, in the battle of Capua, one amongst a series of successful conflicts. Crowned with the laurel in the Capitol by the Pope, amidst the salutations of the Roman Senate and Roman people, and going forth in stately procession to the Lateran Palace, the triumphal honours of the ancient Cæsars, the testimony of national gratitude, were

872 Louis successful against the Saracens—his Roman triumph.

fitly revived in favour of the victorious Emperor. But his fortune suddenly declined: a comet, fearfully resplendent,—"a torch," they called the blazing star,—alarmed Italy. The Saracens returned and burned Benevento;—Louis, who was then in the neighbourhood of Brescia, died on the following day, and his corpse was temporarily deposited in the Duomo of Saint Philaster. There congregated the Bishops and Clergy of Lombardy with hymn and psalm, and the lamentations of the crowds conjoining, they bore the body to Milan. Andrea the priest, our Chronicler, was one of the supporters of the bier: they buried Louis in Sant' Ambrogio.

824—987
855—875
Aug. 13, 875. Death of Emperor Louis II.

The Lombard magnates assembled at Pavia to deliberate concerning the succession. Hermengarda, the high-minded daughter of Louis, his only child, had been betrothed to Constantine, son of the Emperor Basil. Another Irene, she might have been thought worthy of the Imperial Crown; but the Lombard nobles wished to weaken the Royal authority by dividing the Monarchy. They proposed that the government should be exercised by two Sovereigns, the one to be a check upon the other, and they invited both Louis-le-Germanique and Charles-le-Chauve to share the Kingdom. Louis-le-Germanique was detained at Frankfort by troublous affairs, and therefore he sent his youngest son Charles, his third son, the stripling whom the Italians called by the affectionate diminutive, Caroletto.

875 Louis-le-Germanique and Charles-le-Chauve both invited by the Lombard nobles.

824—987
855—857
Hermengarda's aspirations. See Chap. IV. § 2.

Charles-le-Chauve came in person: Berengarius his nephew, the son of Everard Duke of Friuli by Gisella the daughter of Louis-le-débonnaire, assisted him powerfully; and Charles-le-Chauve obtained the Crown, but not to keep it—"I will not live," said the maiden Hermengarda, "if I, the daughter of an Emperor and the betrothed of an Emperor, do not make my husband a king." Boso won the blooming heroine, and when she had a husband, she succeeded in gaining for him a kingdom (though not in Italy), which, more than any other usurpation, accelerated the downfall of the Carlovingian dynasty.

826—876
Louis-le-Germanique.

§ 45. LOUIS-LE-GERMANIQUE, the third son of Louis-le-débonnaire, considered himself, after the death of his brother Lothair, as the head of the family. He was not Emperor: that dignity belonged to Louis his nephew; but the Imperial title was, in his estimation, irrelevant:—the law of nature and the directions of the *Charta Divisionis* rendered the Senior's right indefeasible. The talent of Louis-le-Germanique was great, his disposition generous: deservedly was Louis loved by the Germans as their first national king. But the Carlovingian curse neutralized all his virtues. We have seen how he had violated every natural feeling towards his father. The slaughter of the battle of Fontenay did not mitigate his enmity against his brothers. Louis was

an excellent ally to the fiercest enemies of the Empire: his strifes and bickerings with his nephews, the sons of Lothair, have been already noticed, but he did much worse. Accepting the invitation offered by certain discontented nobles, the treaties of Verdun and Mersen vanished into smoke; and at the very time when Charles-le-Chauve was enveloped by the Danes and distracted by his children and his nephews, Louis-le-Germanique invaded France, and nearly succeeded in expelling Judith's son from the kingdom. 824—987 826—876 858—859 Louis-le-Germanique attempts to dethrone Charles-le-Chauve. See Chap. III.

A rapid turn of affairs replaced Charles-le-Chauve, but the German and French branches of the Carlovingian family were henceforth permanently separated and frequently hostile: families foreign to each other, antagonistic kingdoms, co-operating only for mutual destruction. Louis-le-Germanique married an "Emma," a noble lady of doubtful lineage, but known by this name or epithet, and the better commemoration of goodness, virtue and great piety. He had three sons by her, CARLOMAN, LOUIS and CHARLES: Carloman, magnanimous in disposition, distinguished by beauty and vigour, pleasant in speech, mild and gentle: Louis affectionate, wise, learned: Charles, the youngest, the Caroletto of the Italians, apparently energetic, prescient and qualified for his high station. But in none of these sons had their father any comfort: there was no antidote for the hereditary Carlovingian contagion of disobedience; and the disobedient father received his due reward. His troubles with his children. § 47, 48, 49.

824—987
826—876

§ 46. No subjects were so troublesome to the Carlovingians as the Sclavonians, and with sorrowful reason on both sides, savage revenge being kindled by savage oppression, and the oppressors avenging the revenge. The Teutonic nations treated the Sclavonians as we view "natives," or "aborigines," a genus somewhat inferior to man and not so valuable as the beast, to be left alive only when they could not be exterminated —to be cleared off, to be evicted or improved from the face of the earth: creatures not having any right to be fed at the great table of Him by whom the fulness is bestowed; in short, a race "doomed" according to the stereotyped phrase, "to be extinguished by the progress of civilization."

Oppressions sustained by the Sclavonian nations.

The history of the transactions between the Sclavonians and their cognate races and the Germans, is a hideous page in the dark book of human calamity.—Join not in abetting prosperous crime by the most pernicious of deceptions, the sophistry which encourages wickedness by the cant vocabulary of praise, the pretence of faith, or the promise of renown: the spirit which adopts for heroes Cromwell in Ireland or Cœur-de-Lion in Palestine. When the Grand Master of the Livonian Knights received investiture, the Prelate of the Order pronounced the following words:—*Das Schwerdt empfang durch meine hand—Zum Schutze Gottes und Marien land.*— The slaughter of the Lithuanians is scarcely so

fearful as the moral delusion which fell upon the priestly-soldier, or soldier-priest by whom the benediction was bestowed or received. 824—987 876

At the commencement of the Carlovingian era, the Elbe separated the great Teutonic and Slavo-Wendish families.—The Sclavonians combined Oriental aptness with European firmness: a patriarchal nation, simple and primitive, clinging together by those strong ties of affection which peculiarly belong to that state of society. A strange tradition floated amongst them, telling how Alexander the Great, out of love for Roxolana, had granted his Empire to them by charter. Subdued by the Carlovingians, reduced to galling bondage in some parts of the German North, and rendered tributary in others, their spirit was unbroken, and whenever opportunity served they rose against their tyrants. They fought for all that can be dear to mankind—land and liberty, language and nationality.

Both parties were wild, both ferocious, both treacherous, both merciless; but the Germans the most condemnable, for they made the higher profession. The violence exercised towards these unhappy people is not so odious as the insolent arrogance by which the Teutons asserted their ascendancy, scarcely effaced in our own times. In the last century, no workman of Slavo-Wendish blood could be admitted into the trading guilds: *Vetter Michel,* the unwashed cobbler, would not bear the smell of a Wend.—Even more signi-

824—987 826—876

ficant is the fact, that the term *Sclave*, according to its own meaning, *Glory*, should have been converted by the Germanic nations into the degrading sense which the word now conveys, the perversion testifying the burning brand of contempt stamped by the Germans upon the nation to whom the name belonged.

In relating these deeds, the Germans are tranquilly complacent. Literature perpetuates all national injustices. Clio cannot tell truth: she cannot help being a false thing, it is her nature: it is the inherent deceit of history, the subtle deceit, the irremediable deceit, to be essentially subjective, and therefore inevitably selfish. For want of an history written by an Helot, how little do we know of Sparta.—But this by the way.

Annoyances given to Louis by his sons.

Carloman See § 49.

§ 47. CARLOMAN had been invested by his father with the Sclavonian duchy of Carinthia. The mother of his children was Lituinda, a Carinthian damsel of royal or noble race, to whom the designation of wife is refused by the French and German chroniclers. Their son ARNOLPH, wise and prudent, was very remarkable for his beauty; and his cheerful spirit corresponded with his aspect: their daughter GISELLA was married to Zwentibold King of the Moravians. The first instances known in history of any alliances between Teuton and Sclavonic blood are furnished by the family of Carloman. This connection

Arnolph son of Carloman. See § 52.

made Carloman more akin to the Sclavonians: he leagued himself with Rastiz King of the Wends, and usurped a large portion of the Sclavonian and Pannonian territories, which Louis-le-Germanique had inherited or acquired. The enmities and dissensions with his father continued many years: Carloman was deprived of his duchy, reconciled, put in arrest, escaped, revolted over and over again, and never settled into any satisfactory relations with his father so long as they lived. 824—987 826—876

LOUIS-LE-JEUNE, or LOUIS THE SAXON, was equally troublesome. Affronted, because certain benefices had been given to Carloman, he excited the Thuringians and Saxons to insurrection, took under his protection various rebellious noblemen whom his father had deprived of their lands, and did not scruple to deceive his father by false oaths and false declarations: Louis-le-Jeune, like his elder brother, was engaged in fierce hostility against his uncle Charles-le-Chauve. Louis-le-Jeune or Louis the Saxon. See § 50. See Chap. III.

CHARLES, Caroletto, the youngest son of Louis-le-Germanique, was insolently disobedient to his father, and indeed imitated his brothers in their unkindness.—Yet now and then there were short, bright intervals in the lives of the sons, when they were useful, kind and affectionate to their father,—touches of sweetness in his weary life, more weary towards its close. Charles, § 51.

The successful enlargement of his Kingdom, and the still greater success of earning the affection Other troubles sustained

824—987 of his subjects, gave Louis-le-Germanique no joy. Sclavonians and Northmen troubled him again and again. Germany was visited by an extraordinary plague—swarms of locusts producing famine by their ravages, pestilence by their corruption—winters of uncommon severity. It was when Germany was thus afflicted, that the Sclavonians renewed their efforts to recover their freedom. Threescore and ten years had passed over the head of Louis, but he could not rest. He made a fruitless attempt to win Italy, and only reaped disappointment. Emma died, to her husband's inconsolable grief; yet, amidst all these troubles, he directed another expedition against his brother Charles-le-Chauve, when death, and death alone, ended their discord.—All the children of Louis-le-débonnaire were enemies from cradle to grave.

826—876 by Louis-le-Germanique.

876 28 Aug. Death of Louis-le-Germanique.

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§ 48. Upon the death of Louis-le-Germanique, his dominions, so well governed by him, were, according to inveterate custom, divided, giving a further impulse to the dissolution of the Carlovingian Empire. Louis-le-Germanique made an apportionment during his life-time, which the coheirs prepared to contest. In the congress held at Swalifeld they settled the matter with somewhat less bickering than usual, but still continuing that severance of the Teutonic nations which forbids the unity of their "Vaterland."

876—877 Dissensions of the sons of Louis-le-Germanique.

§ 49. CARLOMAN took Baioaria, Bohemia, Carinthia, dominions including the mediæval Duchy of Austria, and a portion of those Pannonian plains to which the terrible Hungarians, the Mogors, commanded by their Seven Hetumogors, the chieftains wary and fierce, Arpad, and Zobolsu, and Curzan, and Ete, and Lelu, and Zemera, and Horcu, were marching. But a higher fortune was preparing for Carloman. Upon the death of the Emperor Louis, he challenged Italy. This involved him in sharp and successful competition with his uncle Charles-le-Chauve. Graceful, courteous, energetic, Carloman won the favour of the Italian nobles and was saluted Emperor. With singular generosity he exhibited the rare example of kindness to a brother, surrendering to Louis the Saxon the portions of Lotharingia which had devolved to him. Yet it is quite consistent with Carloman's character to suppose that sound policy supplied the place of principle—his prudence restrained the appetite of dominion; and he felt the inexpediency of retaining a territory so far distant from the Imperial Kingdom which he now ruled. Carloman's youth, bodily and mental power and talent, promised to revive the waning glories of the Carlovingian Crown; but having entered the second year of his reign, Carloman, the strong man, fell, smitten by the palsy. Speech was restored in a very slight degree to the sufferer, who was immediately beset by his anxious bro-

824—987
877—880.
Carloman's share and reign.
877.
Carloman obtains the kingdom of Italy and the Imperial dignity.
879.
Carloman struck by the palsy.

824—987 thers. Louis determined to obtain the Baioarian and Sclavonian dominions, and prevailing upon
876—882 the nobles to support him and none other, he compelled the poor helpless hopeless Carloman to sign an instrument by which he surrendered himself, his wife and his son, into his brother's guardianship. Charles established himself in Italy. The two committees of person and estate
22 March, 880. (the technical terms of our practical jurisprudence are not inappropriate) had the decency to
Death of Carloman. wait for the absolute assumption of royal authority till the breath was out of the dying man's body—but their patience was not tried long.—Carloman died in the course of the next year; Louis annexed the German and Sclavonian dominions of Carloman to his own, bestowing how-
881. ever the Duchy of Carinthia upon his nephew
Charles, King of Italy, &c. Arnolph:—Charles (to whom we soon return)
See § 52 and Chap. IV. was invested with the iron Crown at Pavia.

876—882. § 50. LOUIS THE SAXON had the country
Louis the Saxon. which gave him his denomination; moreover Franconia, Friezeland, Thuringia, and, by the bounty of his brother Carloman, Basse-Lorraine. He was twice married—his first consort, the daughter of Count Adelard, he espoused against the wishes of his father. From her he separated; possibly they were only betrothed, possibly also she was the mother of his son Hugh, considered to be illegitimate By Luitgarda, the daughter of

Ludolph Duke of Saxony, he had one son, whom he christened by his own name,—a precious life was this infant Louis to his father;—and, Hugh being excluded, the child was his designated heir. As soon as Louis had in the manner before mentioned acquired Basse-Lorraine, Charles-le-Chauve, without any warning, invaded the country for the purpose of annexing the province to the dominions which the Northmen were wresting from him. Louis the Saxon, on his part, fought bravely and with exasperation: Charles-le-Chauve was compelled to retreat disgracefully, and in anguish of mind. 824—987 876—882 See Chap. III.

Louis the Saxon hated the French branch of his family. When his cousins in the second degree, Carloman and Louis, sons of Louis-le-Bégue and grandsons of Charles-le-Chauve, were almost ruined by the northern invasions, he profited by their distress, extorted from them the residue of that much-coveted Lorraine country, and subsequently endeavoured to dispossess them of the whole kingdom of France. See § 54 &c. Chap. IV.

The dexterous management adopted by Louis, and the death of Carloman, gave him Baioaria and Baioaria's dependencies; but whilst he was taking possession of the fine German kingdom, he sustained the most grievous loss,—his child, his fondling namesake, who accompanied him to Ratisbon to witness his inauguration, fell from the palace-window and was deplorably killed. 880. Unfortunate death of the child Louis.

824—987 876—882 The dominions of Louis were repeatedly ravaged by the Northmen. He gained a complete victory over them in the Ardennes, but their impetus did not sustain any check; and the death of the young prince Hugh, a brave and honest son, was a loss scantily compensated to Louis by the victory. In the subsequent battle at Ebsdorf, his troops were totally defeated by King Eric and the Northmen. His brother-in-law Bruno, two Bishops, twelve Counts and eighteen Palatine officers, were slain. Louis sickened and sunk under his trials and troubles, and died of vexation and sorrow.

880—881 Battles with the Northmen.

882. Death of Louis the Saxon.

876—888. Charles-le-Gras and his acquisitions.

§ 51. CHARLES, the Caroletto of the Italians, the third and youngest son of Louis-le-Germanique, received Alemannia or Suabia. He once was visited by a strange and sudden horror, crying out that he was pursued by a Demon. Popular opinion attributed this attack to distress of mind, remorse for the great trouble he had occasioned to his father. His mental faculties were never afterwards affected, but excessive corpulence gave him an unseemly appearance, approximating to infirmity. *Caroletto*, as he grew older, waxed into *Carlone*, his unwieldy obesity suggested the half-ludicrous popular epithet by which he is so unhappily recognized,—"Karl der dicke," "Carolus Crassus," Charles-le-Gras.—

He seems to have been twice married: the name of his first wife is not known—during this period of confusion chronicles become scanty. His second wife was Richarda, defamed as an adulteress, a crime of which she offered to clear herself by the ordeal; but Charles never cohabited with her. One only son he had by an unmarried mother, Bernard the *mamzer*, whom he laboured to establish as his successor. Towards the close of his life, Charles launched suddenly into a brilliant career of success, promising a splendid future. Charles having attached himself in the first instance to his brother Carloman, obtained Lombardy by that brother's opportune demise. He then advanced rapidly to Rome: Nobles and Pope yielded, and on the Feast of the Epiphany he received the Imperial crown from the hands of the Pontiff.

824—987
876—888
880. Charles-le-Gras, King of Italy.
6 Jan. 881, receives the Imperial Crown.

Thus suddenly placed in the highest dignity of the West, another great promotion opened to him upon the death of Louis the Saxon. Charles the Emperor, King of Lombardy, King of Alemannia, was unanimously invoked by the Germans as their protector and defender.—Let him proceed in re-establishing the integrity of the Empire: let Italy and Germany again be protected by the might of one supreme Sovereign.—The Lombards joined his standard with alacrity.

882 He acquires Baioaria upon the death of Louis the Saxon.

Equally successful was Charles north of the Alps.—Kaiser Karl is coming!—he was greeted

824—987 at Worms with exuberant joy.—Kaiser Karl is coming! Bavarians, Saxons, Franks, Thuringians
884 and Alemanni mustered to his support, and all Germany gladly obeyed him.

Charles-le-Grns King of France. See § 53, 54. Emperor Charles was pursuing a consistent scheme, he was seeking to reunite the dominions of his great ancestor: the premature deaths of the childless Louis and Carloman, the sons of Louis-le-Bégue, accelerated the accomplishment of his plans. The infant Charles-le-Simple, the posthumous son of Louis-le-Bégue, being rejected, the Emperor Charles-le-Gras, King of Lombardy and King of Germany, became King of France, and Charlemagne's supremacy seemed to be re-
888 stored. But for how long?—Charles-le-Gras was
His miserable death. deposed, begged his bread, and is supposed to have been strangled. His son, the favoured Bernard, died in obscurity and misery.

887—921 § 52. ARNOLPH, the Sclavo-Teuton, the noble,
Arnolph and his lineage. the honest, the sturdy son of Carloman and Liutwinda, now acquired the kingdom of Germany. Shortly afterwards he was elevated to the Empire by the unanimous voice of the nobles. His ability fully justified their choice, and his talents and virtues promised an era of national prosperity;
899 but after obtaining the dignity, three years only of
Death of Arnolph. life were allotted to him, and he died leaving two sons, ZWENTIBOLD and LOUIS, whom the Ger-

mans call *Ludwig das Kind*, "Louis the child," also three daughters—HADWISA, married to Otho duke of Saxony—GLISMONDA, married to Conrad of Fritzlar, Count of Franconia and Wetteravia—and BERTHA, married to Luithard, Count of Cleves. 824—987 899

In the meanwhile the Carlovingian Empire was rapidly dissolving. EUDES, Count of Paris, ascended the throne of France. Boso, Hermengarda's husband, founded the Kingdom of Provence. BERENGER, a most energetic and renowned Sovereign, "*il Re Berengario*," was made King of Italy and Emperor, the Lombard nobles the Roman people and the Papal sanction all concurring; but the German nobles would only recognize LUDWIG DAS KIND, who, being seven years of age, was inaugurated as king of Germany in the Diet of Forscheim. Zwentibold was appointed to Lorraine by his father; his harshness offended the influential leaders, they excited his brother Ludwig, or rather his partisans, to dethrone him; and Zwentibold was slain. See § 54, 59. 899 Ludwig das Kind (Louis III. or IV.) his son, called to the Throne.

Misfortunes thickened upon Germany. The "Feud of Babenburgh" plunged Suabia and Alemannia into all the miseries of civil war: the Magyars spread themselves far and wide into Thuringia and Saxony and beyond. Amidst these calamities, the young Emperor Ludwig suddenly died, being about fifteen years of age. The chronicles, usually so ample in obituary details concerning monarchs, scarcely notice his death: See chap. III. § 2. Died 21 Jan. 911.

824—987 even the place where the event happened is not known. It should seem as if there were some reason for their reticence. The male lineage of 911—917 Charlemagne in this branch being thus extinguished, CONRAD, the son of Glismonda and Conrad of Franconia, quietly established himself upon the Throne. The country was in such a state of exhaustion, that clergy, nobles and people in general cared not either to assent or to dissent when Conrad was proposed by his partizans. The Carlovingian supremacy in Germany expired; and, after many vicissitudes, the Imperial dignity was re-settled into the new form of that organization whose style involves an irreconcileable contradiction in terms, the so called "Holy Roman Empire."

Conrad I. King of the Germans.

Extinction of the Carlovingian Imperial dignity.

840—877 § 53. We now revert to the youngest branch of the dying Carlovingian race, in which the struggle for existence was longest maintained.

Charles-le-Chauve and his children.

The first wife of CHARLES-LE-CHAUVE, the first king of France, was Ermentruda, the daughter of Eudo Count of Orleans, pious and affectionate, seeking to be a peacemaker, but unrequited by her husband's love. Charles longed for her death, and that death enabled him to espouse RICHILDA, with whom he had previously cohabited. This lady, concubine and Queen, was sister or half-sister of Boso (the husband of Her-

mengarda), who by this marriage therefore became brother-in-law to the King. 824—987 / 840—877

Unhappy in his kingdom, more unhappy in his family, scarcely able to defend himself against the perfidious attacks of his brother Louis, Charles-le-Chauve was the assailant, in his turn, of all his nephews and great nephews, being also involved in harassing dissensions with his own children. He had eight sons, four by Ermentruda, four by Richilda,—all sons of bitterness or sorrow.

LOUIS-LE-BÉGUE, the eldest son, stammered exceedingly, a great hinderance, the faculty of addressing his warriors being no less needful to a King than the power of vaulting on his steed. Charles interfered with the affections of Louis, provoking him to disobedience; and Louis became a discontented and grudging son, crossing his father's intentions, and courting and supporting his father's enemies. Louis-le-Bégue died 879.

The second son, CHARLES, was appointed King of Aquitaine by his father. Bold, ambitious and able, he, during his short life, repeatedly rebelled against his parent, and brought on his own death by an idle frolic. Returning late in the evening from a hunting party, heated perhaps by the cups of Bordeaux wine, he boyishly entered into a scuffle with his companions, youths like himself, one of whom, Alboin, not recognizing him in the dark, angrily struck him on the head Charles King of Aquitaine died 868.

824—987 with a sword. The blow was not immediately fatal; but Charles became insane, and lingered painfully during two years before he died.

LOTHAIR, the third son, was born lame and unhealthy: humble, affectionate, diligent and pious, his disposition was excellent. Nominated Abbot of Saint Germain l'Auxerrois, he died at an early age.

Lothair died 886.

851—873. Carloman died 866.

CARLOMAN, the fourth son, was also compelled by his father to take Orders. Very ample preferment was bestowed upon him: the Abbey of Saint Médard, Saint Riquier or Centulla, Lombes and many others: thereby exciting great scandal. This misappropriation was most unfortunate to all parties. Carloman would not be contented: he teased his father, cheated him, conspired, rebelled, and, being tried for his treasons, was condemned to lose his eyes. Charles-le-Chauve sanctioned the execution of his sentence, and it was so far mercifully carried into effect as not to kill the victim. The poor blinded wretch was harboured by his uncle Louis-le-Germanique, and maintained in a monastery out of charity. He died childless.

The four above mentioned were Ermentruda's sons. By Richilda, that loved Richilda, Charles-le-Chauve had four more—Pepin, Drogo, a second Louis and a second Charles, all of whom died young or infants: the last, when his parents were in great distress.—Charles-le-Chauve had

several daughters: all became Abbesses except Judith, an undutiful girl of ungovernable passions, whose first husband was Ethelwulf, king Alfred's father. After his death, she contracted a scandalous marriage with her step-son king Ethelbald. Of her third husband, Baldwin the Forester, we shall speak fully hereafter. 824—987 841 Judith. (see Chap. IV. § 1.)

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§ 54. LOUIS-LE-BÉGUE inherited his father's dominions: in early life he had been much attached to Ansgarda, sister of a Burgundian Count, Eudes or Odo. Charles-le-Chauve refused his assent to this union, wishing to effect a State-alliance between Louis and a Breton (or *Breyzad*) princess. Louis, therefore, espoused Ansgarda clandestinely, but was compelled by his father to divorce her, and she was defamed as a concubine. The projected match with the betrothed daughter of the Armorican king Herispoë failed, and Louis then married an *Adeliza* or princess, named JUDITH, whose lineage cannot be determined: this marriage was also of doubtful validity. 877—929 Louis-le-Bégue and his children. (see Chap. IV.)

LOUIS-LE-BÉGUE, sickening about the time of his accession, never recovered his health, but lingered and died before he had attained the age of thirty-four years, or completed the second of his reign. By Ansgarda he had two children, LOUIS and CARLOMAN, who succeeded to their father's dominions, and reigned jointly—both most promising youths, singularly affec- 10 April, 879. Louis-le-Bégue died.

824—987
936—987

tionate to each other, both valiant, both bitterly assailed by their cousin Louis the Saxon, who contested their title, and both died childless; Louis, the eldest, first, and Carloman two years after, cut off by violent deaths, caused through their own rashness or imprudence—they threw their lives away.

Louis III. died 882, Carloman died 884.

CHARLES, whose honesty earned for him the epithet of "LE-SIMPLE," son of Louis-le-Bégue by the Adeliza Judith, a posthumous child, struggled bravely, but unsuccessfully against treachery and misfortune. Excluded in the first instance from the succession by his ambitious uncle Charles-le-Gras, he was compelled to yield to EUDES CAPET, who assumed the royal title. Charles had also to contest the throne with ROBERT Duke of France the brother of Eudes. Supposed to have been thrice married, Charles had two children. Historical theory cannot decide whether the first consort was wife or concubine, and there is much obscurity concerning Frederuna, the second. The third was Elfgiva, or Eadgiva, the daughter of our Edward the Elder. By the unknown companion of his bed, Charles had the daughter who was given to Rollo,—GISELLA, a name not unfrequent in the Frankish genealogies, yet somewhat perplexing, inasmuch as it may possibly be only an epithet or a by-name—perhaps *Gesellin*, a companion, or perhaps *Gisle*, or *Gisla*, a hostage, or pledge of friendship or love.

Charles-le-Simple excluded in the first instance by Charles-le-Gras. (see Chap. IV. § 21.)

(See § 59.)

By Elfgiva he had one son, LOUIS, afterwards surnamed LOUIS-D'OUTREMER. 824—987

Finally deposed by RAOUL or RODOLPH King of Burgundy the son of Richard-le-Justicier, Charles-le-Simple died in captivity. 893 Charles-le-Simple finally dethroned 923, died 929.

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§ 55. LOUIS-D'OUTREMER, son of Charles-le-Simple by Elfgiva, obtained the throne upon the death of Raoul: a fugitive in his childhood, a fugitive in maturer age, he was killed by a strange mischance, either caused by or connected with insanity. 936—987 Descendants of Charles-le-Simple. Louis-d'Outremer died 954.

Louis was married to Gerberga, daughter of Henry the Fowler, duke of Saxony and afterwards king of Germany, by whom he had three children who attained man's estate, LOTHAIR, CARLOMAN and CHARLES.—LOTHAIR succeeded Louis in his kingdom. CARLOMAN, given as an hostage to the Normans, died in captivity. CHARLES was invested with the dukedom of Lorraine by his cousin the Emperor Otho. This Charles Duke of Lorraine was married to Agnes, daughter of Herbert Count of Troyes, by whom he had two sons, Louis and Charles. From this family came the Dukes of Lohier or Brabant, the house of Guise, and, amongst numerous illustrious descendants, Godfrey of Boulogne. The Duke Charles endeavoured to vindicate his rights to the Crown of France, and partially succeeded;

824—987

but, basely betrayed into the power of his enemies, he died in captivity.

987 Charles, Duke of Lorraine, died 1101.

Lothair died 986.

Louis-le-Fainéant died 987.

LOTHAIR died of poison, the crime being imputed to his adulterous wife Emma. He left one son, LOUIS-LE-FAINÉANT, who also died childless, poisoned (as is supposed) by his wife Blanche, the daughter of an Aquitanian nobleman,—and the third dynasty obtained the Throne.

Moral and political failure of Carlovingian Empire.

The descendants of one *gros-vilain* gave place to another *gros-vilain*—the lineage was worried out, worn out, stricken and consumed. As the Carlovingians began, so they closed. Force and fraud raised them up: force and fraud put them down.

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§ 56. NEVERTHELESS the transcendant dignity of Charlemagne, steeped in fiction, and encreasing in splendour as his form receded into the mists of antiquity, perpetuated his empire upon popular imagination, more powerful than reason. Admiring nations bowed before the majestic Phantom. Whilst his real laws, his codes and institutions, were wholly effaced, the fabled Doze-peers rose as living beings before the world: centuries elapsed before the noble families, who boasted the blood of Charlemagne, entirely renounced the hope which their ancestry inspired.

But these dazzling though undefined visions received their tremendous realization in our own

age, when the Oriflamme's folds floated over the façade of Notre-Dame, and the Pontiff placed the Imperial Crown upon the brow of Napoleon, his throne surrounded by fantastic feudalism. Both Emperors, prototype, antitype, and also types of futurity, entered upon equivalent missions: both failed in gaining their hearts' desires. 824—987 — 987 Comparison between the Empires of Charlemagne and of Napoleon.

Self-deceived, Charlemagne would have sunk in confusion could he have comprehended how he performed not the good he sought, and did the evil he abhorred. Dimly conscious of his own intentions, unable to construe his own contending thoughts, Charlemagne's scheme of imperial sovereignty amounted to the erection of a Christian Caliphate. Emperor-Pontiff, head of the Catholic Commonwealth, head of the Church, head of the State, supreme in temporals, supreme in spirituals, *Emir-ul-Moslemin*, Commander of the Faithful, Christianity propagated and defended by the sword, Religion, fully acknowledged to be all-pervading and paramount, yet practically treated as a portion of human policy and entirely subordinate to human policy, — Such were the principles animating this phase of the Fourth Monarchy, emphatically symbolized by the heraldic crown of the "Holy Roman Empire," the mitre within and included by the diadem.

Napoleon sought the creation of an antichristian Imperial Pontificate, the Caliphate of Positive Civilization: his aspiration was the establishment of absolute dominion, corporeal and intellectual,

824—987
987

the mastery over body and soul, Faith respected only as an influential and venerable delusion: the aiding powers of Religion accepted until she should be chilled out and the unfed flame expire, and Positive Philosophy complete her task of emancipating the matured intellect from the remaining swathing bands which had been needful during the infancy of human society. And the theories of Charlemagne and of Napoleon, though irreconcilably antagonistic in their conception, would, were either fully developed, become identical in their results, notwithstanding their contrarieties. They start in opposite directions, but circling round, their courses would—were it permitted that they should persevere continuously and consistently—meet at the same point of convergence and attain the same end.

Moreover the territorial Empires of Napoleon and of Charlemagne had their organically fatal characteristic in common. Each Founder attempted to accomplish political impossibilities, to conjoin communities unsusceptible of amalgamation, to harmonize the discordant elements which could only be kept together by external force, whilst their internal forces sprung them asunder—a unity without internal union. But even as the wonderful agencies revealed to modern chemistry effect in a short hour the processes which nature silently elaborates during a long growth of time, so in like manner did the energies of civilization effect in three years that

dissolution, for which, in the analogous precedent, seven generations were required. 824—987

987

Extinction of the Carlovingian legislation and constitution.

"The devastations, the insatiate appetite of domination, the hereditary and contagious disobediences, the crimes, dissensions, hatreds which devoured the Carlovingian dynasty, had produced political destruction long before the actual subversion of the Carlovingian thrones. Charlemagne's great glory was his legislation, the wisdom speaking in his institutions, the activity and diligence which rendered words realities. But the descendants of Charlemagne trampled his Capitulars to rags in their battles and turmoils. After the reign of Charles-le-Chauve, these ordinances, enacted by the Sovereign in the general Diets of the realm, cease. The few occasional statutes which occur scarcely deserve the name of Capitulars, and even these soon terminate entirely. No longer was any general legislation exercised by the State: no attempt made to reform abuses or to enforce the vigour of the laws.

According to the Carlovingian Constitution, justice was brought home to every man's door by the *Missi Dominici*, the Judges travelling their circuits and representing the Sovereign, the centre and source of remedial power: the Emperor was to afford redress when every other authority failed. Unless by the mandate or in the presence of these Judges, or of the Imperial Counts, the local legis-

824—987 lature, the Mallum, the Shire-moot, could not be convened. Counts were no longer regularly appointed. Those in office, whether holding for life, during pleasure, or hereditary, withdrew obedience from the Sovereign, and the regular administration of justice expired.

It was the law, that, upon the accession of a new Senior or Sovereign, or upon every mutation of a Lord, the vassals or tenants of Benefices had to renew their oaths of fealty as well as their homage. We have seen how feebly these solemn compacts were binding either upon honour or upon conscience, and the ceremonies were probably generally neglected. We gather this information from the great emphasis with which the performance of homage is noticed in certain particular instances, shewing that such an acknowledgement had become the exception and not the rule: these circumstances dissolved the bonds of political authority.

The subsequent situation of France testifies how completely the Carlovingian legislation was obliterated.—Contrast France and England. The Norman Conquest left the English nation possessed of the laws and usages of their Anglo-Saxon ancestors; but when the third dynasty ascended the French throne, not a vestige of the earlier jurisprudence remained—the Salic Judges, Arbogast, Widogast, Bodogast and Salogast were utterly forgotten: Legists would have been scared

by their very names. The dooms of the Salic and Ripuarian Franks and of the Burgundian and Gothic kings had all completely passed away. The antient laws were neither upheld by practice nor honoured by tradition; and hence the Carlovingian system of legislation has, in the main, become a guess and a mystery. 824—987 987

The Northmen broke down the hallowed tomb of Charlemagne, and stabled their horses upon his grave; and the Jews bury their dead where stood the marble-paved and porphyry-columned Palace of Ingleheim.—Charlemagne left nothing enduring except a name and a fable, an ivory horn, and the fag end of an old song.

§ 57. It might be expected that this utter collapse, this fainting-fit of civil government during the decline and fall of the Carlovingian dynasty, would have produced complete extinction.—Not at all: France was nursing herself into future strength, and maturing the elements of national stability. Social order preserved by the Hierarchy.

Families might decay, kings be deposed, nobles slaughtered, the Courts of Justice disused, laws and lawgivers silenced, but there was a magistracy invested with a power not dependant upon kings, tribunals permeated by indestructible vitality. During this dark and dismal period, Carlovingian France, almost a sacerdotal Commonwealth, was sustained by the Hierarchy. The French bishopricks, more than any other north

824—987 of the Alps, conformed to the civil, political and ethnographical repartitions of the country. The 987 *Gallia Christiana* furnishes the best topographical commentary upon Cæsar's Commentaries. It is there that you find the principal data for the maps of *Gallia Romana* or *Gallia Antiqua.* Sanson and D'Anville, in making out the Ædui or the Bituriges, or the Carnutes, or the Cenomani, have had no sure guides except the episcopal circumscriptions. When these fail, as they sometimes do, topographer and geographer are at fault, and fight the fierce battle of archæological controversy. The Romans, wise people, avoided disturbing the Gaulish populations more than was absolutely necessary. The Gaulish civitates, their boundaries unchanged, became the Roman governments; and the Christian dioceses of the earlier periods were always conterminous with the civil governments.

Bishops representatives of the people.

This territorial coincidence of the temporal and spiritual magistracies was extremely potential in the policy of the Gauls. In each diocese the Bishop was originally either virtually or literally elected by clergy and people. The liberty of elections had been restored by Louis-le-débonnaire; and although the Crown still continued to exercise considerable influence in the appointment of the pastors, and that influence was susceptible of abuse, yet the royal malversations in episcopal preferments, partially repressed by

the energy of the Church, never became so mischievous and unprincipled as in the case of the Abbeys; and, very generally, the pervading spirit of the hierarchy corrected the individual unhealthiness, so that even royal nominees were converted into the most firm defenders of ecclesiastical liberty against the encroachments of the Crown. Therefore, generally speaking, each Diocese had a chief magistrate, a governor of the people representing the people; and the ecclesiastical synods, composed of these representatives, aided the debility or supplied the non-existence of the legislative or judicial powers, preserved good order, watched over public morals, and supported the dilapidated fabric of society. No hereditary senate, no delegated lay-assembly could possess equal independence, dare to speak so loudly or rebuke so sternly, none so efficiently protect the weak or be so bold against the strong. Kings quailed in the presence of the Priesthood; and the meanest were not beneath their care. 824—987 987

Yet Faith alone could never have resuscitated the State: the aid of the world's weapons is needed for the world's human government: the kingdoms of the earth are earthly. It is a great misfortune for any country to be visited by a revolution, but far greater when no heroes are engendered qualified to ride upon the storm—a human help afforded only by God's providence. The demand does not necessarily create the supply. The "Grands fiefs" of France.

824—987 Political crises occur when opportunity and temptation, the poignancy of suffering, the courageous cowardice of extreme danger or the highest call of patriotism, may all fail to elicit the bold, the honest, the prudent, the wise, or the greatly bad, to reconstitute the Commonwealth, or even to subdue anarchy by the tranquillity of despotism.

The new lineages.

§ 58. It was otherwise with France.—Whilst the Carlovingians are perishing off the land, we gradually discern the forefathers of those stately lineages, the Dukes, the Marquisses, the Counts, the Viscounts, the Châtelains, the Vîdames, prototypes of the fabled Paladins, paragons, if ever there were, of gallantry, spirit, gentleness, courage, courtesy and honour. The genealogists working in their vocation, the grateful monk, the obsequious herald, and the loyally laborious historian, have thought it their duty to discover for most or all of these lineages princely or royal ancestors, losing themselves in primitive eld. Some of the "great feudatories" were unquestionably saplings growing from the old roots, or grafts upon the old trunks; but the majority neither talked nor cared nor knew about such pedigrees. Virtue, in the Roman sense of the term, had been granted to them, their virtue raised them to their power.

Robert-le-Fort.

Exalted amidst the throng of the new men, the *gros-vilains*, the men whose now time-honoured names had then no yesterday, was the Founder of

that fated family, bearing in irregular succession the various titles of Abbots, Counts, Dukes, Marquisses, Kings, working their bark through the wreckage of the Carlovingian Empire,—vassals, rivals, competitors, allies, ministers, masters of the doomed Carlovingian race—their fortunes chequered yet consistent, varied yet uniform—appearing to lose but gaining, rising and sinking, waxing and waning but never totally eclipsed, never dipping below the horizon,—retreating yet advancing—every discomfiture the step back before the leap, every adversity the forerunner of prosperity. Which amongst our European dynasties, taken all in all, can compete with the progeny of Robert-le-Fort, that lineage whose unbroken descent from man to man during a thousand years, the male heir never wanting, has been marked out for preservation through chance and change, peril and trial, triumph and degradation, virtue and vice, sanctity and sin, wisdom and folly, by a peculiar Providence, unparalleled in history?

824—987 987

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§ 59. ROBERT-LE-FORT married Adelaide, widow of a Conrad, Count of Paris, probably the nephew of the Empress Judith. By her he had two sons, EUDES and ROBERT, both dukes of France, both kings of France, and RICHILDA, wife of Richard Count of Troyes.

867—987. Robert-le-Fort and his lineage. See Chap. III. § 35.

824—987
867—987
Eudes died 898.
Robert II. died 923. See § 35.

EUDES, the good and brave, died childless. The second son, ROBERT, allied himself to the inimical lineage of Vermandois, espousing Beatrice, daughter of Herbert the first, Count of Vermandois, by whom he had three children, EMMA, wife and Queen of Raoul duke of Burgundy and King of France,—HILDEBRANDA, who added strength and influence to her mother's kindred by marrying Herbert the second, Count of Vermandois;—and HUGH, "Hugh-le-Grand," "Hugh-le-blanc," or "Hugh-l'Abbé;" the first epithet bespeaking his consequence, the second his complexion, and the third, the vast preferments which he held. Robert's second wife was Rothilda. This lady was closely but dubiously connected with Charles-le-Simple.

Hugh-le-Grand died 956.
Hugh Capet.

HUGH-LE-GRAND was thrice married: his first wife, Eadhilda, connected him with the royalty of England and of France, for she was daughter of Edward the Elder, sister of Queen Edgiva, and therefore aunt of Louis d'Outremer, the son of Edgiva by Charles-le-Simple. His second wife was Hadwisa, also called Edith, daughter of the Emperor Henry the Fowler, son of Otho the Great. His third wife, who died childless, is said to have been a niece of Charles-le-Simple. Hadwisa bore him several children, amongst whom two only need be here noticed, EMMA, wife of Richard-sans-peur, the grandson of Rollo, and HUGH CAPET.

Such was the lineage of ROBERT-LE-FORT in the descending grades, but whom do we encounter in the ascending?—"*Pipinus Rotberto comiti et Britonibus sociatur.*"—This phrase is absolutely the first distinct notice we find concerning Robert-le-Fort in authentic history: no preface, no designation, not the slightest explanation of the commanding position which he had obtained. During two centuries subsequent to the death of Robert-le-Fort nothing whatever was recollected respecting his ancestry, except certain reports that his father was one Witikind, a Saxon stranger, a poor man probably, an humble man, but may be a stalwart soldier endued with energy and strength. In proportion as the Capetian Crown increased in brilliancy, so was more light reflected back upon the progenitors of the monarch, and you have half-a-dozen contradictory theories concerning the origin of the Capetian family.—Conradus Urspergensis Abbot of Lichtenau proves that Witikind was no other than the great and heroic chieftain of the Saxon race.—Chifflet the erudite deduces Robert-le-Fort from Guelph the Agilolphing.—Père Tournemine branches Robert off from Charlemagne; and Legendre from Anspran-dus, king of Lombardy.—Zampini takes Childebert as the stem,—and Monsieur le duc d'Epernay discerns a misty Nibelung.—In each of these conflicting pedigrees, and they are spread before us, there is not as you read them a hitch or a

824—987

867—987.

Robert-le-Fort: obscurity of his ancestry.

824—987 chiasm, all runs smooth and clear; but still we
867—987 fall back upon the fact that they did not enjoy a crumb of coeval credence. The early traditions of France were uniform in their import that the humble origin of the Capets was their glory. The old Romance tells us that Hugh Capet was once a butcher; for albeit born of gentle blood, yet having mortgaged his land, he took to the trade in frolickry;—and somehow or another, or in some stage or another of the pedigree, be sure that the symbolical kernel of the truth is unquestionably enclosed in Dante's rhyme:

"*Chiamato fui di là Ugo Ciappetta:*
Di me son nati i Filippi e i Luigi
Per cui novellamente è Francia retta.
Figluol fui d'un beccaio di Parigi."—

Chapter III.

THE NORTHMEN DURING THE TIMES OF CHARLES-LE-CHAUVE AND ROBERT-LE-FORT, TO THE END OF THE REIGN.

840—877.

840—877. The enemies of the Empire.

§ 1. Internal enemies and external enemies, enemies known, enemies unknown, enemies provoked, enemies unprovoked, enemies from the East, enemies from the West, enemies from the South, enemies from the North, from the seas, the rivers and the hills.—Our sailors box the compass, improving Charlemagne's lessons. Charlemagne began to give the compound names by which the rhombs of the mariner's card are known; and from every circling point of the horizon the wind wafted an enemy. Christians and half-Christians, Mahometans and idolaters, diverse races, and diverse tongues,—worshippers of Thor and Odin, Promo, Chrodo, Jutebog, Zernebog, Belbog, Zutebor, and lion-visaged Radegast, Swantowit with four heads, triple-headed Triglaw, and genial Siewa, the many-breasted teeming Siewa with the bunch of grapes in her hand,—Gascon, Vascon or Escalduanac, Celt or Breyzad, Jute, Norsk and Dansker; Ishmaelite, Moor, Saracen; Sorb, Wend and Obotrite; Lech, Zech and Magyar,—all conjoined with the infatuated Carlovingian Princes and their more infatuated subjects in effecting the Empire's destruction.

840—877

Alas! for Charlemagne's victories, Charlemagne's conquests, Charlemagne's wisdom, cultivation and knowledge—all come to naught, turned to confusion. Aquitania, a festering ulcer, rebellious, and tempting the offspring of the throne to disobedience and rebellion, Armorica no longer merely an insurgent province, but a kingdom striving for independence and liberty, the Sclavonians breaking up the borders of the Empire. Worse than all, the extinction of natural affection, truth, faith, honesty and loyalty: the hand of each brother, not figuratively but literally lifted against each other, every father distrustful, every son disobedient. Certain obscure ejaculatory English-Saxon verses are extant, describing a country in utter misery, which, partially divested of their archaic orthography, run as follows:—"*Land-king wilful, dooms-man nimmand, rich-man niggard, poor-man proud, gaveloc broken, child unbuxom, churl unthewed, fool reckless, old-man loveless, woman shameless, land lawless, better be lifeless.*"—These rapid lines, of which there are many more, sounding as having been transmitted from remote antiquity, truly characterize the wretchedness of the Empire—the whole one vast Luegen-feld, flooded by falsehood, without comfort, without rest.

862—897
The Hungarian invasions.

§ 2. The troubles on the Eastern side of the Empire animated and encouraged the fiercest and most recent assailants, the Hungarians:

plague upon plagues, misery upon miseries— unexpected, unintelligible, the uncouthness of the visitation encreasing the horror. The face of the sun-burnt Saracen was well known to the Romanized Teutons and Romanized Gauls: an old acquaintance, an infidel certainly, but a man like other men, who lived in a house, could read and write, and was attired in silk and satin. The fair and blue-eyed Scandinavian, though fierce, was comparatively a neighbour, whose barks and barges were dreaded, yet accustomed. But these uncouth fur-clad hordes had nothing in common with any foe whom the Christian had seen, against whom he had fought, or by whom he had been subdued. Learned men traced the Hungarians indeed from history: the history was appalling, and history and tradition conjoined in exciting insuperable terror. Attila's bones were imprisoned in his secret sepulchre, but the scourge of God was raised to chastise the Christian with increased severity. 840—877 862—897

The language spoken by these Scythians, distinguished by some unique peculiarities of construction, and offering only the faintest similarity to any other known speech, refuses to aid the Ethnographist's speculations. According to their own primitive traditions, the ruling caste, the main body of the nation, were the children of Mogor the son of Magog. The Hebrew name Mogor signifies "Terror;" and slightly varied by

840—877 the Orientals into "Magyar" became the rallying cry of the once-splendid Hungarian nationality.
897—950 But the denomination of Hungarian was equally retained by the Mogors: it is as Hungarians that they are admitted into European history.

The Hungarian invasions of Italy, Germany and the Gauls.

However acquired or transmitted, the knowledge which the Hungarians possessed concerning the countries once the scenes of Attila's victories, was neither inaccurate nor inconsiderable. The aspirations of Almus, supreme among the seven Hetumogors, and of his son and grandson, Arpad and Zulta, display a grandeur, disproportionate perhaps to their forces, yet worthy of their predecessor's renown.

Early in young Zulta's reign, three chief Hetumogors, Lelu the son of Tosu, Ver-Bulsu, or "Bulsu the bloody," the son of Bogat, and Bouton the son of Culpun—King Bela's Chancellor must warrant our orthography—marched through Carinthia and Friuli and entered Italy, which they contemplated as an appendage of their encreasing realm. Imperial Pavia burnt and destroyed, the Scythian locusts devoured the Lombard plains. Germany they devastated from side to side. Their Parthian cavalry crossed the Rhine—Lotharingia and Burgundy, Brabant and Vermandois, the Counties and Dioceses of Louvaine and Cambray, Laôn, Rheims and Châlons, were traversed and penetrated by their armies. They spread over central and Southern France to

Nîmes and Toulouse, through Provence and Aquitaine, till they came down to the Mediterranean shores. Berenger King of Italy is said to have invited them. Arnolph once sought their deadly aid. There was a short season of libration, when the Hungarians by alliance, junction, or coalition with the Carlovingian rivals, or with the other domestic or foreign enemies of the Empire, might have effected a permanent conquest. Their chivalry however failed: diseases, the result of unwonted food and an unaccustomed climate, thinned their squadrons. Thick flew the arrows from their bows of elastic horn; but, in close conflict, the light-armed Tartar horsemen were unequally matched against the steadier ranks of the French and the Germans. Zulta had wisely organized and fortified the rising Kingdom of Hungary; they were proud of their fertile conquest, to them a new father-land; and the Hetumogors and their hordes returned home, trains of captives and bales of plunder rewarding their prowess. 840—877 897—950

Briefly and dolefully do the Chroniclers of France, Germany and Italy, describe and lament the vast fury of the Hungarian ravages. Tradition and poetry impart life and colour to these meagre narratives. The German Boor still points at the haunted Cairn, as covering the uneasy bed or the troubled grave of the restless Huns whose swords are heard to clash beneath the soil. Throughout fair France the grinning, boar-tusked,

840—877 ensanguined, child-devouring Ogres appalled the
897—950 doubtingly incredulous delighted tremblers round the blazing hearth. And we yet possess the solemn chaunt by which the centinel of Modena, pacing along the rampart, cheered his companions and beguiled the weary watches of the night —the floating melody which the half-awakened sleeper can scarcely distinguish from a dream:

"O Tu qui servas armis ista mœnia,
Noli dormire, moneo, sed vigila.
Dum Hector vigil extitit in Troïa,
Non eam cepit fraudulenta Græcia.
Primâ quiete dormiente Troïa,
Laxavit Sinon fallax claustra perfida.
Per funem lapsa occultata agmina
Invadunt Urbem, et incendunt Pergama.
Fortis juventus, virtus audax bellica,
Vestra per muros audiantur carmina:
Et sit in armis alterna vigilia,
Ne fraus hostilis hæc invadat mœnia.
Resultet Echo comes: eja vigila!
Per muros eja, dicat Echo, vigila!"

714—900. The Saracen invasions.

§ 3. Far more destructive during the hateful succession of divisions and jealousies, feuds, frauds and treacheries, were the Saracens and the Northmen, hacking and hewing, cutting and carving, making their partitions also, here with Danish battle-axe, there with Damascus blade.

The Saracen expeditions continued the formidable warfare by which they had won the Iberian peninsula, and previously assailed the Gauls. Nothing daunted by the defeats received

from Charles-Martel, they treated the Aquitanian and Narbonensic Gauls as a country to which they possessed a natural claim: in sultry Provence you feel to breathe the Zahara air. The Aquitanians were well inclined to fraternize with the Mahometans. No thanks either to Adalgisius and Adalferius and the Beneventine Lombards, that the Carlovingian Emperor had not been supplanted by a Sultan of Naples, whose Emirs would have extended their conquests round to the realm of the Ommiades. Antioch, Alexandria, Jerusalem, bowed humbly before the Arab, and it seemed more than once uncertain whether Rome would not be equally reduced to servitude. The Western Pontiff was threatened by the captivity inflicted upon the oriental Patriarchs: Saint Peter's successor might groan in bondage, like the successors of Saint Ignatius, Saint James or Saint Mark. The great Mediterranean lake appeared destined to become a Moslem lake; and why not? An Emperor of Morocco, according to the reasoning so irrefutable when supported by the arguments of civilization, would have as good a right as an Emperor of France.

840—877
714—900
Saracen invasions of Italy and Provence.

Few early Provençal or Aquitanian Chronicles have been preserved, consequently the history of the country is very obscure. We have evidence however that the Saracens came over in great numbers. Their attacks and partial successes are not unfrequently noticed, but the

840—877

714—900 Saracen settlement and influence in Provence.

larger and more continuous immigrations are only incidentally recorded. Fraxinet, a castle or fortress on the coast, somewhere nigh Fréjus, became the nucleus of a Saracen colony midway between Italy and Spain, and readily reached from Africa. This position offered great advantages. The Saracens expanded themselves over the country. They mastered the passes of the Cottian and Penine Alps, following the footsteps of Hannibal. Various localities have received their denomination from these invaders. The *forêt des Maures* on the Fréjus coast, *Puy-Maure*, and *Mont-Maure* near Gap, the *Col de Maure* near Château Dauphin, and the whole County of *Maurienne*, testify their occupancy; and it is considered that the Saracen blood has left deep traces in the aspect as well as the character of the Provençals.

With the Saracens probably came also a large proportion of Jews, who subsequently acquired considerable influence, rivalling their Spanish brethren, the Sephardim, in literature and intellectual cultivation. But the Moslems were as much at variance amongst themselves as the Christians:—a divided Caliphate in the presence of a divided Empire. The Musnud of Bagdad has fallen like the Throne of Aix-la-Chapelle. Power had the Saracens given to them for accelerating the ruin of Carlovingian domination, but no power to build up for themselves out of the

ruins. How casual and fantastic are the elements of popular celebrity! Turpin and Ariosto contribute the most enduring memorials of Charlemagne's renown; and Haroun Alraschid reigns throughout Frangistaun by the lips of Sheherazade. 840—877 714—900

Notwithstanding their ultimate expulsion from Italy and the Gauls, the Mahometans kept up their continual claim.—Dragutte and Barbarossa infested the Mediterranean shores with undiminished pertinacity. The harems of Tunis and Tripoli were adorned by the flowers of beauty rudely plucked from the cottages and the villas, the chateaux and the palaces of Liguria or Tuscany, Romagna or the Abruzzi, Languedoc or Provence, who under a more fortunate or a more adverse star would have furnished models for Titian or Raphael, heightened the licentious revelry of a Borgia, or graced the courts of Henri-quatre or François-premier. The best names of the French noblesse and gentry might have answered the roll-call of the Algerine galley, whose bench levelled all distinctions, the captive peasant chained by the side of his captive seigneur. Even now, the frequent towers, adding romance to the lovely Riviera, anxiously commanding the promontories and protecting the gleaming bays, attest the harass so long inflicted by the infidel, and the vicinity of Africa's hostile shore.

§ 4. Elsewhere have we alluded to the

840—877
815—1013
The Scandinavian invasions.

European extent of Scandinavian piracy. It was, according to common expression, a chance, but in truth a wonderful ruling of Providence, that the pure Scandinavian and Jutish races had not prevented Cortes, Cabot and Columbus, colonizing and conquering broad America. Human sagacity cannot discern any adequate reason why the Northmen, whose energy established the once flourishing republic of Iceland, braved the eternal snows of Greenland, and explored the shores of the Pilgrim Fathers, should not in all respects have anticipated their successors of Visigothic, Roman, Gaulish, or "Anglo-Saxon" blood, and spread themselves over the forest-clad continent, then scarcely tenanted by the tribes who have since been exterminated by the poison-blast of civilization. What voice directed Leif Ericson and Thorfind to abandon the fertile Vinland? and who can explain wherefore that incipient domination was crushed, through which, had it been permitted, the whole course of the world's future history would have been changed?

Our discoursings in this work concerning the Scandinavian invasions are cursory and partial: we only contemplate them in Belgium, the Gauls and the borders. A general notion of the Danish inroads in these countries, so far as they are known —and very imperfectly known—from history, may be obtained by employing an easy process. Take the map, and colour with vermilion the provinces,

districts and shores which the Northmen visited, as the record of each invasion. The colouring will have to be repeated more than ninety times successively before you arrive at the conclusion of the Carlovingian dynasty. Furthermore, mark by the usual symbol of war, two crossed swords, the localities where battles were fought by or against the pirates: where they were defeated or triumphant, or where they pillaged, burned or destroyed; and the valleys and banks of Elbe, Rhine and Moselle, Scheldt, Meuse, Somme and Seine, Loire, Garonne and Adour, the inland Allier, and all the coasts and coast-lands between estuary and estuary and the countries between the river-streams, will appear bristling as with chevaux-de-frise.

840—877
815—1013
Historical map of the Scandinavian, Saracen and Hungarian invasions.

The strongly-fenced Roman cities, the venerated Abbeys and their dependent bourgades, often more flourishing and extensive than the ancient seats of government, the opulent sea-ports and trading towns, were all equally exposed to the Danish attacks, stunned by the Northmen's approach, subjugated by their fury. Aix-la-chapelle, Nimeguen and Treves, Cologne, Bonn, Coblentz, Worms, Hamburgh, Metz, Toul and Verdun, Tolbiac, Tournay, Terouenne and Tongres, Doerstadt and Quantowick, Arras, Amiens, Cambray, Ghent, Louvaine, Maestricht, Stavelo and Deventer, Fleury, Hasbey and Corbey, Nuys and Malmedi, Marmoutier and Noirmoutier, Pruhm,

840—877 Condé, Sithiu and Centulla, Saint-Denis, Saint-
Omer, Saint-Riquier and Saint-Quentin, Saint-
815—1013 Florent, Luçon, Lillebonne, Fontenelle, Jumièges, Evreux, Baieux, Rouen, Paris and Orleans, Auxerre and Troyes, Angers, Nantes and Rennes, Amboise, Blois, Beauvais and Tours, Noyon, Lisledieu and Grand-lieu, Chartres, Méaux, Melun, Autun, Clermont, Bourges, Valence, Périgueux, Poitiers, Angoulême, Bourdeaux, Xaintes, Toulouse, Melle, Limoges, Auches, Tarbes, Dax, Leictoure;—an enumeration collected almost at haphazard, exhibits a very incomplete indication of the places which the Northmen occupied, plundered or ruined, in some instances so thoroughly that even episcopal sees never recovered their prosperity.—Such a specific catalogue of ravages, could it be rendered perfect, would only supply scanty data for calculating the heaviness of the sufferings which the Empire sustained. Each City, Town or Abbey, must be taken as synonymous with a Pagus, a Province, a Diocese; and all the countries, not merely on the line of march, but all around, were involved in the desolation. Then if you think fit, denote the Saracen and Hungarian invasions by darker-ensanguined tints, by crossed assagays, scimitars or arrows, and apply the same reasoning to them, and you will approximate to a notion of the misery, and understand how rare and dispersed were the favoured regions spared from the actual presence of the enemy.

§ 5. But the whole annals of the Northmen in the Gauls are rendered irremediably defective through the insufficiency of coeval historical testimony. The Chroniclers naturally gave prominence to the events concerning them most, or which occurred in their vicinity: the facts relating to remote localities were not mentioned or not known; and the evidences of one inroad were often destroyed by a subsequent devastation. We have scarcely any chronicles originating in the places enumerated in the preceding summary, except such as started again when the Northern incursions slackened or ceased. We are tantalized by a single fragment of the chronicle of Fontenelle, which without doubt would have removed many annoying difficulties. The chronicles of Jumièges are entirely lost. Of Nantes, there are only confused fragments, probably rewritten from recollection. The chronicles of all the monasteries in the diocese of Paris have perished: nothing from Saint Germain-des-près, or Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, or Sainte-Généviève—nothing Carlovingian from Saint-Denis.

840—877
815—1013
Historical evidence of the Danish invasions.
Destruction of Chronicles.

Anterior to Abbot Suger we do not possess any chronicle, properly so called, appertaining to that renowned Monastery. The sumptuous black-letter folios, the pride of Verard's press, so prized by the bibliomaniac, and not destitute of importance to the collector as curious specimens of typography, have no intrinsic connexion what-

840—877 ever with the Abbey, excepting that the sources employed by the compiler may have been consulted in the library. They profess to be the "Chroniques de France *selon* qu'elles sont conservées à Saint-Denis."—We have really no means of ascertaining their composer—may be the author was a monk, may be not: a plausible conjecture has been hazarded, that a household minstrel of Alphonso Count of Poitiers, began to indite the work in the reign of Saint-Louis. At all events this vernacular Romane text does not contain a single line from any chronicle excepting those still extant in the original Latin. As an historical monument the Chronicle is valueless, which negative quality may, *primâ facie*, be predicated respecting any similar black-letter book: two to one, rubbish—either superseded by more correct or complete editions, or not multiplied by subsequent editors, because not worth multiplying.

815—1013

In the conflagrations of Saint-Riquier, Centulla of the hundred towers, that most venerated and most important sanctuary, all ancient records perished; and the circumstances connected with Nithardus singularly exemplify the absence of accurate information regarding the Danish invasions. Nithardus, a cultivator of literature, a real historian, a statesman, a soldier high in rank, Count of Ponthieu or the Maritime shore, conversant with public affairs, would have been the man to furnish us with full details of the events

of his times; but, with the fragment of his own history, Nithardus completely disappears. We know nothing beyond the asterisks with which the published fragment ends. About a hundred and fifty years after the reign of Charles-le-Chauve, the Church having been rebuilt, search was made amongst the tombs by Gervinus the Abbot and Hariulphus a fellow-monk, the writer who recommenced the annals of his community. Lying by the side of Angelbertus his father, they discovered the rudely-embalmed corpse of Count Nithard. The skull, fractured by the Danish battle-axe, told the story of his last exploit: he had unquestionably fallen in the defence of Ponthieu. But even when Hariulphus wrote, they had not the slightest knowledge of the time or circumstances of Nithard's death; nor have we any account, till a later period, of the invasions which the province sustained. 840—877 815—1013

The historical materials relating to the Gauls south of the Loire are exceedingly scanty: concerning Orleans, Blois, Tours, Perigord, Bordeaux, Toulouse, nothing is left but a few jejune annals. The vast archiepiscopal province of Bourges, comprising the Dioceses of Clermont, Limoges, Tulle, le Puys and Sainte-Flour, including, according to more modern geography, the Limousin, Périgord, Auvergne, Vellay, Vivarais, indeed the whole of central France and the Dauphinois and a great deal of the Rhone coun-

840—877 try, is nearly a blank. Excepting when we
enjoy the lively company of Sidonius Apollinaris,
815—1013 the last individual representing the gentleman-bishop of the Roman age, and gain a glimpse of pious Avitus, we are in almost unvaried solitude.

Our texts for Carlovingian history are mainly derived from the northern dioceses of France and Germany, principally from the ecclesiastical province of Rheims. So far as the records extend, they are exceedingly valuable and authentic, many of them having been compiled by persons high in authority and enjoying the confidence of the sovereigns, but whose notices of events happening in distant places are only collateral and casual. Where the chronicles fail, our materials must be drawn from the legends of Saints, accounts of the translation of relics and the like; veracious as far as the intentions of the writers were concerned, but usually put together or composed long subsequently to the sufferings, and rendered inaccurate by the excitements of maundering transmission, re-echoing the sounds of confusion and terror. Generally speaking, the Gauls south of the Loire were much severed both by interest and feelings from the northern provinces: their history can only be scantily gathered from the Chroniclers belonging to the Langue-d'oil, or the Belgic or Tudesque countries. So deficient are these memorials, that the only know-

ledge we possess concerning the destruction of the six episcopal sees of Gascony, arises from an incidental allusion in a charter. 840—877 815—1013

§ 6. If we compare the preceding summary of the Danish invasions with the proposed coloured and symbolized map, it will be observed that they constitute three principal schemes of naval and military operations, respectively governed and guided by the great rivers and the intervening sea-shores. In or adjoining the valleys of the rivers, these schemes may sometimes blend into each other, but on the whole they are well defined. General scheme of the naval and military operations of the Northmen in the Gauls, and Northern Germany.

The first scheme of operations includes the territories between Rhine and Scheldt, and Scheldt and Elbe: the furthest southern point reached by the Northmen in this direction was somewhere between the Rhine and the Neckar. Eastward, the Scandinavians scattered as far as Russia; but we must not follow them there. The North sea expeditions.

The second scheme of operations affected the countries between Seine and Loire, and again from the Seine eastward towards the Somme and Oise. These operations were connected with those of the Rhine Northmen. The Seine and Loire expeditions.

The third scheme of operations was prosecuted in the countries between Loire and Garonne and Garonne and Adour, frequently flashing towards Spain, and expanding inland as far as the The Loire and Garonne expeditions.

840—877 Allier and central France, nay, to the very centre, to Bourges.

815—1013 When the Spaniards were regaining their own country from the Ishmaelites, each Hidalgo appropriated to himself in prospect his *Conquista*, the territory he intended to settle and win; and no other Hidalgo was to interfere therewith. Somewhat of the same understanding subsisted amongst the Anglo-Norman subjugators of the Cymri, the March-lords of Wales. Strongbow and his followers did the like in persecuted Ireland. The Danes conducted their piracies according to a similar system, though less perfectly regulated. Instances of discord however occur occasionally amongst the marauders: they brought with them a proportion of their internal dissensions. Dane was occasionally bribed to fight against Dane, for they were exceedingly fond of money; but on the whole these quarrels and betrayals did not affect the habitual unity of the great enterprize.

Danish Fiefs or benefices in Lotharingia.

Lotharingia suffered dreadfully during the Rhine and Scheldt invasions. They were peculiarly fierce, and the facts afford much historical instruction. Anterior to Rollo, the cessions made in Lotharingia furnish memorable examples of benefices or feuds, granted to the Danish chieftains for the purpose of purchasing a suspension of hostilities, or employing them as defenders of the Marches against their own countrymen.

The Loire expeditions produced very important consequences; but they are obscurely narrated. The Danish conquests are rather to be collected from inferences and results than from direct and substantial narratives. 840–877 / 815–1013

The Northmen established themselves not only in the neighbourhood of the river, but inland. The Breton Marches harboured and encouraged them as enemies or as friends. Their settlements in these countries were probably scarcely less extensive than those effected by Rollo in Normandy. Hastings held the County of Chartres. Blois, won by Gerlo the Dane, kinsman of Rollo, became the seat of a Danish dynasty, but the Northmen of the Loire had no Dudon de Saint-Quentin; and the absence of any national historian has concealed the progress of their fortunes. The Northmen of the Loire.

The Seine expeditions concern us most nearly: it is therefore to this series of inroads that we principally apply ourselves, adverting nevertheless to the others so far as may be needful for the general elucidation of our story, and connecting the Norman narrative with the principal events of Carlovingian France and Capetian France—Normandy rising, as the Carlovingian dynasty declined, and fully flourishing when the Capets won the crown.

§ 7. During Louis-le-débonnaire's calamitous reign, the Danish attacks had been formidable, and yet in a measure experimental. The Northmen, Sequence of Danish attacks after the battle of Fontenay.

840—877 acutely and warily observing the opportunities of success, were biding their time. They united the
815—1013 spirit and adaptability of the British sailor with the Buccaneer's ferocity. But these pirates shaded also into traders. In either capacity they received copious intelligence concerning the events of the empire: all the Carlovingian treacheries, dissensions and cruelties were gain for the Danish cause. Every crime or folly of the Carlovingian Sovereigns enured to the benefit of the Northmen: every Frank or German who fell in the civil wars was an enemy removed.

Whilst the sons of Louis-le-débonnaire were pursuing their warfare, the inherent instinct of the Northmen taught them that the marching troops would soon lie dead as carrion.—"Hurrah!"—cried the Danes at Rouen, when King Louis and King Charles were rejoicing at the defeat of Emperor Lothair's army. Well therefore were they prepared for a battle of Fontenay; and the news of the direful slaughter rebounded throughout the North and all the Baltic and North Sea shores. The attacks upon "Romerige," as they called the Empire, hitherto tentative, were now continued systematically. From the Belt to the Dardanelles the Danes familiarized themselves with the navigation: their fleets covered the seas, their sturdy and active warriors overspread the land. Not unfrequently, historical evidence combining with popular tradition enables us to recognize the

chieftains who appear as the heroes of these long-protracted conflicts: whilst they dart and flicker athwart the waves, we may follow their track from their own old countries Scandinavia and the North, or their newer settlements in the British islands. 840—877 815—1013

Regner-Lodbrok, and Biorn-Ironside, Lodbrok's son, become conspicuous, their inroads in France being only digressions from their achievements beyond the channel. It was not the armour of Biorn which gave him the name of Ironside: no shield hung on Biorn's arm, no helmet covered his brow, no hauberk protected his breast.—Such defences were rendered needless by his Sorceress-mother, whose magical liniments had hardened the tender body of her babe. Sigurd son of King Ingiald the Ost-man, king of Waterford, and Sydroc the younger, and another Sydroc, King Ivar's son, conqueror of Dublin, appear in succession,—moreover, Welland, the father of Vidric the sturdy *Kæmpe*, who slew the *Langbeen Rise*, that "longshanked giant," whose proper name has merged in this descriptive portraiture. And Hastings, who stalks forward as the persecutor of the Gauls, he, may be, who set fire to thatch-roofed Cirencester by letting loose a flight of sparrows with lighted coals tied beneath their wings. Danish invaders of the Gauls identified by their acts on the British islands, &c.

§ 8. During eleven years after the pillage of Rouen, Osker continued afloat, incessantly occupied in devastation. An *Osker-Saga* is wanting 842—844 Great Danish expeditions

840—877 to detail the particulars of his enterprizes; but he was probably the leader who conducted a bold

842—844 and successful expedition on the northern coasts, much about the time that Lothair, Louis, and Charles were engaged in the battles and negotiations which produced the treaty of Verdun. The merchant-guilds of Exeter and London mourned with fellow-feeling the pillage of opulent Quantowick, the chief mint of the Gauls, to which was necessarily annexed the chief table or bank of exchange. The calamity is specially recorded in our Saxon chronicle: never but once afterwards is Quantowick mentioned in history. Natural causes, however, co-operated with the calamities of war in extinguishing this once-celebrated commercial city; the haven is completely concealed by the encreasing sands. Topographers can only guess that Quantowick was situated somewhere near Etaples in Picardy.

on the coasts of the Channel, Loire, &c.

Loire and the Garonne were filled with the black-sailed squadrons: Nantes burned and plundered, the inhabitants scattered like silly sheep: noble Toulouse, equally cowardly, Counts and Senators fleeing from their Capitol: Treves and Cologne as yet unstruck, but trembling. Encouraged by success, the Northmen varied the indulgences of rapine. The Danes attacked Lusitania and Spain, spoiling the Saracens, their competitors in the work of affliction.

The ravages which the Northmen were committing in England alarmed the Carlovingians,

without impressing them. Belief, unaccompanied by conviction, is an ever-enduring moral phenomenon. The very presence of the invaders within the Empire scarcely enabled Sovereigns or people to realize their danger. Amidst family quarrels and national dissensions and the seductions of insatiate ambition, the trouble given by the Northmen appeared a small matter, so intent were the brothers on their rivalry. 840—877 842—844

Some precautions however were adopted. Eric the Red, the son of Godfrey, the ancient rival and enemy of Harold, was now acknowledged as the *Over-King* or supreme monarch of Denmark; though probably without much power of enforcing obedience. However, he enjoyed the honour; and the Carlovingian monarchs treated the "Over-King" as a responsible sovereign. They threatened King Eric with reprisals —small account did he make of their warnings. From time to time various means of defence were concerted. Charles-le-Chauve acted firmly, but the ground he stood upon was rotten. The Sovereigns tormented each other, the people betrayed the Sovereigns, and the Empire lingered in spasmodic misery.

§ 9. France was heavily afflicted: a fearfully cold year was followed by another still colder and more inclement. The North wind blew incessantly all through the Winter, all through the pale and leafless Spring. The roots of the vines 844—845. The cold years—Regner Lodbrok (845) enters the Seine.

840—877 were perished by the frost—the wolves starved out of their forests, even in Aquitaine. The cunning animals, wer-wolves, *loups-garoux*, invaded the villages and towns, foraging for human flesh, marshalling themselves in troops, occupying the roads, conducting their operations with military skill, emulating man in the tactics of destruction.

844—845

Meanwhile the Danish hosts were in bright activity. Regner Lodbrok and his fellows fitted out their fleet, ten times twelve dragons of the sea. Early in the bleak Spring they sailed, and the stout-built vessels ploughed cheerily through the crashing ice on the heaving Seine. Regner Lodbrok defied the piercing blast in his shaggy garments—Osker's example had instructed his countrymen where they could find sport, where the game was to be sought; and Regner prepared to strike a heavy blow.

Amidst all misfortunes France retained an irrepressible elasticity. The monks, huddling themselves together in their desolated habitations, had resettled at Fontenelle and Jumièges, and the country-folks diligently tilled the fields. But the Danes spared Fontenelle and Jumièges for the nonce, that monks and peasants might be better worth plundering another time. Rouen dared not offer any opposition. The Northmen quietly occupied the City: we apprehend that some knots or bands of the Northmen began even now to domicile themselves there, it being scarcely

Rouen occupied again by the Danes.

possible to account for the condition of Normandy under Rollo otherwise than by the supposition, that the country had long previously received a considerable Danish population. 840—877 842—845

§ 10. Paris, the point to which the Northmen were advancing by land and water, was the key of France, properly so called. Paris taken, the Seine would become a Danish river: Paris defended, the Danes might be restrained, perhaps expelled. The Capetian "Duchy of France," not yet created by any act of State, was beginning to be formed through the encreasing influence of the future Capital. Carlovingian Paris.

Antient cities are in the nature of palimpsests,—each generation erasing the writing of the preceding generation, and superimposing layers of other writings and newer-formed characters, line upon line; each successively superinduced line teaching a more modern lesson, telling a more recent tale.

In the page presented by the Paris of the nineteenth century, a paragraph occasionally remains, exhibiting the fine Valois-Orleans "lettres gothiques," imparting dignity to the tomes of chivalry: here and there, deeper, you may still discern scattered specimens of the quaintly-elegant calligraphy which delighted Saint-Louis: below these, some scanty vestiges of the stately Carlovingian uncials: and lastly, piercing through all the strata, a few firm majuscules inscribed by

840—877 Roman power, a syllable or two and no more;—
842—845 but the whole text restamped by the neat, monotonous, well-cut fount, cast in the matrices of civilization. It is very difficult therefore to read the enchorial characters of Paris as the city existed in the reign of Charles-le-Chauve, though in some degree we are able to retrace their tenor.

Alterations in the bed and level of the Seine.

The Seine, as we have before remarked, was very much wider than at the present day. The whole level of the city and of all the adjoining faux-bourgs has been considerably raised, and the bed of the river has evidently sustained much elevation also. The antient fluviatile spread of surface is distinctly shewn by the inundations which occurred early in the course of the last century, about a hundred and thirty years ago, when the Champs-Elysées were deeply inundated: the water came up also to the very front of the Hôtel-des-Invalides and surrounded the Palais-Bourbon.

Two bridges afforded access to the city-island. On the north, the Pont-du-change; the Petit-pont on the south. The Grand-Châtelet includes within the thickness of the walls a Carlovingian, or perhaps a Roman fortress, the station of the Parisian Naviculârii under the Roman Empire. It is doubtful whether, properly speaking, there was more than one city-gate, the Petit-Châtelet being probably in the nature of an outwork or postern. Within the island there was only one church of importance, namely, Saint-Etienne, afterwards Notre-Dame.

On either bank of the ample Seine the cultivated and populous country was dotted with flourishing bourgades and splendid structures: the present remains of the Palais-des-Thermes attest the antient strength of the edifice, then towering in Babylonian altitude. This architectural magnificence was peculiarly manifested by a very lofty vaulted hall, not demolished till the reign of Louis-quinze; and in the other surviving portions the steady Roman arches may yet be seen, contrasting with the florid pinnacles and canopies and flamboyant tracery of the Hotel-de-Clugny. The terre-plain over the hall was formed into a terraced garden. 840—877 842—845

Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, Saint-Germain-des-près, Sainte-Généviève, and Saint-Victor, all possessed a castellated aspect. We have evidence of the robustness of these ancient monasteries in the prison of the Abbaye, the only remaining fragment of conventual Saint-Germain-des-près, and which obtained such fatal celebrity during the Revolution. The great tower of the church is attributed to Childebert: the porch, now mutilated, was a monument to the honour of the Merovingian dynasty. Against the slender pillars were the effigies of the kings and queens,—Clovis, venerable, gaunt and grave, according to the sculptor's realization,—holy Clotilda, her long-flowing tresses woven and braided with bands of orfray. Architectural character of the Great Monasteries of Paris.

840—877
842—845

The interior of the building is Carlovingian: the ample Corinthianized capitals are unaltered, and if instead of the more recent vaulting we substitute the open roof and tyebeams of a Roman Basilica, and imagine the shrines richly decorated with the jaspers and precious marbles which have long since disappeared, we may obtain a tolerably correct idea of Saint-Germain-des-près when the vessels of Regner Lodbrok sailed up the Seine. Saint-Victor was splendidly adorned, but not a trace or recollection of the structure remains. The walls of Sainte-Généviève shone with gilded mosaics, patterned from Rome or Byzantium.

Charles-le-Chauve stations himself at Saint-Denis.

Saint-Denis had already become the nucleus of an important bourgade: the monks had taken the relics out of their depositories, and were preparing to escape. They were however well protected: Charles-le-Chauve had stationed himself with his troops before the Abbey. Expecting the approach of the Northmen, he had done his utmost to concentrate his forces. Opposite to his position an island divided the Seine. His troops were neither numerous nor hearty, yet the Danes dared not attack him. They made their way along the river by the off channel, spread themselves also over the adjoining country, ravaging like furies. A large detachment landed at Charlevanne, near Saint-Germain-en-laye, on the spot where Louis-quatorze afterwards built the machine of Marli.

Eleven corpses swinging from gibbets planted on an eyot, announced to the French the punishment by which any resistance would be visited; and, in all the villages about Paris, the same ghastly spectacle, rigid carcasses suspended to the bare and naked boughs, repeated the warning. The river also gave the like stern monition, the dead-men drifting in the water or stranded on the shores. 840—877 / 845

Fierce as the Northmen generally were, they exceeded their usual ferocity, whether instigated by the inhumanity of Regner Lodbrok and Ironside, or whether the cruelties were aggravated by the Vikingar, not in rage but upon cold-blooded calculation, for the purpose of exciting greater terror. Any how, the result was the same. With such panic were the Franks stricken, that they gave themselves up for lost. Paris island, Paris river, Paris bridges, Paris towers were singularly defensible:—the Palais-des-Thermes, the monasteries were as so many castles. Had the inhabitants, for their own sakes, co-operated with Charles-le-Chauve, the retreat of the Danes would have been entirely cut off; but they were palsied in mind and body, neither thought of resistance nor attempted resistance, and abandoned themselves to despair.

28 March, 845. Regner Lodbrok and the Danes enter Paris.

§ 11. On Easter Eve the Danes entered Paris. Joyless did the austere season render the vernal festival of the Resurrection throughout the Gauls.

840—877 *Pâques-fleurie*—but spring denied her early garlands; hepatica, primrose, violet and snowdrop were nipped in their clemmed buds, and the altars unadorned by flowers. At Paris they need them not: no tapers are lighted, no mass is read, no anthems sung.—Bishop Erchenrad setting the example, the priests and clerks deserted their churches: the monks fled, bearing with them their shrines: soldiers, citizens and sailors, abandoned their fortresses, dwellings and vessels: the great gate was left open, Paris emptied of her inhabitants, the city a solitude. The Danes hied at once to the untenanted monasteries: all valuable objects had been removed or concealed, but the Northmen employed themselves after their fashion. In the church of Saint-Germain-des-près they swarmed up the pillars and galleries, and pulled the roof to pieces: the larchen beams being sought as excellent ship-timber. In the city, generally, they did not commit much devastation. They lodged themselves in the empty houses, and plundered all the moveables. Silver and gold were hidden, but baser metals were worth carrying away, and the iron-work of Paris gate added to the freight of the Danish barks and barges: without doubt, also, the Danes found ample stores of provision in the city and in the monasteries.

Damage done to Saint-Germain-des-près.

The Danes retire from Paris.

The Franks did not make any attempt to attack or dislodge the enemy, but a more efficient power

compelled the Danes to retire from the city: 840—877
disease raged among them, dysentery—a com- 845
plaint frequently noticed, probably occasioned by their inordinate potations of the country-wine. Their own well-brewed strong ale was far healthier.

Regner Lodbrok was equally astute and bold, his craft is conspicuous in his legendary story. Had Charles-le-Chauve advanced from Saint-Denis and attacked the Danes, few if any could have escaped. Regner therefore made proposals to the King, promising to evacuate Paris upon receiving a competent subsidy. Charles himself was in great difficulty. His efforts for the defence of his country were disappointed. Troops he had assembled, but the cowards would neither move nor act: the king was powerless. In this strait he therefore offered an enormous subsidy, seven thousand pounds of silver:—a sum calculated by the Academicians, whose researches guide us in elucidating this perplexed portion of French history, at five hundred and twenty thousand livres. This was the first Danegeld paid by France, an unhappy precedent, and yet unavoidable: the pusillanimity of his subjects compelled Charles to adopt this disgraceful compromise. The money was levied upon the inhabitants of Paris and the adjoining provinces,—right that they should bear the burthen brought upon themselves by their self-desertion.

Danegeld paid by Charles-le-Chauve.

Regner returned joyfully to Denmark: he

840—877 repaired to Eric the Red, boasting of his exploits
845—849 and their profit—how he and his Danes had rendered the Rœmerige tributary, the money he had received, the booty he had carried away. His bravery of speech affronted the Over-king, who openly told the grim Sea-rover he did not believe him. Regner came again before his scoffing sovereign, followed by gangs of his crew, some carrying the big iron bar of the Paris gate, the others laden with a carved larchen beam, plucked from the roof of Saint-Germain-des-près. These trophies, laid before King Eric's throne, were the silent but irrecusable testimonies of Regner's victory.

§ 12. The display of prize and plunder excited Eric the Red to try his fortune: the reports which Regner brought of the abject cowardice manifested by the Carlovingian subjects, rendered the temptation the stronger. A remunerative venture upon the easiest terms was thus offered to the Northmen, an inducement more attractive than glory. Six hundred vessels composed Eric's fleet: none so well equipped had hitherto invaded Germany or the Gauls, and they entered the promising Elbe.

On the banks of that river a new city had arisen under the auspices of Charlemagne,—the
845. Hamburgh plundered by King Eric. future flourishing emporium of the North, wisely planned for the purpose of connecting Scandinavia and Germany, and at the same time assisting in

the defence of the Empire. Pagan Wends and Obotrites, Saxons still yearning for their pristine independence and the Baltic pirates, were all to be held in check by Hamburgh. The City, an archiepiscopal See, the Patriarchate of Scandinavia, Cathedral, Castle, Church and Monastery, shone fresh and strong from the builder's hands. Suddenly was Hamburgh surrounded by the yelling Northmen: the stout Carlovingian warriors, real Germans of the Germans, fled away—no great shame therefore that Archbishop Anscharius should scurry for his life, stripped of his garments, "nudus," says Adam of Bremen—a figure of speech, but as near the truth as well may be. Anscharius fled to Bremen, where envious Bishop Luderic refused to receive his brother. Anscharius ultimately returned to Hamburgh, and was restored, not merely to his dignity, but to peace and comfort with the Danes. He was a kind and good man, and laid the foundation of the Scandinavian mission by redeeming captive children and educating them in Christian doctrines. Eric, his persecutor, became his affectionate protector and friend, and may be said to have met his death in the battle of Flensburgh for the sake of Anscharius. 840—877 845—849

§ 13. Conflicts again in the Aquitanian rivers:—the Danes in great force, Osker their commander: Charles drove them off from Bourdeaux, but the discontented Aquitanians were plotting 846—849. Danish expeditions in Aquitaine and Spain.

840—877 and machinating to separate themselves from the
846—850 Frankish Crown. Many supported Pepin, others looked towards Germany: the rich city was surrendered to the Danes. The French laid the treason to the charge of the Jews—hard upon the Jews to stigmatize them as the betrayers: hard upon Ganelone di Maganza to shew him up in romaunt and poesy as the very Coryphæus of felonry, when the whole Carlovingian Empire was infected with universal treachery.

The Northern fleets quitting the Loire, again visited the Spanish coasts. The gold of Spain, her warmth, her wines, attracted the invaders: indeed, they were only following the course of their brethren, if not their forefathers. The Visigoths were the last amongst the kindred nations who departed from the Euxine shores and the Eastern Asgard. Destiny guided them far from the regions which thenceforward constituted the chief domain of the Asi, yet there were poetical recollections in the North of these wanderings and peregrinations. Well might the Norwegian damsels sing in their ballads of heroism and love, how *Myklagard and the land of Spain, lie wide away o'er the lee:*

> "Myklagard ok Spanialand
> Thad liggur so langt af leidi."

Seville was plundered, and though the fleet of Abdelrahman ultimately chased the Danes from the coasts, their cruise was successful, and their

booty safely transported to Scandinavia and the Baltic islands. Many a tumulus, many a mound under the cold sky, when opened by the groping antiquary or the honest boor, still presents the happy excavator with the golden denars which the Vikingar had hoarded at home. 840—877. 850

Blazing hostility again in the North.—Friezeland, close and nigh to the Jutland shores, was a favourite and successful field of enterprize. Roric, the nephew of Harold, occupied the country: Lothair endeavoured to expel the Dane, but he had not the power of prosecuting any effectual warfare. His untrustworthy forces were employed either in watching or opposing his own brothers. The Emperor therefore attempted the perilous compromise previously tried with Harold. Rustringia was granted to Count Roric, as a benefice; and the Imperial Diet confirmed the donation. Roric,—a Count, a Markgrave,—performed homage, placed his hands between the hands of Lothair, and covenanted to protect the Empire against his unbeneficed countrymen and kinsmen.—The transaction was acutely planned: an instinctive antipathy subsists between those who have and those who have not, which, as the world goes, often withstands the sympathies of affinity or consanguinity. Lothair calculated that he might thus rely upon estranging Roric from the Danish people; and another precedent was afforded for Rollo's future establishment in Normandy. 850. Roric's expedition—Rustringia granted to him as a benefice.

840—877 § 14. Circumstances continued to promote this system of infeudation. Concurrently with Roric's expedition, Godfrey the son of Harold king of Denmark, the Atheling who with his parents had been baptized at Mayence, sailed up the Seine, he and his crews levying contributions on the country, according to their wont. The Franks vituperated Godfrey as a faithless Pagan; but it was not fair to censure the Northmen for violences which the Franks were committing amongst themselves and upon themselves. Charles-le-Chauve was very vigilant, but his people were nerveless, and he invoked the assistance of his brother Lothair, bound to him by treaties, bound to him by feeling.

850

850. Godfrey the son of Harold enters the Seine.

Having done so, Charles immediately felt that he had preferred an imprudent request. A brother introduced into Neustria might be far more dangerous than a Dane: therefore Charles desisted from urging Lothair, and determined to acquire Godfrey's alliance by a competent cession of territory. The Benefice was in the vicinity of the Seine, the grant not being made simply to Godfrey, but also to his followers:—*terram eis ad inhabitandum delegavit.* This obscure though important settlement afterwards merged in the Norman Duchy.—The repetitions and similarities of the Scandinavian names are no less confusing than those which occur in Carlovingian history. It is therefore necessary to remark that Godfrey,

Benefices granted to Godfrey.

the son of King Harold, must not be confounded with Godfrey son of Harold, Jarl of Jutland, also a beneficiary of the empire, who married Gisella King Lothair's daughter. 840—877 / 850—855

§ 15. The foemen thus fixed and planted in the Gauls, others appear and re-appear with undiminished ferocity. Jarl Osker, having pillaged Bourdeaux, established a military station near the city,—probably consisting of entrenchments or earth-works which could be protected by his vessels in the Garonne, and likewise command the country. Osker then sailed northwards, and returned to the well-known Seine. During two hundred and eighty-seven days did his vessels continue in the river, whether cruising or moored —an aquatic colony, the Danes dispersing themselves when they thought fit on the land. They ruined the ruins of Fontenelle, burnt Saint-Bavon at Ghent, burnt Beauvais, and desolated the whole intervening tract. The Franks, plucking up heart of grace, attacked a body of straggling Northmen at a village now called Ouarde, situate on the river Epte, a boundary of future Normandy: some few Danes were slain, the remainder retreated into a wood: they did not concern themselves anxiously about points of honour. The average insignificance of the conflicts, and the evident exaggerations of Danish defeats and Frankish victories, emphatically testify the preponderance which the Northmen had obtained. 850—851. Osker's return to the Seine.

840—877 to 852

When the Franks actually fought the Danes, the Chroniclers relate the rally as an event much out of the common course—a wonder:—they remind us, in more ways than one, of the despatches in the Pekin gazette, relating the successes gained over the barbarians.

851—855

Concurrent operations of the Danes in the British Islands and in the Gauls.

§ 16. The pirate-empire was rapidly widening: the Danes spreading their warfare throughout the British Islands, unhappy Ireland experiencing ample measure of their fury: Armagh was dreadfully devastated, and the most encouraging successes obtained by them in England. About this time they established themselves in Kent, wintering in Thanet: their vessels swept the narrow seas, the English Channel was becoming a Danish channel. This command of the English coast gave them a fulcrum of greater power against France and Belgium. Friezeland and all the adjoining parts were completely subdued, and their attacks upon France became more pertinacious.

9 Oct. 852.

Sidroc and Godfrey enter the Seine.

Sidroc, the Irish-Dane, accompanied by a third Godfrey, who must be distinguished from the two previously mentioned, entered the Seine. Acting according to a more definite project of settling themselves throughout Neustria than they had hitherto entertained, they fortified themselves in a position which afterwards acquired great celebrity during the Danish and Norman wars—*Givoldi-fossa* is the name given to the place by the Chroniclers: the exact situation has been

The Danes establish themselves at Jeufosse.

much debated by the French historians; however, it appears to have been at or near a village now called Jeu-fosse, just above the confluence of the Epte and the Seine, not far from Vernon, about half-way between Rouen and Paris. The Chroniclers speak of *Givoldi-fossa* as an island, whereas Jeu-fosse is situated upon the main land; but in all probability the channels which then insulated the Danish entrenchments—they are said to be yet discernible—have been filled up by alluvion. From this stronghold the Danes sent forth their destructive expeditions, ravaging the country far and wide, doing much harm and threatening to inflict more. 851—854 853—855

The imminent peril produced a transitory concord between Charles and his brother Lothair; but Lothair could give no help even if he had been true, for he was sickening and declining, soon about to be laid in his sepulchre at Pruhm. (See II. § 37, p. 300.) The Franks refused to face the enemy: the Danes therefore continued in this part of Neustria throughout the winter, the spring and part of the next summer; then, sailing out of the Seine they coasted round to the Loire, plundered Nantes, Angers and Blois again, burned Tours, and greatly damaged the Church of Saint-Martin—the Glastonbury of the Gauls. The Danes, determined to gain the mastery of the Seine, were proceeding consistently. Near the point where the Andelle and the Eure fall into that river, was situated a

853—854: Danes having quitted the Seine, attack and plunder the shores of the Loire.

851—854 very favourite residence of Charlemagne, an antient palace called Pistres, about five leagues from
853—854 Rouen. The Carlovingian Sovereigns were accustomed to hold their great councils in this royal mansion, and some noted ordinances were there promulgated, quoted by historians as the Capitulars of Pistres, just as we speak of the Statutes of Kenilworth or Merton. Pistres had hitherto escaped; but the Irish-Dane Sidroc had marked the place, and re-entering the Seine with a very large fleet, he accomplished his intent, and temporarily occupied palace, river and territory. Meanwhile Blois and Orleans were captured, and further devastations perpetrated on the Loire, yet Charles-le-Chauve, albeit grievously troubled by his own flesh and blood, was not despairing: he employed every exertion to oppose them; and by an unexpected contingency this revival of energy received encouragement from the Danes themselves.

18 July, 855. Sidroc re-enters the Seine.

854—855 Civil war amongst the Danes: battle of Flensburgh and death of Eric the Red.

Eric the Red, the former persecutor of Anscharius, though not professedly a Christian, was now most favourably inclined towards Christianity, won over by the goodness and kindness of the Archbishop. Through this conduct, the monarch provoked the inveterate hatred of the Northmen. The malcontents at home communicated with their countrymen abroad: the pirate-kings, dispersed as they were, agreed unanimously to forego their free-bootery, and, returning home, avenge

their national institutions, their gods, and their laws.—Guthrun, Eric's nephew, commanded the insurgents. The armies met nigh Flensburgh in Jutland: during three days, the battle raged so fiercely that all the chieftains—Eric, Guthrun and a cohort (so to speak) of Kings and Jarls—perished in the conflict. Equally tremendous was the slaughter in every rank and degree—Norskmen, Danes, Swedes, Jutes, champions and churls. Loudly did the Franks exult in the real or imaginary results of Flensburgh fight, the pirates who had devastated them during twenty years self-punished by a Danish Fontenay, all the nobility of the Vikingar exterminated, the royal lineages, as they believed, extirpated: the report prevailed that only one little child was left, and the Franks expected they would be for ever relieved from their tormenting enemies.—But few were the months during which they were permitted to enjoy the pleasing delusion. 851—854. 855

§ 17. Dreadful adversaries again arose, the Piratical Hosts visiting and revisiting the Gauls with invigorated desperation. Biorn-Ironside, the invulnerable Biorn, his fleet joining Sidroc, again entered the persecuted Seine. They landed immediately, and marched westward, slaying all who resisted. Charles-le-Chauve, however, was in the field, and having succeeded in keeping his dastardly troops together, the Danes sustained some loss and retreated to the river; but they 855. Sep. Biorn-Ironside's expedition.

851—854 derided their enemies: the foray had paid them.

855 Sidroc sailed for the Loire. In the meanwhile another Danish squadron of Northmen had occupied Nantes. Herispoë, the Armorican king, purchased Sidroc's alliance, and retained him to attack his countrymen. But the pirates were men of business: the Danes occupying Nantes opened a bargain with Sidroc and overbid Herispoë, and Sidroc sailed away. Biorn-Ironside continuing in the Seine, had examined the country and occupied the island of Oscelles, the *crux* of French topography. Academicians and Archæologists, Dom Duplessis and Dom Mabillon, Dom Felibien and Dom Sirmond, Père Daniel and Père Dubois, Baluze and Valois, Le-Bœuf and Bonamy, attest by their disputations the contending opinions respecting a position, considered as the most important during the war. These diligent and learned men, well conversant with the country, have not been able to decide on the locality, some bringing the place within a league of Paris, and others within three of Rouen.

Biorn occupies the island of *Oscelles*.

This controversy must not be considered as an idle display of antiquarian pertinacity, for it shews, more clearly than any mere argument could do, the extent of the variations which the Seine's course and channels have sustained, casting the greatest obscurity upon a question of home topography in a well-known region, and

where difficulties would appear to be most easily susceptible of solution.—All things considered, however, we are inclined to place Oscelles in the vicinity of Pont-de-l'Arche, just below the confluence of Seine and Eure. Here Biorn raised an entrenchment or camp, which became the Danish head-quarters: here they established themselves whenever they chose. Oscelles gave them the complete command of the river; hence they sent forth their detachments by land or by water, helping themselves to what they needed, and keeping Paris in constant anxiety. 851—854 855.

§ 18. It is evident that the Danes who had thus obtained the virtual mastery of France were not numerous. In England, not only the ancient Danelaghe, but many other districts retain and retained the records of their preponderance in the names of places and the aspect of the people. Our institutions also recall their memory; but in France, even in the countries where they settled and naturalized themselves, nigh the Loire where they colonized, in Normandy where they ruled, they were completely absorbed amongst the Romanized population. Like a stage-procession winding in and out, disappearing and returning, their numbers were magnified by their activity. If it so happened that they were in danger of being hit, they evaded the blow: when their stores were exhausted, they departed till the next harvest, or sought a harvest elsewhere. They consi- The Northern invasions facilitated by the domestic disunion of the Royal family.

854—855 dered themselves as Landlords to whom a periodical rent ought to be rendered:—when the rent was due they came and distrained.

855

Charles troubled by his children.

Charles, during the whole of his reign, was perplexed and entangled by difficulties—a cloud of enemies surrounded him, the Northmen perhaps the least inveterate: his own people, his own kinsmen, his own children, were vigilant, constant and intimate foes. Visitations fell heavily upon Charles, and, as all men do, he often invited the scourge. Trials and punishments, afflictions sent and chastisements deserved, the tribulations constituting the mysterious discipline of human existence, are perhaps more instructive in the cases of exalted personages than in private life, because they are less invidiously quotable and more clearly shewn, and history therefore should disclose them. Amongst his numerous children only one could have given him comfort—lame Lothair, who died young. All the others were troubles, or objects of care and sorrow.

The King's own conduct contributed to poison the minds of his household. His marriage with his noble concubine Richilda, Count Boso's beautiful sister, the fifth day after Ermentruda's death, raises a strong presumption that his criminal passion enhanced the misfortunes which he sustained. Louis, his eldest son, Louis-le-Bégue, became discontented, a fomenter of mischief, amounting to rebellion and treason. Charles

was not blameless in his conduct towards this son: the endeavours which he made for the purpose of compelling Louis to discard the betrothed, if not the consort, whom he loved, in order that he might contract a state-marriage, encreased the disunion. 851—854 / 843—857

Louis-le-Bégue was urgent for an appanage— abbeys, counties, dukedoms, or a kingdom. Family precedents warranted such demands, but Charles-le-Chauve was cautious, distrustful, loath to bestow any donation which might encrease his son's influence and power. Very significant of the schism between the father and the son is the list of forests in which Charles wholly prohibits his son from sporting: a long list of preserves, including Compiègne. As to the other forests, Louis only received a very qualified licence: he may chase a deer whilst passing through, let slip a hound or spear a wild boar, but nothing else.— This Capitular is an amusing and memorable example of the hunter's jealousy. To the young prince, such a prohibition must have been almost as annoying as the refusal of a kingdom. Jealousies between Charles-le-Chauveand Louis-le-Bégue.

§ 19. Aquitanian affairs are singularly complicated with the Northern invasions. The deficiency of local chronicles concerning central France and the other countries south of the Loire, and indeed the general absence of information respecting this region—half France—precludes us from forming any accurate idea of the outrage- 843—857 The affairs of Aquitaine.

854—855 ous revolutions which the Aquitanian kingdom sustained. Amongst the acts of injustice committed by Louis-le-débonnaire, perhaps the least excusable was his conduct towards his grandson Pepin. He robbed the child solely for the purpose of aggrandizing his favourite Charles; and upon Charles he bestowed an inheritance of confusion. Putting the morality of the act out of the question, the exclusion of the younger Pepin was a grave political error. The Vasques or Gascons, a distinct race, fiery, fickle, haughty, jealous of their privileges, and as proud of their privileges, franchises and nationality as their Iberian brethren, could not be slighted with impunity: they disliked and dreaded the union of the French and Aquitanian Crowns. All Pepin's uncles were adverse, all combined against him, all betrayed him in their turns; but he defied them all. The Aquitanians refused to acknowledge his dethronement: during many years they supported him heartily. He surprized the troops of Charles near Angoulême, put them to flight, and completely defeated them.

844. Pepin defeats the forces of Charles-le-Chauve in the battle of Angoulême.

In this battle, Abbot Hugh, the son of Charlemagne, was killed. Charles-le-Chauve was compelled to accept of a compromise: he knew the full extent of his danger. Nominoë and his Bretons, probably in concert with Pepin, had passed beyond their confines and invaded Maine, which Louis-le-Bégue desired as an appanage.

Charles must have been equally apprehensive that if the hostility of the Aquitanians continued unmitigated, their discontent would interfere with the defence of the country—nay, possibly induce them to aid the enemy. 854—855 844

This last anticipation was realized. The Danes menaced, and menacing made their assault. They entered the Dordogne, Charles repelled them; but they were not deterred, and their defeat in the river was followed by the most profitable acquisition of Bourdeaux. He therefore compromised with his adversary, consenting that Pepin should resume the government of Aquitaine, excepting Saintonge, the Angoumois, and Poitou: the two first-mentioned Counties, Charles reserved for himself, the last he granted to Rainulph or Ramnulf, son of Gerard Count of Auvergne. Concurrently with this restoration, the three brothers held a congress, enjoining Pepin to obey King Charles, as a nephew ought to obey an uncle: a very ambiguous precept, involving that pregnant principle of discord,—the confusion of family subordination and state-authority which had proved the bane of the Empire; and, in their hollow recognition, they all avoided giving the royal title to the Aquitanian king. 845 Charles cedes a portion of Aquitaine to Pepin.

What was the "obedience" which Pepin was bound to render? was he undutiful, or his uncle harsh and exacting?—we know not;—but Pepin concerted plans for making himself entirely inde- 848 Pepin preparing to render himself independent, treats with the Saracens and Northmen.

854—855 pendent; and Charles re-entered Aquitaine with the declared intention of subduing the rebel.
848 Pepin prepared actively for defence. There were three inveterate foes of the Franks who would co-operate with him—the Saracen, the Northman, and the Breton. The Aquitanians were not unfriendly towards the Moslems. William of Toulouse, son of the notorious Bernard Count of Septimania by his wife, the accomplished and affectionate Doduana, entered willingly into the plot. Abdelrahman was invited from Cordova. The Saracens occupied the Spanish marches; and the Northmen were courted. Hence the invasion before mentioned, when they captured Toulouse.

Charles-le-Chauve's expedition began favourably: a faction amongst the unstable Aquitanians had already discarded their chosen Pepin and joined Charles. Pepin was ousted, and Charles solemnly crowned as king of the country. Pepin, however, made a stubborn resistance. Sancho Sanchion, Count or Duke of the Gascons, supported Pepin: a fierce war continued in the southern parts of Aquitaine, which exposed the rest of the Gauls the more to the Danish ravages; —the Franks seeming totally insensible to their own folly.

Charles-le-Chauve marches against Pepin, and is crowned King of Aquitaine.

852 About this time Bourdeaux was taken by Osker. Charles, the younger brother of Pepin, emerged from his obscurity, and fought against the persecuting uncle. He was captured by treach-

Pepin betrayed by Sancho Sanchion, and imprisoned in Saint-Médard.

ery, delivered to Charles-le-Chauve, and compelled to take Orders: it is he who afterwards became the good Archbishop at Mayence. Treacheries were involved in treacheries. Sancho Sanchion, who encouraged Pepin and acted as his most earnest friend, concluded a base bargain with Charles-le-Chauve, surprized Pepin at a feast—an aggravation of perfidy—and delivered him into the hands of his uncle. Pepin was sent to Saint-Médard. Here he was treated equally as an unwilling novice and as a prisoner: an oath of fealty to Charles-le-Chauve was also extorted from him,—an absurd aggravation of harshness, and laying further snares for his conscience. Obligations accepted under duresse, oaths imposed by duresse, discredited all the principles of religion and honour. 854—855 853—856.

§ 20. Charles-le-Chauve now ruled in Aquitaine, or seemed to do so, for the Aquitanians withdrew their obedience, became extremely discontented, and sought to rid themselves of his authority. The contagious turbulence spread with encreasing virulence amongst the French chieftains. Louis-le-Germanique, who fomented the disaffection whilst pretending relúctance, was invited as the deliverer of the country. Further revolutions in Aquitaine; Louis-le-Germanique solicited to aid—he sends Louis the Saxon.

In Germany there prevailed an inveterate hatred of Charles: his usual appellation was *Sennacherib*, or *the Tyrant*.—Free us from our oppressor—was the supplication of the Aquita-

854—855 954

nians; to this cry his brother responded; but Louis was unable to quit Germany. Carloman and Rastiz, the Wends and Carinthians, gave him sufficient employment: he therefore sent his son Louis the Saxon in his stead; and a singular rumour has been transmitted to us, that the Armoricans accepted the younger Louis as Count or King of "Cornouailles."

854 Louis the Saxon is abandoned by the Aquitanians.

Louis the Saxon hastened from Baioaria; but when, after his long march, he had crossed the Loire, the Aquitanians who sought him so earnestly just before, had changed their minds. Louis the Saxon was there, but they would have none of Louis. One Count alone came forward to join the German Prince. Pepin tried to escape from Saint-Médard by the connivance of some of the inmates, but he was intercepted: his abettors were punished, and he was compelled to kneel down and be shorn, take the vows, put on the cowl and become a Benedictine, as far as shaven crown, vows and cowl, could make him such. But the active adventurer renewed his attempt and got off clear, cast away his hateful garb, reached Aquitaine all shaven and shorn, and appeared again as a warrior and as a king.

Pepin escapes from Saint-Médard.

There were now three competitors for Aquitaine—the German Louis, Charles-le-Chauve, and Pepin—all virtually (and Pepin ultimately actually) helping the Northmen. Charles-le-Chauve was the most successful, Louis the Saxon fled,

Pepin's partizans fell off: he had no money. 854—855
Charles-le-Chauve prospered, and caused his son
Charles, the thoughtless boy, to be acknowledged 857
king of Aquitaine; he was solemnly anointed 15 Oct. 855.
and crowned at Limoges. After a few months The young Charles crowned King of Aquitaine.
of nominal reign, the young Charles was deposed,
and Pepin re-acknowledged; but, before the year
closed, the Aquitanians repudiated Pepin and 856
re-deposed him, and re-acknowledged the young Charles deposed by the Aquitanians, and Pepin re-acknowledged.
Charles. Pepin, desolate and reckless, now allied
himself with the Northmen. Poitou, Aquitaine
and the Counties of Blois and Chartres, were Pepin deposed, and Charles acknowledged again.
all invaded and pillaged. Orleans was encour-
aged to resistance by her Bishop, and the Danes
retreated; but the apathy and treachery of the
nobles enabled the Pirates to regain the city. The
Northmen were peculiarly inveterate against the
Bishops; and the Bishop of Chartres, Frodbaldus,
who like another Wulstan encouraged his people
to defend the houses of God and their own, was
so fiercely hunted by the Danes, that, attempting
to swim across the Eure, he was drowned.

§ 21. The Seine as well as the future Duchy of France being laid open to the Northmen, Paris, partially recovered from Regner Lodbrok's invasion, was assailed with more fell intent.

The surrounding districts were ravaged, and 857
the great monasteries, heretofore sacked, were Paris attacked again by the Northmen.
now destroyed. Only three Churches were found
standing—Saint-Denis, Saint-Germain-des-près,

854-855 and Saint-Etienne or Notre-Dame—these having redeemed themselves by contributions to the enemy; but Saint-Denis made a bad bargain. The Northmen did not hold to their contract, or another company of pirates did not consider it as binding: the Monastery was burnt to a shell, and a most heavy ransom paid for the liberation of Abbot Louis, Charlemagne's grandson by his daughter Rothaida. Sainte-Génévière suffered most severely amongst all; and the pristine beauty of the structure rendered the calamity more conspicuous and the distress more poignant. During three centuries, the desolated grandeur of the shattered ruins continued to excite sorrow and dread, the fragments and particles of the gilt mosaics glistering upon the fire-scathed vaultings.

848

Such were the apprehensions excited by the visitations of the Northmen, that a new supplication,—*A furore Normannorum libera nos*, was introduced into the Gallican liturgies. They broke open the sepulchres, plundered the tombs of the Merovingian Sovereigns, and scattered the bones of Clovis and Clotilda.

Destruction of the antient Basilica of Génévière.

So keenly was the wound which they had inflicted at Sainte-Génévière still felt in after times, that the same petition,—"*A furore Normannorum libera nos*"—continued to be intoned in the Abbey Choir even till the era of Louis-treize: it is not impossible but that the dread inspired by the Lion of the North may have

imparted a new reality to the archaic ritual. 854—855
Moreover, besides the commemoration thus kept
up in prayer, the community steadily observed a 857
statute which forbade the admission of any monk of Danish blood. The prohibition, inscribed on stone, was shewn to the visitor when he entered the Cloister, and testified their determination never to receive a Dansker-man within their walls.

The relics of Sainte-Généviève had been carried away by the monks. Until the reign of Philippe-Auguste the Church remained desolate, uncovered and open to the sky. Abbot Stephen (afterwards Bishop of Tournay) then began the restoration. Another sanctuary was erected, containing the renewed shrine of the patroness of Paris, vast and gloomy, and inspiring religious awe: pendant over the portal, hung the iron sanctuary ring which, touched by the fugitive, protected him from the avenger.

Such was the traditionary respect rendered to the dark Gothic Basilica, that the building was preserved when the new edifice arose—Corinthian portico and mathematically balanced cupola—equally testifying the encrease of architectural skill and the decline of religious sentiment.—The last fragments of the ancient consecrated fabric were not uprooted until after the restoration of the Bourbons. We well recollect the belfry-tower, standing, when we first saw Paris, upon

840—877 the dusty and desolate plot: the Church had been previously demolished by the *Bande-noire*, and
857 the empty stone-coffins of the Merovingian kings were found as they had been left by the Scandinavian grave-robbers, plundered, broken open and in confusion.

The shrine of Sainte-Génévière has been put aside in a neglected corner of an adjoining parochial Church, and every vestige of Christianity is obliterated from the Pantheon—*Aux grands hommes la Patrie reconnoissante*—the Sanctuary dedicated to the revilers of the Most High; and the altar trodden down by the star-crowned statue symbolising Immortality,—their immortality!—stars glaring with the Unquenchable fire—the immortality of the never-dying Worm.

Cowardice of the Franks.

§ 22. Amongst the calamities of the times, the destruction of the Parisian monasteries seems to have worked peculiarly on the imagination. Paschasius Radbertus, the biographer of Wala, expatiates upon this misery when writing his Commentary on Jeremiah. The general discontent was vented by the people in vituperations against Charles-le-Chauve, whom they accused as the cause of their misfortunes. This was the accustomed subterfuge of self-reproach: their panic-cowardice was shameful and almost inexplicable. The Counts had full power to summon the lieges for the defence of the country: the Franks were strong men, well armed, well trained,

the country abounded with resources; and if the Counts neglected their duty, the Franks were fully able to combine and defend themselves, to fight for their vineyards, their harvests, and their homes. Yet instead of making any resistance, the recreants scarcely ever attempted to oppose the enemy, even in the strongest fortified cities; the few occasions when they held out were so exceptional, that the raising of a siege is most usually ascribed to a miracle. 854—855 853—859

Charles-le-Chauve did not lose heart. Entangled, embarrassed, yet undeterred, he formed a grand strategic plan for recovering the Seine and securing Paris, and, through Paris, central and southern France. The first movement now needed against the Danes would necessarily be the dispersion of their nest in the Isle d'Oscelles. He summoned his Arrièreban, and blockaded the Northmen. Affairs in Aquitaine had become more adverse; Charles the boy was again expelled; and so intricately variable and contradictory were the political tergiversations of those times, that Pepin was equally a fugitive, seeking protection from his uncle. Amidst all these disturbances Charles conducted his operations vigorously. He intended to establish a complete line of fortifications and fortified posts, calculated, if the French could be roused from their fatal apathy, to frustrate the Pagan designs. After his death, though the works were only partially

Plans of Charles-le-Chauve for the expulsion of the Northmen: he blockades them in Oscelles.

854—855 executed, Paris was saved by his military pre-
science. The blockade of Oscelles therefore
853—859 interested not merely Charles-le-Chauve or
France, but the whole Carlovingian Empire.

853—859. Conspiracy for the dethronement of Charles-le-Chauve, and the substitution of Louis-le-Germanique.

§ 23. During five years the discontented nobles and popular leaders of France had been plotting to depose Charles-le-Chauve, through the instrumentality of his brother Louis-le-Germanique. In the rapid and imperfect narratives of the Chroniclers a few names of the disaffected *meneurs* are mentioned, whom we cannot easily identify—a Gunzeline, a Gosfrid, or an Hervey;—others somewhat better known, such as the son of Bernard of Septimania; but the name of the most celebrated amongst them all, the most illustrious in France, he who holds a paramount station in European history, is not disclosed until after the explosion.

Louis was apprehensive, as he declared, lest he should be accused of ambition. Dangers and conscientious scruples might combine to restrain him: his disobedient sons, Louis the younger, Carloman, and Charles, were digging pitfalls for their father. The Sclavonians were disturbing the German realm, the Czechs or Bohemians revolting, the Daleminzians recalcitrating against the imposed tributes. But, at length, the opportune moment arrived: the Northmen were defending themselves vigorously in Oscelles, levying contributions upon the country, feeding them-

selves from the stores of Paris; and when Charles-le-Chauve was exerting himself manfully to clear the Empire from these insatiate enemies, his own brother, his pledged and sworn ally, casting off all reserve, moved towards France at the head of a powerful army, animated by personal, political, and national antipathy. 851—855 858.

The Luegen-feld treachery was acted over again. The first notice which Charles received of his brother's hostile approach was the uproar in his own camp, the camp before Oscelles. His army broke up. Counts, vassals, soldiers abandoned their liege Sovereign, for the purpose of supporting the fratricidal Louis. A cowardly stratagem was practised against Charles by his own people when he was reconnoitring the enemy, exposing him to the hazard either of death or capture by the Northmen. Still Charles bore up—constant adversity had steeled him against adversity; and re-assembling such scanty forces as he could yet command, he advanced to resist the invasion.

Aug.-Dec. 858. Louis-le-Germanique invades France.

Louis-le-Germanique, raising his banner at Worms, began his march triumphantly from Chrimhilda's Garden of Roses. The Germans were exasperated against Charles "the Tyrant," the subjects of Charles equally inveterate against their sovereign.

The Nobles, generally, were adverse to a Sovereign who disregarded the exclusive privileges

851—855 claimed by noble birth, and considered *virtue* as
858 equivalent to ancestry.—There was a strong party amongst the Clergy against him. His dilapidations of Church-property had given great offence, and not without sufficient reason. Abuses are sometimes partially restrained by the modesty of power; yet appetite comes by eating—as the French phrase has it,—and the spurious bashfulness of indulged irresponsibility rarely lasts. Hitherto it had been understood that certain Abbeys were always to be treated as real ecclesiastical benefices, and bestowed only upon unmarried clerks. Charles-le-Chauve, yielding to State necessity, now, without any hesitation, granted the Clergy-reserves indiscriminately as lay-fees. It seems that he was also suspected of sympathy with Godeschalck, whose opinions upon predestination had been condemned by the Gallican Church.—Wenilo, Archbishop of Sens, was prominently active amongst the insurrectionists. —"*Wenilo*" and "*Ganelone*" are only linguistic varieties of the same name; and a commentator upon the cycle of Carlovingian fictions may be tempted to suppose that the appellation of Ariosto's poetical arch-traitor was suggested by this ecclesiastical delinquent.

858. Nov. 12. Charles-le-Chauve betrayed by his troops.

Aquitanians, Bretons, Counts from all parts of France, promised help to Louis-le-Germanique, or joined his standard; yet Charles persevered, and, with such few troops as still adhered to him,

resolved to encounter the advancing enemy. The armies came in sight of each other near Brienne on the Aube, the nursery school of Napoleon. The stand which Charles had made, enabled him to commence negotiations with Louis; but discontent was encreasing amongst his own soldiery, and he anticipated their defection by retreating to Burgundy, where he still relied on finding support from the partizans who remained to him. 851—855 858—859

Louis-le-Germanique, advancing as a deliverer and a conqueror, held his Court at Troyes, assuming the royal authority, welcoming and guerdoning all who had deserted from his brother. Counties, abbeys and domains were granted profusely.—Wenilo convened a Conciliabulum at Attigny, wherein a sentence of deposition was pronounced against the fugitive King. Louis-le-Germanique acknowledged as King of France. Charles deposed by a Conciliabulum.

Louis, now king of Germany France and Aquitaine, surprized at his own successes, considered himself entirely secure. Disbanding his forces, he dismissed all care from his mind, and enjoyed his unexpected good fortune; but treachery was so kneaded into the character of the Franks, that their recognition of the new Sovereign was the transition to his abandonment. Charles recovered his strength and influence, Louis-le-Germanique was universally discarded; and without even attempting to maintain his position, he surrendered the kingdom of France. His retreat was a flight, and the pursuit was so hot, that 859. Louis-le-Germanique expelled, and Charles-le-Chauve restored.

851—855 Charles, had he chosen, might have captured the
859 fugitive. It was full time indeed that Louis should repair to his own country. The Eastern Marches were all in commotion. The Sorbs were striving to rid themselves of the German yoke, and had slain their Duke, Cziztebor, the feudatory of Louis. The other Sclavonian tribes prepared for revolt. With triumph had Louis set out from Chrimhilda's Garden of Roses: he returned to the Garden of Roses covered with disgrace and shame.

859. Fresh disturbances in Aquitaine and in Armorica. Pepin joins Robert-le-Fort (see II. § 59) and the Bretons.

§ 24. In the meanwhile, Northmen and Aquitanians were incessant in their disturbances. The Franks between Seine and Loire made an unsuccessful endeavour to expel the Danes. A peace had been concluded between Charles and Pepin, and the latter was reinstated in a portion of Aquitaine; but hostilities again arose between the uncle and that nephew whom he dreaded more than Lodbrok, Biorn-Ironside, Sidroc or Oscar. The Aquitanians, who had rejoiced in the return of Pepin, rejoiced as much when they cashiered him. The boy Charles was replaced upon the Aquitanian throne, and Pepin expelled for the fourth or fifth time—we are baffled in attempting a correct account of these changes—but, inexhaustible in resources, and endued with the wisdom of desperation, Pepin knew the point where the kingdom of Charles was peculiarly vulnerable, a country open to his worst enemies, the Northmen, a country peopled by a race still burning with

national vengeance against the Franks, a race now supported by the alliance of a Chieftain who had acquired the highest reputation, "another Judas Maccabæus" in popular estimation, a stranger or the son of a stranger, under whom the Armoricans had rallied, who had been the head and front of the confederation against Charles, ROBERT-LE-FORT, the first of the Capets,—"*Pipinus Rotberto Comiti et Britonibus sociatur*"—is the brief announcement of the change coming upon the Monarchy's destiny. 851—855 859

§ 25. It is a marvellous history, that of Armorica, reminiscences of truth and traditions of fable inextricably intermingled. The huge rocks piled on the borders of the gloomy Morbihan will not answer your interrogatories. Celtic history, so interesting, so affecting, so noble, has been rendered the meaningless vacuity of literature, by the unbounded speculations of the learned. When will Druidical archæologists be convinced that menzhir and peul-ven, cromlech and kistvaen tell us nothing; and from nothing nothing comes. You can no more judge of their age than the eye can estimate the height of the clouds: these shapeless masses impart but one lesson, the impossibility of recovering by induction any knowledge of the speechless past. Waste not your oil. Give it up, that speechless past; whether fact or chronology, doctrine or mythology; whether in Europe or Asia, Africa or History of Britanny: its close connexion with the history of England.

851—855. America;—at Thebes or Palenque, on Lycian
818 shore or Salisbury plain: lost is lost: gone, is gone for ever.

Yet close by that inexplicable Morbihan memorial are the excavated walls of the Roman station, replacing the Celtic city, whose people, impelled to the South and deserting their habitations, established the Adriatic's island queen. Even as the Galatians of the Narbonnensic Gaul became the Asiatic Galatians, so did the Gaulish Veneti become the Veneti of Italy.

The seat of the Veneti was subsequently occupied by the immigration proceeding from the greater Britain, the second Celtic colony:—such has been the process according to which the pilgrimage of races has been usually conducted—families attracted by the kindred families which have preceded them. When the Arabs conquered Carthage, they were but the followers of the Canaanites who had fled to Carthage before Joshua's devouring sword. And thus, in the lesser Britanny, the Loegrians introduced their language and their laws, settling another Cornouaille opposite our Cornwall, and another Gwynneth retracing the Gwynneth of Siluria, and appointing another local habitation for Tristran and the Morholt, symbolized in the fable of Saint Michael's guarded Mount, surrounded by the submerged shore.

Britanny was an integral portion of the Con-

queror's empire, and the histories of Normandy and the history of England are interwoven with Armorica's destinies. From the earliest period when the events of Armorica become known with any degree of certitude, they are combined with the annals of our own island. 851—855 843—844

Riche-mont, Mont-aigue and Mont-gomery are three proud memorials of the Conquest; but the proudest is Alan Fergant's tower on the verdantly shadowed Swale, ruling the inheritance of the Anglo-Saxon Edwin;—a monument of the retributive Nemesis, avenging on those Saxons their expulsion of Alan's ancestors from their aboriginal island.

§ 26. Charlemagne's supremacy over the Armoricans may be compared to the dominion exercised by Imperial Russia amongst the Caucasian tribes—periods during which the vassals dare not claim the rights of independence, intercalated amongst the converse periods when the Emperor cannot assert the rights of authority; yet the Frank would not abandon the prerogative of the Cæsars, whilst the mutual antipathy between the races inflamed the desire of dominion on the one part, and the determination of resistance on the other. Britanny is divided into *Bretagne Bretonnante* and *Bretagne Gallicante*, according to the predominance of the Breyzad and the Romane languages respectively. The latter constituted the march-lands, and here the

Important subjugation of Armorica by the Carlovingians.

851—855 Counts-marchers were placed by Charlemagne and his successors, Franks mostly by lineage;
818—833 yet one Breyzad, Nominoë, was trusted by Louis-le-débonnaire with a delegated authority.

818. Nominoë accepts the protection of Louis-le-débonnaire.

Nominoë deserved his power: he was one of the new men of the era, literally taken from the plough. Inimical traditions tell how the tyrant's ploughshare discovered a treasure, the gold which enabled the usurper to win the crown. Those who favoured Nominoë, or were his favourites, complimented him by a lineage ascending to the fabled chieftains of King Arthur's days; but the Monasteries he had plundered revenged themselves by proclaiming his ignoble origin. The dissensions among the Franks enabled Nominoë to increase his authority. Could there be any adversary of the empire so stupid as not to profit by the battle of Fontenay?—During the dreadful devastations which the Normans were committing in the Carlovingian march-land or County of Nantes, Nominoë attacked and occupied the march-land of Rennes; and then he and Count Lambert, whom we recollect in the Pfaltz of Aix-la-Chapelle in the very beginning of Louis-le-débonnaire's reign, turned their weapons against France. Nominoë assumed the royal title, vindicated the independence of his antient people, and enabled them, in the time of Rollo, to assert with incorrect grandiloquence, pardonable in political argument, that the Frank

had never reigned within the proper Armorican boundaries. 851—855

§ 27. Five expeditions, five raids-royal, conducted by Charles-le-Chauve in person, successively entered Armorica: he encamped around Rennes: the severe season and the insufficiency of his forces compelled him to retreat. Baffled, but not dispirited, he resumed the conflict in the following year. Charles inherited Charlemagne's genius. Inferior in opportunity, inferior in fortune, he possessed the spirit and talent, which, unmarred by fate, might have enrolled him in the rank of conquerors. Again he advanced boldly into Armorica. But Charles was unacquainted with the country: his ardour rendered him incautious. The artifices of Nominoë enticed the royal general and the Frankish army into a marshy tract between the Oult and the Villaine, the river giving a name to one of the Departments which have obliterated Britanny from the map of France.—It was a celebrated Field where the armies thus encountered, the field of Balaon: the Field famed or defamed by a battle fought long ago in the dismal times, in the times of Chilperic and Fredegonda, between Guerech and Beppolin, a desperate and bloody strife between kinsman and kinsmen, the strifes which constitute the sorrow of Celtic history.

843—850

843—844 First expedition of Charles-le-Chauve into Britanny.

845 Second expedition of Charles-le-Chauve against the Bretons.

The hardy Saxons, from the "Otlingua Saxonica" near Bayeux, that Teutonic settlement

851—855 which had preceded the establishment of their brethren in our insular Britain, were marshalled
858 as the vanguard of the Frankish army. They fought desperately, but ineffectually; the light and active Breton cavalry pierced through and broke the ranks of the enemy. Battle-axe and sword yielded to javelin and the spear. Two days did the conflict continue, till at length Charles, retreating before Nominoë, took refuge in Mans; and the victorious chief, who had already assumed the title of King, obtained, after long negotiations with the successor of Saint Peter, the golden crown.

So earnest was Charles-le-Chauve for the subjugation of Britanny, that amidst the turmoils of the Danish invasions, and the enmity of his brothers, he recommenced hostilities. Upon the borders of Armorica, the Romanized population, more especially the citizens, longed for reunion with the Franks, and invited Charles to resume his authority, the Count, his lieutenant, having been expelled from the borders of the Loire. Charles therefore invaded Armorica, and placed garrisons in Rennes and amidst the ruins of Nantes. But the energetic Nominoë was in the height of his power: he occupied and subjugated Anjou and Maine. Nominoë's army, conjoined with the insurgent Lambert, then entered the Pays-Chartrain. Fortune seemed to promise that, Arthur's fabled glories restored, the Gauls be-

850. Third expedition of Charles-le-Chauve into Britanny.

tween the Seine, the Loire and the sea, should be ruled by a Celtic dynasty; but sudden death stayed the progress of the Hero :—he left three children by his Queen Argantael, the eldest Herispoë. 851—855 861—862

Charles acknowledged the rights of Herispoë, confirmed him in his authority, and received the proud vassal's homage. Vassalage did not practically imply obedience. Violent dissensions arose between France and Armorica. Charles led a fourth and a fifth expedition into Herispoë's dominions. Herispoë opposed a stout resistance, obtained his own terms, and accepting a fresh investiture from Charles, he assumed the royal title by his Suzerain's authority. Herispoë was inclining towards the Franks, and willing to assimilate himself, like his successors, to the prevailing ethos of the Empire. A family alliance was projected: hitherto had the proud Franks disdained the Celtic race, and the Celts loathed their oppressors; but the interests and inclinations of the Sovereigns prevailed over national antagonisms, and it was agreed that Louis-le-Bégue, the heir-apparent of Charles, should become the husband of Herispoë's daughter.[1] The affections of Louis were fixed upon Ansgarda, his first love: the promise however of an ample appanage, Maine—a State almost independent, though claimed equally by Franks and Armoricans—Le Perche, and all the Counties lying

851—852. Fourth and fifth expeditions of Charles against the Bretons.

Marriage proposed between Louis-le-Bégue and the daughter of Herispoë.

851—855 around and between Chartres, Orleans, and Tours, procured a reluctant compliance; and the policy
861 which in a subsequent age united the fleur-de-lis of France and the ermines of Britanny was near to have succeeded.

858. Discontent excited thereby in Armorica: Herispoë killed by Solomon, who succeeds.

§ 28. Armorica repudiated the antinational policy of her ruler: the alliance with the Franks deeply incensed the Breyzad race. A conspiracy was matured against Herispoë by a rival, his nephew Solomon. This chieftain, claiming the supreme dignity, and hitherto protected and trusted by Charles-le-Chauve, had already obtained the county of Rennes, one third of Armorica. Herispoë sought refuge in a Church, but his foemen killed him before the altar.

861—862 The great Danish invasions under Welland, &c.

The Danes were pouring into France: Charles, however, assembled his forces, and prepared to avenge the disappointment of his hopes; but the new Armorican King was the stronger. French affairs were becoming more and more troubled: the conspiracy for the deposition of Charles and the substitution of Louis-le-Germanique had ramified into this distant region. Robert-le-Fort was in Britanny, heading the confederacy; and it was at this juncture that Pepin of Aquitaine, joining Robert-le-Fort and the Bretons, turned the scale.

§ 29. Anglo-Saxon England must be read in parallel with the history of France. Early in Ethelbert's reign Winchester was sacked and burned to the ground by the Danes A mis-

chance followed their success. — Returning to their vessels, merry and spoil-encumbered, they were attacked by the Hampshire-men, commanded by Ethelwolf and Osric, and some of their detachments were dispersed; but they recoiled with greater force on the other side of the Channel. Half a day, or a day, landed them on the opposite coast, and they infested the whole of the shores from Scheldt to Seine; Amiens was taken, so also Nimeguen, the Bishop put on board ship in chains, Bayeux taken and the Bishop killed: Terouenne, the ancient capital of the Morini, burnt—the once opulent Terouenne—Wolsey's Terouenne, Henry the Eighth's Terouenne, Francis the First's Terouenne, which, after rising again to exuberant prosperity, was ruined for the gratification of her burgher-rival's jealousies. 851–855 861

Up the Seine sailed Jarl Welland with a fleet of two hundred ships—towns, villages and villas burning on every side. Notwithstanding their repeated warnings, the Parisians neglected every means of defence: they dared not, or cared not, cowardice combining with apathy. The Danes, as they were wont to do in England, horsed themselves, and the general tenor of events tends to shew that gaining influence by inspiring terror or acquiring friendships, they received assistance from the people.

On Easter morn, a sad anniversary, they surrounded and entered the city. The Monks of 6 April, 861. The Northmen enter Paris.

851—855 Saint-Germain-des-près were surprized whilst
861 singing matins, the monastery plundered, the buildings set on fire; the various merchants who attempted to rescue their property by boating up the Seine, intercepted and their goods and wares captured and despoiled.

861 § 30. Consternation filled the country.

Measures of defence adopted by Charles-le-Chauve.

Charles-le-Chauve was at Senlis, harassed, unsupported, unassisted; nevertheless he immediately actively resumed his offensive and defensive warfare against the Danes. Forts and entrenchments were raised at the place now called Pont-de-l'Arche. The bridge was built by him also, the admiration which the strength of the fabric excited, was testified by the antient popular name — le-Pont-du-diable: preparations were made for defending the shores of the Marne, and above all for strengthening Paris and Paris island.

Charles perplexes the Northmen.

Leaving Louis-le-Bégue at Senlis as Regent, aided by competent advisers, and imposing upon Bishop Erpuin the anxious guardianship of his blooming daughter the ardent Judith, the twice widowed widow of sixteen, Charles marched to the field of action, perplexing the Northmen by devices, policy, energy. Bribes were very useful —he set the Danes at variance amongst themselves: their progress was checked by the intrenched armaments stationed on the banks of the Marne. Jarl Welland settled in the Gauls,

became the homager of King Charles, accepted a Benefice or Fief, and was baptized, together with his family and followers. 851—855 861

But these advantageous results of policy are trivial, compared to his success in gaining over the chief of the adverse conspiracy. By some negotiations, which the Chroniclers neither explain nor attempt to explain, Charles-le-Chauve attracted Robert-le-Fort once and for all into his service. Henceforward Robert lived and died as the most exalted and most energetic amongst the lieges of the Carlovingian crown. This remarkable transaction seems to be shunned by the contemporary annalists. A paragraph, inserted in the confused narrative belonging to a subsequent year, merely discloses that a defection had taken place amongst the confederates, begun by the intriguing and doubly faithless Guntfrid and Gozeline, through whose intervention Robert-le-Fort was reconciled to his Sovereign. No praises are bestowed upon Robert-le-Fort for his newly-awakened loyalty: no blame imputed to the partizan, who, deserting his associates, leaves them to their fate, and earns the most proud and ample reward. Robert-le-Fort abandons the confederacy, and enters the service of Charles.

Solomon and the Armoricans, and all the Prelates and Counts with whom he had co-operated being abandoned, we behold ROBERT-LE-FORT kneeling before Charles-le-Chauve at Melun, 861 Robert-le-Fort becomes the homager of Charles-le-Chauve.

851—855 becoming his homager, greeted and honoured. Soon after, a Placitum or Great Council was held at Compiègne. In this assembly, and by the assent of the *Optimates*, the Seine and its islands, and that most important island Paris, and all the country between Seine and Loire, were granted to Robert, the Duchy of France, though not yet so called, morever the Angevine Marches, or County of Outre-Maine, all to be held by Robert-le-Fort as barriers against Northmen and Bretons, and by which cessions the realm was to be defended. Only a portion of this dominion owned the obedience of Charles: the Bretons were in their own country, the Northmen in the country they were making their own: the grant therefore was a license to Robert to win as much as he could, and to keep his acquisitions should he succeed.

862

861

Marquisate of France and Anjou granted to Robert-le-Fort.

Influence of the Danes upon the Frankish population.

§ 31. A very alarming symptom attending the Danish invasions was the encreasing moral and material power which the Northmen were acquiring in the Gauls. The left bank of the Seine was nearly abandoned by the inhabitants, and consequently such of the invaders as chose to remain had ample room to colonize; neither does it appear that the people, especially the peasantry, were always averse to them. The Northmen plundered and ravaged; but there are always a great many who have nothing to lose by being plundered and ravaged, and who are much in-

clined to ask the question put by the horse in the fable,—can the new master ride me harder than my old master has done? 851—877 862—864

Three of the fiercest Pirates who assailed the Gauls are respectively called "Hastings" or "Alsting" in the Chronicles; and one of the three was a peasant from the neighbourhood of Tours, who, enlisting amongst the Pirates, distinguished himself lamentably by his renegade ferocity. A monk who joined the Danes was captured and hanged; but Pepin of Aquitaine, by adopting the Danish rites and customs, afforded the most illustrious or most disgraceful example. It may not be necessary to infer that Pepin ate horse-flesh or swore by the holy bracelet, nevertheless he united himself thoroughly with the Northmen.

The abdication of his own national usages caused Pepin to be detested as a Pagan. Sancho Sanchion's cruel treachery had not destroyed Pepin's confidence in his friends: betrayed into his uncle's power by the enticement of Count Rainulph, Pepin was condemned to death—a sentence scarcely mitigated when commuted into perpetual imprisonment. Pepin's apostasy, political if not religious, was punished by perfidy, and perfidy was rewarded by sacrilege; for Count Rainulph received, as a guerdon for his good services, the noble Abbey of Saint-Hilary at Poitiers, which he united to his lay honour and dignity. The young king Charles, on his part,

Pepin of Aquitaine having joined the Danes, condemned to perpetual imprisonment.

851—877 had occasioned great vexation to his father. He, at the age of seventeen, married the widow of a Count Humbert. Charles-le-Chauve was very strict in asserting his paternal rights, and this marriage, possibly connected with some political intrigue, deeply offended him. The quarrel became so serious that Charles-le-Chauve marched an army against his son. Charles of Aquitaine submitted to his father: displaying much courage, he defeated the Northmen, and gave good promise,—when his death ensued miserably in consequence of his half-drunken scuffle with Alboin.

862—864 Charles king of Aquitane, his disobedience and rebellion.

868. His death Chap. II. § 53. p. 391.

As for Robert-le-Fort, his adhesion to Charles-le-Chauve was unqualified and complete. He devoted himself entirely to the king's service, without scruple, without hesitation and without reserve. Robert's military talent and fortitude materially retarded the Northmens progress. Whilst Charles pressed them hard by land, Robert dispersed the Danish squadron in the Loire, bribed away other of the marauders; and the Breton confederacy was on the point of dissolution.

862. Louis-le-Bégue rebels against his father.

§ 32. A dangerous enemy thus converted into a firm and useful ally, the adversaries of the Crown and Kingdom humbled, the rebellion headed by his brother suppressed, Charles might expect to rid France of the Danish marauders. However another enemy arose exactly where an enemy might have been anticipated, from the bosom of his own family. Louis-le-Bégue's

grudges against his father encreased. Charles dealt with the abbeys exactly as they did in Scotland when John Knox was preparing to pull them down. The Abbey of Saint-Martin of Tours, that most sacred sanctuary, was granted to Louis-le-Bégue as an appanage; but this concession did not satisfy him. Judith, through the aid and connivance of Louis, eloped from Senlis with the sturdy, handsome forester. We shall have more to say about this amour, so fraught with political consequences. The Counts Guntfrid and Gozeline, who betrayed the associated Frankish and Armorican chieftains, now reverted to the party they had deceived, and machinated against Charles—and by their persuasions Louis deserted his Regency, evaded from the Court, joined the Breton alliance, and carried on the warfare against his father with unmitigated pertinacity. 851—877 862—864

Louis-le-Bégue took the command of a host of Bretons, with which he invaded Anjou, wasting the country as much as any Northman could have done. Robert-le-Fort advanced unhesitatingly, and completely defeated the rebel heir-apparent. After this, Louis-le-Bégue returned to his obedience, and a surly reconciliation ensued. When Louis absconded, Charles had granted the Abbey of Saint-Martin to Count Hubert, Hermentruda's brother, also abbot of the royal Abbey of Saint-Maurice in the Valais, so that this preferment

He is defeated by Robert-le-Fort.

851—877 could not now be restored to Louis; but, as a compensation, he received the county of Méaux
862—864 and the abbeys of Saint-Crispin and Marmoutier; and with respect to the title of King of Neustria, which Louis had assumed, the assumption (in the first instance prohibited) was neither acknowledged nor denied. The kingdom of Aquitaine was subsequently bestowed upon him. But Charles-le-Chauve compelled Louis to divorce his Ansgarda, the mother of two sons, and family concord was imperfectly restored. Carloman his brother, who for many years had been in revolt against Charles-le-Chauve, sometimes in open hostility, sometimes secretly conspiring, persevered in his evil course, until, as before noticed, he sustained a dreadful punishment, and died, a blinded fugitive and mendicant.

Carloman's punishment and death. See p. 392.

863—864 The Northmen continue their invasions.

§ 33. Danes and Northmen continued their invasions: the young Rollo was about to embark, and commence that adventurous and devious course which, when twelve years had elapsed, brought him to the Seine. The attacks which crippled, and ultimately ruined the Anglo-Saxon Empire continued against England, though the crisis was long retarded by Alfred's wisdom.

The Northmen encreased in numbers and in confidence, and their devastations extended wider and wider. Charles-le-Chauve employed active and intelligent exertions for the defence of the kingdom. It was decreed that fortifications should

be erected throughout the country, but entrenchments and walls cannot make loyal hearts. 851—877 863—864

Charles-le-Chauve trifled too much with the conscience of his subjects. The dilapidations of Church-property contributed to the discouragement and prostration of the national feeling. Church-fees were granted universally to the nobles and soldiery, and the people believed that the gift brought misfortune upon the lay intruders. Count Hubert, the lay Abbot of Saint Maurice in the Valais, was wretchedly killed within a short time after he obtained Saint-Martin-de-Tours. Saint-Hilary at Poitiers, the Abbey profaned by the secular misappropriation, was burned, and the conflagration construed as the punishment of the profanation. But this did not concern Count Rainulph, the stout soldier Abbot. If the monks were dispersed, the charges of the establishment were saved, and he fattened upon the Abbey's lands. The citizens paid a Danegeld: the city was spared for the nonce, and the Danes laughed in their sleeves when they touched the money.

Scandal excited by the grants of Abbeys as lay-fees.

Robert kept the Northmen in check, yet only by incessant exertion. He inured the future kings of France, his two young sons, Eudes and Robert, to the tug of war, making them his companions in his enterprises. The banks of the Loire were particularly guarded by him, for here the principal attacks were directed. Two battles ensued.

Robert-le-Fort and his sons.

851—877 In the first he defeated the Northmen; but the
} defeat called for a reinforcement, and the call
864—865 was answered. In their turn they assailed Robert, who was wounded and compelled to retreat.—Neither Count, Duke, Marquis or King, nor the whole force of France, could clear the Loire country of the Danes.

Northmen again in the Seine and Loire, defeated by Robert.

§ 34. During all these transactions the Seine country continued much harassed, Paris put under contribution, the casks rolled out of the cellars into the Danish barges, and the monks of Saint-Denis groaned whilst the roistering Danish men were living at free quarters in the Monastery. A fierce battle raged in central France. Bourges and Clermont were occupied by the Danes, the littoral of the Loire again and again devastated, Fleury burned, Orleans burned, Poitiers burned. The citizens who had seen Saint-Hilary on fire now took their share in the common calamity.

865. Robert's triumph.

Robert concentrated his forces, encountered the Danes in battle, defeated them, and sent their raven-banners and arms to Charles-le-Chauve as trophies of victory: an act performed with a degree of emphasis and display unusual in that age, when war was a dull and bloody business, rarely attended by pomp and pride, the main excitements of the warrior being the expectation of plunder or the dread of danger. But Robert was, in fact, pursuing the war on his own account; and it was the policy of Charles-le-Chauve to

give the first of the Capets a greater stake in the game. More dignities and territories were bestowed upon him, the Counties of Auxerre and Nevers. 851—877 / 864—865

Confidence being partially revived, the government of Charles-le-Chauve displayed considerable vigour. Amongst the marchings and traversings of the Northmen, one particular region, nearly corresponding with the antient kingdom of Soissons, had chanced more than any other to be exempted from their devastations. Here the Northmen were out of sight and in a measure out of mind. It was the lurid tranquillity enjoyed by the quarter of a besieged town beyond the range of the shells. Here alone Charles-le-Chauve can be properly said to have ruled: here he diligently pursued his favourite studies, corresponded with the learned and penned his verse, here his Court retained an antique brilliancy, whether that Court was held in forest-encircled Compiègne, salubrious Senlis, pleasant Epernay on the Marne, or in the magnificent tower which crowned the rock of Lâon.

Government as exercised by Charles-le-Chauve.

Portion of the kingdom exempted from the Danish invasions.

Charles-le-Chauve attempted to exemplify the principles of his namesake and grandsire. A dignified and friendly intercourse with the Saracens was renewed. Mahomet of Cordova presented his tokens of respect, perfumes and aromatics and silken pavilions. The Counts who failed to discharge their duty against the Northmen were

851—877 degraded, and their benefices forfeited. Good laws were enacted, and Capitulars promulgated 864—865 worthy of Charlemagne, wise, well-considered and practical, if the state of the kingdom had allowed them to be put into practice.

But that one condition was wanting: the incurable unsoundness of the state frustrated all efforts to avert the evil. Treachery was on every side. Bernard, Count of Auvergne, the son of the too-celebrated Bernard by the affectionate Doduana, conspired against Charles, lying in ambush to slay him, thus seeking to avenge the death of his own father. Bernard was also inveterate against the two commanders in whom the king placed the greatest confidence, Rainulph Count of Poitiers, and Robert-le-Fort. The plot being discovered, Bernard fled from justice, and his county was given to Robert, henceforward a Prince ruling on both sides of the Loire: moreover the Duke or Marquis of France received the Abbey of Saint-Martin, still the most coveted piece of preferment in the Gauls, and which was now treated by Charles-le-Chauve without any reminiscence of its ecclesiastical character.

Conspiracy of Bernard of Septimania.

865. § 35. Robert's exertions were more needed than ever; but his fortunes began to decline: the Northmen rose refreshed after the chastisement they had received. Robert had stationed himself at Melun: he assembled the Frankish forces: with him was vigorous Eudes—Eudes the first-born

Robert-le-Fort defeated by the Northmen.

and disciple of the matured warrior; but on this occasion the father and the son, the Duke of France and the defender of Paris, her future King, were eminently unfortunate. The Northmen landed and offered battle. Robert and Eudes fled, and the Northmen re-embarked upon their vessels, carrying off their prey:—the Danes had won trophies in their turn. Great consternation ensued. Charles was compelled to submit to a Dane-geld. The money was raised by an impost partly in the nature of a land-tax, fairly assessed, and not so heavy as on previous occasions, but the tribute was accompanied by degrading conditions. The captives taken by the Danes and who had escaped from them were to be restored, or their value compensated; and in like manner the Franks were to pay the were or blood-fine for every Dane who had been killed; a strange stipulation, explicable only upon the supposition that troth plighted to the Northmen had been broken by the Franks, who now sustained the penalty.

851—877
864—865

§ 36. Robert's mischance was followed by the necessity of competing with a very formidable individual enemy—Hastings or Alsting, one of the three who bear this dreaded name. It is a doubtful point whether this renowned chieftain can be the Hastings who held the County of Chartres in the time of Rollo; for, as previously noticed, three pirate chieftains answer to the appellation of Hastings; and though the com-

865—866
Hastings in the Loire. War between him and Robert.

851—877 mencement and the conclusion of Rollo's career
865—866 are precisely ascertained, much uncertainty attends the intermediate chronology.

Hastings had already for many years infested the Gauls: he pillaged Rouen, and his activity perhaps obtained for him the repute of devastations committed by others; or he may have been confounded with his namesakes.—Rouen, Nantes, Angers, Tours, Orleans, Beauvais, Nimeguen, Poitou, Saintonge, Perigord, Limoges, Artois and Auvergne, are all enumerated amongst the places and countries which Hastings ravaged. Like Cromwell in Ireland, Hastings became a semi-mythic character, accumulating upon himself the current anecdotes of cunning, skill and ferocity, so as to gain the reputation of the most destructive amongst the invaders.

The Dane-geld, and the concessions paid and rendered to the Northmen, incited them to pursue their attacks with more alacrity: co-operating with the Armoricans, they again pillaged Mans. Hastings re-entered the Loire, and whilst the Danishmens fleet, their floating camp, occupied the broad estuary, they ravaged the Armorican Marches, Nantes, Anjou, Poitou and Tours, devastating Robert-le-Fort's country on either side of the river. Robert took his station about fourteen miles from Angers, in a species of peninsula formed by the confluence of Maine and Sarthe, where he was joined by Rainulph

Count of Poitou. Both had increased in power, but their followers were discouraged by the popular sentiment prevailing against their usurpations of the ecclesiastical possessions. Bad luck was augured:—it was a shame and a scandal that the Abbot of Saint-Martin and the Abbot of Saint-Hilary should be heading the soldiery in the field.—Robert and Rainulph determined to be the assailants. The Danes were inferior in numbers, and also were in danger of being cut off from their ships; and therefore retreating, they fell back upon the town, now a small village, of Pont-sur-Sarthe, then called *Brise-Sarthe*—the Brig of Sarthe.

851—877

866

866. Count-Abbot Robert and Count-Abbot Rainulph advance against the Northmen.

The Franks gained ground so rapidly upon the Northmen, that the latter could not avoid a battle. Hastings prepared for defence as readily as he had attempted to escape fighting, and he immediately availed himself of the capabilities which the site afforded. The Church was large, built strongly of stone—massy walls, offering no other openings except tall narrow loop-hole windows, and these only on one side; as appears from an unaltered portion of the still-existing nave. The "Basilica,"—thus it is termed by the Chronicler,—was, from its construction, a strong hold, having possibly been intended for that purpose, as is frequently the case in border countries. Hastings with his picked men threw themselves into the Church: the remaining Danes, not so

The fatal affair of Pont-sur-Sarthe.

851—877 protected, were cut down and slaughtered by the Franks. A good day's work—thought. Robert-
866—870 le-Fort;—but the work was not half done. The Church was filled with its fearless garrison, quiet, defying the enemy by their silence. Robert commanded his men to pitch their tents, and prepare the artillery for the assault on the following day.

The then present day had been a day of great exertion and trial. Count Robert, Abbot Robert, heated, excited, exhausted, doffed his armour, threw helmet here and hauberk there, and stretched his stalwart body and sinewy limbs on the grass. Count Rainulph, Abbot Rainulph, stood further off, carefully examining the Church: he had a foreboding of danger. Both commanders forgot that keen eyes were marking them, and keen weapons pointed at them from behind the unglazed loop-hole windows. Forth darted the Arbalest-bolt, mortally wounding the Count of Poitou: the doors of the Church opened, the Northmen rushed out, shouting and yelling, slew the Marquis of France, and dragged his dying corpse into the Church. Rainulph lingered three days, the Frankish forces dispersed, and the swaggering Northmen returned safely to their ships, and sailed away.—Thus died the first of the Capets.

866. 25 July. Robert-le-Fort killed at Brise-Sarthe.

866—870 Transient improvement in the State of France.

§ 37. Whilst Robert-le-Fort had guarded the Loire, Charles was co-operating quite as effi-

ciently in the defence of the Seine. Although the Northmen who had quitted their free quarters at Saint-Denis were still cruising in the river, Charles kept the command at Pistres, superintending the works which he proposed to construct, wains and wagons arriving with materials. These works were continued at different periods, the most enduring as well as the most useful being the pier-bridge or break-water which he built across the Seine for the defence of Paris, and which entirely answered the purpose of closing the river against the Northmen. 851—877 866—870

Many circumstances contributed to encourage Charles. The Danes relaxed in their attacks upon the Gauls, for they were concentrating their forces in England. Northumbria, East Anglia, Mercia, tell the story,—colonized, conquered, and becoming the Danelaghe. The chief Vikingar were drawn off upon this great enterprize: they were posting their armies across our island, and occupying the best situations on the sea-coast; and until they had accomplished their intent, they could not spare many of their vessels or men for France. When they had completed the conquest of Mercia, and deposed Ceolwulf, their mock King, they still had much to do, therefore the Gauls enjoyed somewhat longer intervals of rest, the attacks were less continuous, yet very sharp when they came, and encreasing towards the conclusion of the reign.

851—877

866—870

Robert-le-Fort's honors and benefices treated as escheats, andgranted to Hugh l'Abbé.

§ 38. Robert-le-Fort's death was an astounding state-event. Charles-le-Chauve seemed to be endowed with new power. From Witikind the stranger, Robert-le-Fort had not inherited honours or possessions, counties or benefices, land or fee. So far as depended upon Charles-le-Chauve's wishes and intentions, the sons of Robert-le-Fort, Eudes and Robert, would have shared their Grandfather's poverty, and the family have relapsed into primitive obscurity. The law of beneficiary or feudal succession fluctuated rather undeterminately between favour and equity, the Senior's gratitude or inclination supporting the claim which justice might unimpeachably but ungraciously deny. A Sovereign could always delay, and not unfrequently withhold, the expectancies of the heir, more especially an infant heir.

To constitute a strictly legal right, descent during three generations was required. Had Charles-le-Chauve entertained any love for the memory of Robert-le-Fort, owned to owning any thanks for Robert's services, the sons would have received their father's domains, instead of which he treated the whole as lapsed or escheated. The church-fees and the lay-fees, the dukedoms, marquisates and counties held by Robert-le-Fort, were all resumed by the Crown.

Robert-le-Fort, dead, was in a manner completely forgotten—a dead man out of mind: no memorial was ever raised to celebrate his fame:

no monument records his death except the fragment of Brise-Sarthe church-wall: not even an *obit* founded at Brise-Sarthe for Robert's soul's repose. His place was taken by a new favourite, a new Commander-in-Chief, a new Prime Minister, one whom Charles could well trust—his cousin Hugh, third son of the Guelphic Conrad, the Empress Judith's brother, the lay-clerk, the soldier-priest, the Abbot-Count, Duke and Commendatory of Auxerre. Count Hugh obtained all the possessions which Robert-le-Fort had enjoyed, abusively or rightfully, according to law, or against law, and he now appears as Abbot of Saint-Martin of Tours, Abbot of Saint-Vedast of Arras, Abbot of Saint-Bertin, Count of Burgundy, Count of Anjou, Duke or Marquis of Neustrian France—titles accompanied by solid power.

851—877

Robert's honours granted to Hugh the Count-Abbot. See p. 236.

§. 39. Charles-le-Chauve prosecuted his attacks upon Armorica. His interferences—hostile and pacific—ultimately amalgamated the political existence of the Celtic provinces and the fortunes of Capetian France. Britanny was engrafted upon Normandy, and Normandy linked Britanny to England. The Danes also are actively and passively involved in the Breton affairs, which become elemental in French history.

864—874.

Affairs of Armorica or Britanny.

From this period our knowledge of Britanny, though still vague and imperfect, begins to emerge from obscurity. Armorican historical au-

Obscurity of early Armorican history.

851—877 thorities, in the proper sense of the term, exist
only in hagiological narratives, and a few frag-
864—874 mentary monastic annals. Some information has been very recently gathered from ballads and legends preserved amongst the Breyzad peasantry; but the knowledge thus proffered cannot be accepted with much satisfaction or confidence. Oral traditions have been irretrievably denaturalized by the machine-manufactory of modern romantic literature. Copy-right spoils the native aroma of the popular tale; Border Minstrelsies and Waverley novels have soiled the lustre and quenched the spirit of national poesy and patrimonial story. Where charms and incantations are practised, it is said that a Spell never works if learned out of a book: the living tongue must address the living ear: the disciple's eye must meet the master's glance, and his hand be touched by the teacher's hand: the words of power are powerless, unless the embodied soul has communed with the embodied soul. Legendary lore becomes lifeless when laid on the drawing-room table. It is the sincerity of the narrator, the honest credence of credulity, which alone imparts worthiness to the narration. The æsthetic garb, the affectation of belief, the patronizing condescension of superior knowledge, the kind allowances made for superstition, or the philosophic sneer, are all equally stifling to tradition's true vitality.

The history of the Breyzad race must be extracted from the evidence of their opponents. 851—877 864—876 Grievous dissensions subsisted between the Frankish and Celtic clergy, Dôl, contesting the Primacy with Tours, rival Metropolitans and rival Bishops frowning upon each other with the jealousy of Kings. More Christian charity might assuredly have been displayed; yet such unhappy contests were neither ambitious nor trivial. Upon jurisdiction depends discipline, and upon discipline the welfare of the Church and her spiritual prosperity. Angry excitement in such a cause deserves excuse, though it be unsusceptible of justification. The Armoricans wavered in their antipathies: hard pressed occasionally by the Franks, the Breyzads were sometimes inclined to coalesce with the Danes. Their king, Solomon, made peace with the Northmen, and helped them to gather in the vintages of Anjou. But Charles-le-Chauve and the Franks acted more vigorously than heretofore. The Roman fortifications of Le Mans, still so perfect, were energetically defended—Tours equally so.—Hugh the Abbot routed the Northmen. Charles-le-Chauve and the Armorican Sovereign were conjoined, notwithstanding their enmities, by a common interest and exposed to common dangers; and the Bretons concluded an alliance with the Franks. Maine, afterwards the pride of the Norman Conqueror, was fully recovered from the Danes through So-

851—877 lomon's energy, Anjou, cleared of the enemy. In
848—1390 return, Charles sanctioned the royal title assumed by the Celtic monarch; and the Breton historians believe, or relate, how Solomon sent his golden statue to the Roman Pontiff, how he wore a golden crown and coined golden money.—No specimen of this mintage has however been recovered by the most diligent numismatic collector.

874 Solomon killed by Pasquitain and Gurvand.

§ 40. Solomon had murdered Herispoë his kinsman: the crime was visited upon the criminal in similar guise. A cousin and a nephew, Pasquitain and Gurvand, conspired against him. As Herispoë had taken refuge in a Church, so did Solomon. He anticipated the Sanctuary's desecration by a voluntary surrender; but his victorious kinsmen caused him to be blinded. The king was cast into prison, where he lingered and died; and Breyzad recollections have canonized his memory.

Gurvand and Pasquitain died 874.

These successful chieftains shared Armorica. Mutual enmity was fostered by good fortune.

877—907 Alain-le-Grand.

Gurvand, sinking under a grievous malady, was borne to the battle-field in a litter: his troops gained the victory, but their royal general died of exhaustion. Pasquitain was murdered before the end of the same year. Alain, brother of Pasquitain, obtaining the supremacy of Armorica, recovered Nantes from the Northmen: his exploits earned for him the epithet of "the Great," "Alain-le-Grand." But the Danes returned again and

again; and his daughter's son, Alain-barbe-torte, no unworthy competitor of Guillaume-longue-épée, acknowledged the second Norman Duke as his lawful Suzerain. 851—877 912—1390 937—952 Alain-barbe-torte.

§ 41. Considerable enlargement of dominion was obtained by Solomon:—he gained the March-lands, inhabited by a mixed population, much Romanized, especially in the cities, where the powers of government had been contested by or divided between the Carlovingian and Armorican Sovereigns. These territories were, during the reign of Charles-le-Chauve, unequivocally placed under Solomon's national authority, and permanently united to Britanny. Cession or force gave him also various districts in Maine and Anjou, and in future Normandy, the Avranchin, and the whole County of the Côtentin. Charles-le-Simple authorized Rollo to conquer these last-mentioned territories: Rollo would have done so without permission; and they became integral portions of his Duchy. Historical Britanny settled into four great counties, which also absorbed the Carlovingian march-lands, Rennes, Nantes, Vannes and Cornouailles, rivalling and jealousing, snarling and warring against each other for the royal or ducal dignity, until the supremacy was permanently established in Alan Fergant's line, the ally, the opponent, the son-in-law of William the Bastard. But the suzerainty or superiority of all Britanny was vested in the Conqueror's and the 912—1390 Territorial organization of Britanny. The Counts of Britanny, Earls of Richmond in England.

851—877 Plantagenet's lineage, till the forfeiture incurred
840—870 by King John, an unjust exercise of justice.

Nevertheless the loss of Normandy did not sever Britanny from England. Breton Dukes continued Earls and Peers of this realm: the royal house of Dreux, the sons of France, rejoiced in this
1390 conjunction of honours; nor was the connexion
14 Rich. II. finally dissolved, until Richard of Bourdeaux's Parliament inflicted a statutory deprivation upon the valiant Jean de Montfort. Few historical symbols are more suggestive than the single shield over the Altar table of the Yorkshire Richmond, the pane corroded and darkened by the blast, the shower and the sunbeam, displaying in obscurely-transparent tints the chequée of gold and azure with the bordure of gules and the canton ermine—the token of that union.

876, &c. Transactions in the Loire country.

§ 42. Many important dispositions were effected by Charles in the Loire country. It was the policy of this unfairly depreciated Sovereign, to recruit the failing ranks of the false and degenerate Frankish aristocracy, by calling up to his Peerage the wise, the able, the honest and the bold of ignoble birth. It is a moot point to what extent the aristocratic principle originally extended amongst the antient Franks; but Charles-le-Chauve was very obviously inclined against the exclusiveness claimed by the noble lineages. We know that Louis-le-débonnaire incurred much odium by equalizing gentle and simple through

the medium of the Church; and we believe that Charles-le-Chauve attempted a similar levelling in the civil hierarchy. The implacable opposition raised against him, the slanders and vituperations heaped upon him by the Chroniclers, most probably result from this cause. He sought to surround himself with new men, the men without ancestry; and the earliest historian of the House of Anjou both describes this system, and affords the most splendid example of the theory adopted by the king. 851—877 840—888

Pre-eminent amongst these parvenus was Torquatus or Tortulfus, an Armorican peasant, a very rustic, a backwoodsman, who lived by hunting and such like occupations, almost in solitude, cultivating his "quillets," his *cueillettes* of land, and driving his own oxen, harnessed to his plough. Origin of the Plantagenets.

Torquatus entered or was invited into the service of Charles-le-Chauve, and rose high in his Sovereign's confidence: a prudent, a bold, and a good man. Charles appointed him Forester of the forest called "the Blackbird's Nest," the *nid du merle*, a pleasant name, not the less pleasant for its familiarity. This happened during the conflicts with the Northmen. Torquatus served Charles strenuously in the wars, and obtained great authority: another Cincinnatus, according to the old-fashioned classical comparisons much employed by the monkish Chroniclers. Torquatus the Forester.

851—877 870—877 Tertullus, son of Torquatus, married Petronilla, daughter of Hugh l'Abbé.

Tertullus, son of Torquatus, inherited his father's energies, quick and acute, patient of fatigue, ambitious and aspiring; he became the liege-man of Charles; and his marriage with Petronilla the King's cousin, Count Hugh the Abbot's daughter, introduced him into the very circle of the royal family. Château-Landon and other Benefices in the Gastinois were acquired by him, possibly as the lady's dowry. Seneschal also was Tertullus of the same ample Gastinois territory.

870—888 Ingelger, son of Tertullus, the first hereditary Count of Anjou.

Ingelger, son of Tertullus and Petronilla, appears as the first hereditary Count of Anjou Outre-Maine,—Marquis, Consul or Count of Anjou,—for all these titles are assigned to him. Yet the ploughman Torquatus must be reckoned as the primary Plantagenet: the rustic Torquatus founded that brilliant family, who, encreasing in dignity, influence, and power, afford a most remarkable exemplification of ancestorial talent, perpetuated from generation to generation. When the monk of Marmoutier dedicates his *Gesta Consulum Andegavensium* to king Henry, who ruled from the furthest border of Scotland to the Pyrennees, he invites his royal patron to exult in his plebeian progenitor's original humility. That such an appeal could be made to Henry Fitz-Empress, affords a noble proof of his intellectual grandeur.

County of Chartres.

§ 43. Thus arose one of the greatest *Grands-fiefs* of Capetian France. Chartres, afterwards

united to Blois, was created by an analogous though not identical process: the builder was compelled to deal with such materials as he found, and Charles-le-Chauve sought to profit equally by the Northmens depression and by the removal of Robert-le-Fort. The occasional national apostasy of those Franks who conformed to the ethos, if not the religion, of the Northmen, enrolling themselves in the pirate ranks, was much more than compensated by the influence which the Romanized Franks and Gauls,—French men in fact,—exercised upon the invaders. Many of the Northmen were wearied of their piracy. The Romane tongue fascinated the Northmen: the comforts of France attracted them, religion subdued them. Their disposition was pliable, adaptable, cheerful, and though fierce, not inherently blood-thirsty. However dilapidated the old venerable Rœmerige might be, that effete Empire held a station in dignity and honour, higher beyond all compare than the more vigorous Jarldoms, Isles, and Kingdoms of the North. Rome perpetuated her monarchy by vanquishing her conquerors: the gift was not withdrawn from her.

851—877
870—888
Pacific settlement of the Northmen encouraged by Charles-le-Chauve.

A considerable portion of the Danes, consenting to be baptized, settled themselves in the land; and these converts, multiplying in the Northern parts of the Empire, and stigmatized as "pseudo-christians," were viewed with more anxiety than edification. Facts and presumptions support the

851—877 inference that they married with the French women,—they could scarcely find any others, 875—877 for it was impossible that their vessels could bring over many female passengers. From the beginning, Rollo and his kinsmen always took consorts or companions from French families, or those Danish families who had received a thoroughly French education. Such alliances are evidences of the general usage; and the rapid extinction of the Norsk or Danish language, must be accepted as the consequence and cause of the intermixture of races, by which the Scandinavians were so speedily absorbed in the general mass of population. Hastings, otherwise Alstingus, obtained from Charles-le-Chauve the county of Chartres. He did not, however, remain there; for not having any children, and being otherwise troubled, he returned to Denmark, having sold his Benefice to Gerlo, also called Thibaut, Rollo's kinsman, father of Thibaut the centenarian, Thibaut Count of Blois, who is moreover sometimes called "le Vieux," but whose conduct earned for him the more odiously characteristic epithets of "le Tricheur," or "le Fourbe," by which he is generally known in history; though his father, if we are to judge from the only anecdote preserved concerning him, deserved them quite as well.

890 Gerlo, otherwise Thibaut, Count of Blois and Chartres, died about 918.

875—876 Transactions in Italy. Assumption

§ 44. In Charlemagne's lineage gifts became snares, talents were unprofitable, noble tendencies refracted from their right direction, and

designs, laudable in the world's opinion, rendered the means of worldly degradation and shame. Charles-le-Chauve, sapient, energetic, his mind strongly tending towards good, was involved during his life in encreasing disappointment, trouble and misery.

851—877

875—877 of the Imperial dignity by Charles-le-Chauve.

His ambition of renown and dominion, his earnest seeking to imitate the prowess of Rome's heroes, and to emulate the fame of that grandsire whose name he bore, could only be gratified at the expence of his nearest relations. Indeed, the Carlovingians were absorbed in a Serbonian bog of destructive discords. All were correspondingly insatiate: their constant enmities, open violences, secret treacheries, almost justified them respectively in their mutual aggressions—each might plead the necessity of self-defence—self-defence, the most insidious temptation to self-deceit; and thus Charles, in particular, disguised to himself the odious features of the desires in which he indulged.

We have seen how each death, each misfortune which befel his brethren or his nephews, had been eagerly seized for profit; but now there was presented to him the highest prize. Louis the Emperor buried in Sant' Ambrogio, the imperial dignity fell into abeyance—and to whom now belonged the most exalted station in Western Christendom?

Prospects opened to Charles by the death of the Emperor Louis (Chap. II. § 49,) p. 345.

Had the Carlovingian theory been fully de-

851—877 veloped, a Cæsar always installed in the lifetime of Augustus, there never would have been an interregnum. 875—877 Had the yet maiden Hermengarda been married, the husband of the Emperor's daughter would unquestionably have been the presumptive successor; but the postulation made by the Lombard nobles sought to divide the realm between Louis-le-Germanique and Charles-le-Chauve, both being invited to share the Kingdom of Italy, the porch conducting to the Imperial throne. Louis-le-Germanique appeared by his sons, Charles, or Caroletto, and the bold Carloman. Charles-le-Chauve came in person: Charles Fitz-Louis was deluded by him, and Carloman induced to desert his father's and his own cause by his uncle's bribes.

25 Dec. 875 Charles receives the Imperial crown from the Pope.

Charles proceeded triumphantly to Rome, welcomed as Charlemagne's successor,—the successor of Augustus. Senate and people, the *Gens togata*, opening their itching palms, legitimate successors of a venerable name, not the less legitimate on account of their degeneracy, inheriting the baseness inseparably combined with their ancestorial and national glories, saluted him as Cæsar; and the Pontiff placed upon his brows the Imperial diadem. The venal city, tainted to the core, never even sought the concealment of her shame, patent, as of old, throughout the Roman world. Learned men extracted from Sallust the apt commentary upon the events of

their current day, scoffing at Charles as Jugurtha's imitator: the Franks sneered; and the affronted and yet envious Germans contemplated the transactions with feigned disgust and unconcealed enmity. 851—877 875—877

The Lombard aristocracy had offered their kingdom to Louis-le-Germanique and Charles-le-Chauve conjointly. Berenger, his nephew, son of his sister Gisella and the Friulian Count Everard, co-operating with Boso, induced prelates, nobles, and people, to renounce the scheme of dimidiated authorities and accept Charles, now the Roman Emperor, without a partner on the throne. A Diet was held at Pavia, unequalled for solemnity and splendour. Charles was invested with the iron crown, whilst Boso, Richilda's brother, the newly-created Duke of Lombardy or Milan, sat below, wearing on his brows a golden coronal, the proud insignia bestowed by the unsuspecting bounty of his brother-in-law. Charles accepted as Emperor by Lombardy and the Gauls.

A third confirmation was needed. Charles-le-Chauve returned to the Gauls, accompanied by the Papal Legate: a synod assembled at Pontyon in Champagne—sometimes mistaken for the more familiar Pont-sur-yonne. France, Burgundy and Aquitaine, Neustria, Septimania and Provence, represented in the assembly by their Bishops, and unanimously consenting, acknowledged the glorious Emperor "Carolus Augustus" as their protector and defender. Charles, with the title of Emperor, assumed the state apper-

851—877 taining to that transcendant dignity, the arched
876—877 diadem, the eagle-crowned sceptre, the golden belt and purple buskins, the ample dalmatica, the habit of Imperial royalty, permitted only to an anointed Sovereign. Unquestionably such grave magnificence delighted his imagination; nor can we condemn the policy which induced him to adopt the pageantry proclaiming the authority legitimately his own; but his Frankish subjects in some degree, and the Germans even more, were inclined to take offence. Reports were spread that he threatened to depose his brother Louis.—"My armies shall drink up the Rhine,"—was the speech attributed to him,—"and we will cross as on dry land."

Wars between Charles-le-Chauve and Louis-le-Germanique's family. (See Chap. II. § 43, 47, 48, 50, pp. 371, 382, 385.)

§ 45. Louis-le-Germanique, the old man, never having resigned his precedence as *Senior* of the family, resented any pretensions which the Imperial dignity might inspire. The antipathy between the Germans and the French continued unmitigated. In Louis, personally, encreasing age enhanced the bitterness of animosity: his mild and benign disposition irretrievably perverted, strife was more grateful than peace, and he prepared to advance with his army against his brother, the step-mother's son whom he had hated from the day that the babe was born; but he dropped into the grave before the commencement of hostilities.

28 Aug. 876 Death of Louis-le-Germanique.

Yet these demonstrations on the part of Louis

were not unnecessary. Charles had no feeling whatever of good faith, he never pretended to have any—the sentiment was unknown in the Carlovingian breast. Events immediately testified that the plans of aggrandizement entertained by him, were entitled to all the praise or all the blame which a conqueror can expect or deserve. The Emperor assembled a numerous army, the Northmen not more apt or eager for plunder. He claimed all German Lotharingia, and all the other German dominions on the left bank of the Rhine. The antient Frankish Sovereign fully asserted the pretension, that France was entitled to the free German stream as her natural boundary. Richilda, great with child, accompanying him, he set out from Compiègne, intending to receive the Lotharingian homages at Metz; and, once in Lotharingia, he might be aided by Franco Bishop of Tongres, who had assisted in his coronation, an able and most influential friend. 851—877 876—877

But unpleasant reports circulated: Danish squadrons, heretofore well known on the English coast, were disturbing the Empire; and Charles directed his route to Cologne.

Court and army there received alarming but not unexpected intelligence. On the Feast-day of Saint Cornelius, the Northmen, after plundering the Scheldt country, again entered the Seine. They committed their usual mischiefs in Belgium, carrying off prey and captives; and an hundred 16 Sept. 876. The Northmen, commanded by Rollo, enter the Seine.

851—877 of their largest barks—"quas nostrates *bargas* vocant," says Archbishop Hincmar—filled the 876—877 Neustrian river. Their forces landed, and the country was desolated far and near and around. All the troops Charles could muster would not have been over many to match these invaders.—If during any period of the Danish wars his presence was needed to encourage and direct the soldiery, it was now, for the Danish commander was Rollo.

Sept.—Oct. 876. Louis occupies Andernach. Charles endeavours to circumvent him.

But Charles could not desist—reputation, desire, heart and soul, were engaged in the enterprize: he continued his hostile progress. Louis the Saxon (who had succeeded to his father) was alarmed at his uncle's approach, and, proposing terms, solicited grace and favour; nevertheless Louis the supplicant was undismayed, and crossing the Rhine during the night, he reached Andernach, whose fortifications still testify its pristine strength. Charles-le-Chauve planned to conquer his enemy by deceit. The Carlovingian princes were deadened to any consciousness of conscience, honesty or honour in political affairs, however good and worthy they might be in other social relations: not by any means a singular case, whether individually or in the "masses."—Has King, Prince of the Blood-royal, President of the Republic, or President du Conseil, Ministre d'état, Member of the Chamber, Legitimist, Doctrinaire or Red Republican, Parti-

prêtre or Socialist, ever suspected any injustice or cruelty in the captivity of Abdel-Kader, the hecatombs of Zaatcha, or the holocausts of Ouled-el-Dahra? 851—877 876—877

Burthened Richilda was sent to that antiently honoured Carlovingian palace, Heristal on the Meuse, under Bishop Franco's care. Charles entertained the offers made by Louis the Saxon, and sent envoys to him, ostensibly for the purpose of negotiating a truce, but really in order to throw him off his guard.

On the very day when the Emperor despatched these pacific negotiators, he was preparing to resume his march. At midnight the trumpets sounded, and the Imperial army was in motion, followed and accompanied by a vast train of suttlers, camp-attendants and baggage. The heavy, misty autumn rain came down in torrents, and continued pouring incessantly all through the night and the following day; the tracks, miscalled roads, were trampled into deep mire. In this condition the Imperial army drew nigh Andernach, when the intelligence of their advance was conveyed to King Louis. He and his army immediately sallied out, and charged the Imperialists. Dismayed, fatigued, wet through and through, the soldiers and their equipments were so drenched that their swords clung in the soaked scabbards, and the jaded horses stood stock-still when the spurs were struck into their

8 Oct. 876. The army of Charles-le-Chauve routed at Andernach.

851—877 steaming sides. They were thrown into irretrievable disorder: the rout was complete, and the
876—877 flight shameful. The fugitives blocked up the ways. Some few escaped, saving their lives at the expence of their reputation, but the majority were taken prisoners. A knot of the principal commanders, amongst them Gauzeline, Abbot of Saint-Denis, and afterwards Bishop of Paris, ineffectually endeavoured to conceal themselves in the woods. They sustained the disgrace of falling into the power of the peasantry, who plundered their plunderers—arms, armour, garments, all became the Villein's prize. Counts, Abbots, Bishops and Knights, were stripped stark naked, so that for decency's sake they tried to cover themselves with wisps of herbage or hay.

Richilda fled from Heristal, and, in the very course of her most distressing journey, early in the dawning, when the cocks were crowing, she was delivered of her child. No sister-woman had the labouring Empress to serve or aid her in her hour of anguish: a groom carried the newborn babe, afterwards baptized "Charles:"—the infant lived till the following year, when its feeble life was closed; but the parents honoured the little child's memory by causing its body to be interred at Saint-Denis. Charles-le-Chauve rejoined Richilda at Attigny: had Louis the Saxon continued the war, the Emperor would have been wholly lost.

§ 46. During these disastrous conflicts, the Empire's forces wasted, and the Sovereigns and their people consumed by exasperation, Rollo and his Northmen, uninterrupted or feebly opposed, were continuing their coast-devastations and occupying the Seine-country. Charles-le-Chauve, harassed, and declining in health, was compelled to temporize and adopt the expedients, which, under similar urgencies, had previously procured a transient respite. He despatched certain Magnates to treat with the invaders. Count Conrad is named as the head of this legation:—the consequent proceedings indicate that the well-trusted Franco, Bishop of Tongres, was also included in the embassy. They were empowered to conclude a pacification with the Northmen upon any terms—peace at any price; the result to be reported to the Sovereign and his legislature in the great Placitum summoned to be held at Samoucy—a royal residence near the rock of Laon.

851—877

876—877

876

Negotiations with the Northmen attempted by Charles-le-Chauve.

§ 47. We are now fairly confronted with ROLLO, and adopting the words or verse of the Norman Trouveur, we shall begin, and, in beginning, shorten the lengthened story.

Rollo, his history grounded upon family traditions, corrected by the Frankish Chroniclers.

A Rou sommes venu, et de Rou vous dirons
La commence l'istoire, que nous dire devons.
Mais pour l'œvre esploitier, li vers abrigerons;
La voie est longue et grief, et li labour creignons.

851—877 The Northern Sagas concerning Rudo-Jarl, and Hrolf-ganger, however fondly we may once 876—877. have listened to them, we here renounce:— no injustice will such rejection inflict upon the inventive talents of the Scalds, or upon Rollo's honour.

Three generations elapsed before any portion of Rollo's personal history was committed to writing in Normandy. The recollection of his deeds and exploits was vividly impressed upon the memory of his grandchildren and great grandchildren, through whom we learn them; but the details were rendered involuntarily inaccurate, equally by knowledge and by want of knowledge. It is a constant error in the conversational narrator, thoroughly imbued with his subject, to presuppose in his hearers the information which he himself possesses. The most truthful general reminiscences concerning an ancestor, are quite compatible with very defective perceptions, of the attendant circumstances,— times and places, friends or enemies.

Rollo's career was prolonged through the reigns of a first, a second and a third Charles— Charles-le-Chauve, Charles-le-Gras, and Charles-le-Simple. Five or six Counts Bernard and Counts Berenger flourished during the same era. Two prelates, each bearing the somewhat unfrequent name of Franco, were successively empowered or necessitated to treat with or for the Northmen.

Rollo's exploits in England connected him with an Anglo-Saxon Athelstan and a Danish Athelstan—that is to say Guthfun, King Alfred's foster-son, so called upon his baptism. Nor can we be surprized if the Pirates who landed upon the North-sea coast, failed to distinguish between a Regulus or a King, actually domineering over Bernicia or East-Anglia, with whom they were immediately in relation, and the distant Basileus of Britain. 851—877. 876—877.

These circumstances involved the order of events, as detailed by Dudon de Saint-Quentin, the family historian, in a confusion which can only be rectified by comparison with the Frankish chroniclers. But their notices are scanty and grudging: the subject was unpleasant to them. If Archbishop Hincmar, whose annals (soon about to be cut short by the Northmen) furnish the basis of French history during this period, had heard of Rollo, he hated the odious name; and, to the last, amongst the Carlovingians, the Normans were only known as the Pirates. Necessity might compel the Frankish monarch to recognize the Northman as a Count or "Patrician;" but the Franks secretly protested against their own acts, and were always prepared to treat the same Northman as an intruding enemy. Nevertheless a tolerably satisfactory chronological adjustment of the main incidents, is not impracticable; for the unquestionable facts of French history Dudon de Saint-Quentin. Confusion of his family narrative.

851—877 enable us to moor the floating traditions near the proper points of the shore.

876—877 Adventures of Rollo, previously to his appearance in France.

Rollo, the son of a Chieftain, a Norwegian Jarl may be, whose name, however, was forgotten in the family, and his brother Gorm, quarrelled with their King or "Over-king;" and, the younger brother being slain, the elder embarked as a Viking-chief for England—an ordinary and an accustomed voyage, yet it was reported that he had been directed thither by a dream. Much were the Northmen influenced by visions of the night: Rollo, it is said, sought the advice of some Christian priest, who counselled him to obey the warning. The English could only see an enemy in Rollo: sharp conflicts took place, but he was ultimately received into the *Grith* or peace of the English, who assisted him in refitting his vessels. The usual fortunes of the seas impelled or conducted Rollo to the Belgic coast. Walcheren was attacked by the young hero, about the period when the Lotharingian war between Charles-le-Chauve and Louis the Saxon was breaking out: an auspicious moment for the invaders. The coasts and ports of Belgium and France were now thoroughly familiar to the Dansker-men; and Rollo, following the career suggested to every Northman who chose to adopt the guidance of Osker and Lodbrok and Biorn and Sidroc and Godfrey, sailed up the oft-visited Seine. Rollo

stayed his fleet at Jumièges: humanity or incipient devotion induced him to spare the dilapidated monastery, where remnants of the dispersed flock had reassembled. He landed hard by the chapel of Saint-Vedast, and, entering the deserted sanctuary, reverently deposited before the Altar the relics of Saint-Himeltruda, removed from a Belgian Shrine. 851—877 876—877

In the meanwhile Bishop Franco arrived at Rouen. John the archbishop, first of this name in the ecclesiastical Fasti of the City, was away. The fortifications had been dismantled, the sacred edifices ruined; and the Archbishop's absence denotes that the other influential personages had equally abandoned their charge. The impoverished and defenceless inhabitants were extremely alarmed, more particularly the traders, the bargemen, whose small commerce was stopped by the hostile occupation of the river. The citizens determined to capitulate, and Bishop Franco—whom the Northmen erroneously believed to be the local Prelate—consenting and aiding, Rollo was invited to a peaceful occupation of Rouen, terra firma and islands. He stayed his vessel's course at the foot of the rock upon which he beheld the insular Church of Saint-Martin, and according to tradition he there anchored his bark. The fertile country, devastated and thinly peopled, invited a new inhabitancy: encouraging examples had previously been

16 Sept. 876. Rollo sails up the Seine.

Rollo lands at Rouen.

851—877 afforded to the Northmen, Godfrey's followers were already quietly naturalized there, and Rollo may then have formed the plan of substituting permanent colonization for periodical plunder.—His Host, his Men, his "Baronage" ultimately took possession of the country, measuring and dividing their lots, according to the Danish custom, by the rope.—Bishop Franco negotiated, and a Danegeld of five thousand pounds was demanded by Rollo as the price of forbearance from hostilities.

876—877 Rollo occupies Rouen and the adjoining country, and demands a Danegeld.

876—877 Charles-le-Chauve submits to the terms, and prepares to resume operations in Italy.

§ 48. Hard terms;—but Charles, intent upon the consolidation of his Imperial authority whilst he was losing his Kingdom, dared not resist Rollo. The intelligence of the treaty was conveyed to the Emperor-King at Samoucy, and he prepared to fulfil the conditions; nevertheless he despatched troops for the purpose of presenting a respectable front against the Northmen. Anxiety, labour, exertion, were wearing him out and destroying his constitution; and though only fifty-four years old, he was yielding to premature decay. Pleurisy attacked him: despairing of his life, the discouragement of mind encreased the danger. His favourite and trusty body-physician was the celebrated Zedechias the Jew, who had been so successful in his practice, that the beneficial results produced by Arabian science and the energetic medicaments which the East supplied, were represented by his competitors as

the effect of magic—nay, that the apparent cures were only portentous delusions; but if the leech-craft of Zedechias failed, then Zedechias was a wilful murderer, his pharmacy was poison. 851—877 867—877

The royal patient did recover, and opportunely: exertion was called for, and his energies responded to the call. The Danegeld must be paid: the Saracens had resumed their invasions of Italy.

877. April to June. The Imperial authority recognized in the Gauls. Charles-le-Chauve proceeds to Italy.

Salerno, Gaeta, Amalfi and Naples, after maintaining a treacherous neutrality, combined with the Moslems; and the presence of Charles was required at Rome, equally for the defence of Christendom's capital, and the ratification of his own imperial dignity. The clergy had not yet fully concurred in synod, neither had the beloved Richilda received the imperial Crown.

The Clergy and laity of "France" and of "Burgundy," thus distinguished in the acts and proceedings, were convened, separately and afterwards conjointly; and all ranks and orders bore their share in contributing the subsidy to Rollo. Two very important capitulars of manifold tenor were enacted at Kiersy. Various regulations are made for the purpose of protecting the tenant-right of the beneficiary or feudal vassals; amongst others the clause so often quoted,—and misunderstood almost as often as quoted,—for preventing the usurpation of an "honour" during the minority of the customary heir—the abuse by which Robert-le-Fort's children,

877 14 and 16 June. The Capitulars of Kiersy.

851—877 Eudes and Robert, had been deprived of their inheritance.—Charles appointed a Council of Regency to assist Louis-le-Bégue in his government. The councillors are to take their turns in attendance: first amongst the Counts is named Theodoric of Autun, the High Chamberlain of the kingdom. The Statutes were read and proclaimed to the people by Gauzelin, the learned and warlike Abbot of Saint-Germain, the prisoner of Andernach, who, upon his liberation, had been appointed to the office of Chancellor. These urgent affairs completed, Charles-le-Chauve and his Consort departed, accompanied by trains of horses and mules laden with treasure. Boso, the duke of Lombardy, Hugh the Abbot, Bernard Planta-Pilosa, or Plante-velue, Count of Auvergne, and Bernard Marquis of Septimania, were to join him with reinforcements. The Roman synod had been convened, their approbation given, and the Pontiff met the Sovereign in the Lombard Palace of Pavia.—Was the maiden Hermengarda present, she who had declared that she would not live otherwise than as the spouse of a crowned King?

876—877 Louis-le-Bégue appointed Regent.

Defection of the nobles.

Unwelcome rumours disturbed the Court festivities. Charles-le-Chauve knew that he was surrounded by danger and treachery; therefore, quitting Pavia, the Imperial Court progressed homewards to Tortona, the scene of his mother's humiliation. The hurried and anxious ceremony of Richilda's coronation was performed by the

Pope, but uneasiness increased. Charles sent the Empress across the Mont-Cenis with the treasure —nor was she thought in safety till, reaching Maurienne, she awaited the bursting storm. 851—877 876—877 Charles-le-Chauve and Richilda fly from Italy.

Charles expected the aid of his brother-in-law the new duke of Lombardy, Hugh the Abbot, Bernard Plante-velue and Bernard Marquis of Septimania, but none came; each had his own selfish or separate concerns and plans, but all conjoined against Charles and his authority.—Hermengarda must answer for the absence of Boso.

The panic became intense—Carloman approached, heading a large army of dreaded Baioarians, and more dreaded Sclavonians. The Pope retreated to Rome, and Charles abandoned Italy, hastening after the loved and fugitive Richilda. Fever seized him, and he could not continue his journey beyond the foot of the Pass. The prescriptions of Zedechias availed no further, and the hand of death was upon him. He had not much need to take thought for the succession to the Empire. The brilliant Charles of Aquitaine was dead: the pious and affectionate Lothair was dead: the blinded Carloman was dead: all his children by Richilda, Pepin, and Drogo, and the second Louis, and the poor hunted babe Charles, were dead:—none left except Louis-le-Bégue. He therefore delivered to Richilda the Writ empowering her step-son to take possession of the king-

851—877 dom, together with the time-honoured symbols of sovereignty, sceptre, robe and royal crown, and the sword of state, known by the name of Saint Peter's sword; and he expired, Richilda by his bedside, in a wretched hovel. They would have borne his corpse to France, but the loathsome decay which ensued prevented the removal of his remains, and seven years elapsed ere his bones were deposited at Saint-Denis.

876—877
6 Oct. 877. Death of Charles-le Chauve.

CHAPTER IV.

FLANDERS, FRANCE, AND THE NORTHMEN, TO THE DETHRONEMENT AND DEATH OF CHARLES-LE-GRAS AND THE FINAL DISMEMBERMENT OF THE CARLOVINGIAN EMPIRE.

862—888.

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862—919 Great events produced by small causes.

§ 1. It is anything rather than a vulgar error or a fondness for paradox to trace great events from causes, which, in common parlance we denominate "small"—"small," merely because the human intellect is utterly incompetent to grasp the truth, that all secondary or occasional causes are equally essential in the series decreed by Eternal Providence. If any one appear greater than another to our imperfect sight, this comparative difference in magnitude is only a deception, occasioned by the larger visual angle which they subtend in consequence of our position upon this sublunary sphere. When the Lights were set in the firmament of the heavens to divide the light from the darkness, then and thenceforth each future beat of the second became as necessary to complete our time-reckoned centuries as the minute, the hour, the day, the month and the year: not one could be wanting. The relations of the events composing man's universal destiny, have, by the Eternal Will, been rendered as unalterable as the laws of numbers, each and all compose the immutable aggregate. Collective humanity is governed through the laws imposed

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862—919 upon individual humanity; you can no more imagine away any one pulsation of your heart, or any one thought you have entertained, or any one feeling you have felt, or any one thing during the whole course of your life, within memory, or beyond memory, in which you have been active or passive, than you can fancy that two and two minus one make four.

No leaf could have developed but from its specific spray, no spray could have been propelled but from its specific branch, no branch could have ramified but from its specific stem. Nor could the stem have attained its organic growth except upon the specific spot where the seed-fruit was cast—planted on the soil where the root could strike and the waters nourish—where the tender germ breaking through the ground should be defended from harm, the canker-worm curl away, and the cattle forbear to browse, the treading foot of man be averted and his hand restrained, where the wind should not wither, and the sun should shine.—From the day when the earth brought forth the tree yielding fruit, not a single tree upon the face of that earth could have been according to his kind, or yielded fruit according to his kind, otherwise than through the concurrence of the appointed conditions, physical, vital, and spiritual, all immutably necessary —numbers without number.

One unerring Justice, unbounded Love, and infinite Wisdom pervades all worlds, material and

spiritual. Had not each and every one of your ancestors, from the first created out of the dust of the earth, been conceived and born, breathing, living, and dying, as they were conceived and born, and breathed and lived and died, your present existence, as you now exist, would have been impossible. All the co-operating destinies of all your parents have produced yours, they have entered into your flesh and blood, they were chosen for you: you cannot repudiate any one of them: all have made you what you are—their haps and their hazards, their healths and diseases, their virtues and vices, their rewards and inflictions, their weal and their woe. The rock is a combination of atoms, and human society's whole contexture results from individual fate, individual responsibility, individual obedience, individual disobedience, individual necessity, and individual free will.—— 862—888 862—919

MARRIAGE opens many chapters in the world's history. As in the most humble families, so in the most exalted, as in the families of the hearth, so in the families of nations—the Novel's catastrophe is the commencement of the reality. The world's government is carried on through human passions and affections. Science cannot analyze nor philosophy reach them in their commencement, manifest as they become in their course, and potent in their close. Political consequences of Marriage.

That "Love is Lord of all" must be received

862—888 as an aphorism not the less incontrovertible on
account of the phrase's poetical inanity. The most
862—919 important political changes and revolutions have resulted from marriage—or what ought to have been marriage—the bond, its neglect, or violation. When the rights or traditions of royalty are deduced through the *spindleside*, marriages accomplish the most radical of revolutions: that is to say, the introduction of a dynasty subjecting the nation to a new Sovereign-line. The people are then conquered by the marriage-ring—often happily; nevertheless they are conquered. The fortunes of the State are included in the nativity of the State's Founder, and in the nativities of all his ancestors: the fall of the Empire is determined by the Conqueror's horoscope, and the horoscopes of all his progenitors. Let alone Rowena's wassail-cup, fair Helen and the siege of Troy town — Arletta's pretty feet twinkling in the brook made her the mother of William the Bastard. Employing astrological dialect, the planetary aspects ruling Hubert the tanner's natal hour, designated him to be the grandsire of a King. But for the tanner of Falaise, Arletta's father, Harold would not have fallen at Hastings, no Anglo-Norman dynasty could have arisen, no British Empire.—

Charles-le-Chauve attempted a deep, but unsuccessful policy. Generally, the Carlovingian princes selected their consorts under the influence

of fancy or affection, seeking to please the eye or the heart, without reference to the collateral advantages resulting from family alliances: Louis-le-Débonnaire chose Judith, like a Sultan throwing down his handkerchief before an Odalisk. Had more provident caution been exercised, we should not find so many Queens and Empresses whose lineage remained unknown till the latter days, when heraldic decorum suggested the expediency of providing them with fitting ancestry. Charles-le-Chauve, sensitively alive to the advantages attainable through matrimonial policy, made it his design to aggrandize his family by marriages of state; but it was his destiny to have those designs crossed by marriages of inclination. Indeed, he set but an indifferent example of prudence; for his scandalous second marriage accelerated the great calamities of his reign. Louis-le-Bégue disappointed him: Charles of Aquitaine disappointed him; but with his daughter, "Madame Judith,"—we take a pleasure in calling her as we find her denominated by the worthy Pieter Van Oudegherst, the Lieutenant-bailli of Tournay, in whose history her adventures are most amusingly, if not most veraciously told—there appeared every prospect of success. 862—888 862—919

Ever since Charlemagne's days a respectful, friendly, and not unfrequent intercourse had subsisted between the Western Emperor and the Basileus of Britain. Charlemagne addressed Offa

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upon equal terms Britain gave the Gauls the great teacher Alcuin; and, notwithstanding the devastations of the Northmen, their common enemy, England still excelled in opulence, and retained a most distinguished station in the Western Commonwealth. An alliance between England and France might enable both countries to resist the Danes; and the opportunity arose for cementing such a union. Ethelwulf, journeying with his son, the child Alfred, from Rome, was splendidly received by Charles-le-Chauve at his palace of Verberie. A royal visit thus paid, presupposes a royal invitation; and, for a purpose. Betrothed in July, the grey-headed Ethelwulf and the precocious Judith, then perhaps fourteen years of age, were married in October. Archbishop Hincmar pronounced the benediction, not entirely identical with the modern Roman usage; and this antient ritual, some portions whereof may be heard in our Liturgy, possesses singular dignity and impressive solemnity. Moreover, Judith was crowned as Queen, gifts and guerdons were bestowed with unsparing kindness; and Ethelwulf and his bride repaired to England.

856. Judith, daughter of Charles-le-Chauve, married to King Ethelwulf.

The nuptial rejoicings speedily shaded into discomfort, unhappiness and sin. Judith is the Frenchwoman concerning whom our Anglo-Saxon chroniclers speak so sullenly and despitefully. Ethelwulf, in order to make way for her, had repudiated Osburga, Alfred's mother. Judith's

858. Judith after the death of Ethelwulf, marries her step-son Ethelbald.

coronation affronted the English. Queen Edburga's crimes had brought the dignity of Queen into disrepute: no consort of an English Sovereign had subsequently assumed that title, or sat as Queen by her husband's side. Judith's conduct confirmed the antipathies entertained against her. After Ethelwulf's death, she contracted an incestuous and disgusting marriage, espousing Ethelbald, her step-son;—an action contemplated by the English with unmitigated aversion and horror.—Instructive warnings against national prejudices are afforded by the calumnies of the French chronicler, who assumes that the misdeed which the English nation universally detested was quite indifferent to them, and quotes their apathy as a proof of England's spiritual darkness and moral contamination. Ethelbald's inglorious reign being speedily terminated by his death, Judith sold her English possessions, and returned to her father. 862—888 862—863

Previously to her marriage with Ethelwulf, Judith had been courted by Baudouin Bras-de-fer, or *Boudewyn-den-Yzeren,* one of her father's foresters:—strenuous, as his name imports, fair, well-favoured in countenance, pleasant in speech, prudent and wise. That such a tender, though twice-married, widow would be easily accessible to a third admirer might be anticipated; and Charles-le-Chauve was prepared to give her away again, but in due time, and when a fitting suitor 862 After Ethelbald's death, Judith returns to France.

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should offer. Judith was therefore entrusted to Bishop Erpuin, at Senlis, that pleasant and healthy abode, the royal nursery, where the kings of France were accustomed to send their children: some Romane arches of their palace, inclosing a wild fragrant garden, were standing a few years ago.

Widows were peculiarly protected against violence, actual or constructive, rude force or gentle persuasion, by Saint Gregory's canon,—"*Si quis viduam in uxorem furatus fuerit, ipse et consentientes ei, anathema sint.*"—It was a Crown prerogative amongst the Franks that no female of the royal family could marry without her parents' assent; and Judith was to remain under the *Mundbyrd* or wardship of Church and State, till she should either resign herself to widowhood, or relieve her guardians by the imposition of their anxiety upon a third husband. We have seen how Charles-le-Chauve, when called away to oppose the Danes, delegated his authority to Louis-le-Bégue as Regent. The brother made common cause with his sister, and becoming, according to the plain-spoken Archbishop Hincmar, the go-between, she eloped in disguise with her first love, the Forester.

862 Judith elopes from Senlis with Baldwin the Forester.

Legendary history of the Foresters of Flanders.

And who was this Baldwin the Forester?—Toison d'or, King-at-arms, would read out Baldwin's history most currently from the shields in the choir of Bruges, or the canopied imagery decking the delicately-traceried Town-hall. The

founder of the family, as many said, was Lyderic of Harlebec in Charles Martel's reign; and this Lyderic, marrying the Princess Flandrina, became Lord of the Country, in whose geographical denomination she has been commemorated. The Dean of Saint Donat's might perhaps demur, and maintain that Flanders was so called from Flanbertus, expelled with his brother Flaminius from Beauvais by Andromedes king of the Belgians, which same Flanbertus and Flaminius, afterwards founding the once splendid city of Bailleul, established the new colony; the names of the founders being perpetually commemorated in the appellations of the country and the people. Flanders took her name from *Flanbertus;* and from *Flaminius* were the Flemings called. 862—877 862—863

Some, however, were rather inclined to believe that the real progenitor of this truly illustrious family was another Prince Lyderic, who flourished in King Dagobert's days. His father was the noble Salvaert, a Burgundian prince, who, married to the Princess Ermengarda, daughter of Gerard de Roussillon, and fleeing from the Franks, took refuge in the forest of Harlebec near Lisle, very unfortunately, for there they fell into the power of a most ill-conditioned tyrant, the gigantic Phinaert, who murdered Prince Salvaert and drove the Princess into the forest, where, according to custom, she was delivered of her child Lyderic, so called from the good anchorite Prince Lyderic and the Princess Ermengarda.

862—888 who became his godfather. Lyderic, coming to man's estate, after many adventures—including
862—863 a voyage to England, where he married the Princess Gratiana—released his mother from captivity, and was installed in the dignity and honour of first Count-Forester.

Historians, who are contented to leave the earlier traditions of Flemish history undetailed, insert Baldwin in their genealogies as the son of Count Odoacre, son of Count Ingelram, both hereditary Counts-Foresters, whose epitaphs were to be seen in the last century cut on stone at Bruges. An Ingelram, the *Missus*, the Justice in Eyre of Charles-le-Chauve, had certainly authority over some of the Districts constituting Flanders. Making, however, every allowance for archaeological uncertainties, it is impossible to find a place in history for Baldwin's assumed father. They sculptured his effigy on the façade of Bruges' Stadthuys, but cotemporary chronicles and unaccommodating charters leave no room for him. Hence erudite and honest Vredius, chief amongst the critical genealogists of Flanders, has converted "Odoacre" into a word of command—"*Houd-u-wacker*"—*Hold thyself stoutly*—the admonition which, as he conjectures, either Ingelram or Baldwin, or both or either of them, would diligently address to the soldiery employed in guarding their shores.

Ingelram and Odoacre, ancestors ascribed to Baldwin.

Historical pyrrhonism may become more detri-

mental to historical truth than historical credulity. 862—888
We may reject and reject till we attenuate history 862—863
into sapless meagreness,—like the king of France, who, refusing all food lest he should be poisoned, brought himself to death's door by starvation.

In the present instance, however, we are relieved from the difficulties which often embarrass such enquiries. The fanciful tales we have noticed are palpably recent, not older than the thirteenth century, if so old: they must be ascribed to the *Menestrels* who flourished during the golden age of romance poetry. The Walloon Trouveurs were excellently fluent and skilful: French poetry, the poetry of the Langue d'oil, was nurtured in the Border Provinces of France; and the successors of Rollo and of Baudouin fostered the talent, which, in maturer growth, illustrated the Romane tongue. Some *Chanson-de Geste*, perhaps still to be recovered amongst the piles of manuscripts, the treasured yet neglected stores constituting the pride and the lumber of museums and public libraries, may reveal the primary source of the adventures narrated by the standard historian denominated the Flemish Livy.—Yet these legends, though unquestionably fictitious, are very convincing, when contrasted with more genuine evidence, in bringing out the truth. All the antient and authentic chroniclers now extant maintain an unbroken silence as to Baudouin's ancestry. They do not pretend to discover his father.—Baudouin Bras-de-fer was

862—888 another Robert-le-Fort, a *novus homo*, a man without ancestors, triumphing by talent, prowess
862—863 and energy.

Under ordinary circumstances, Baudouin was calculated to deserve the utmost encouragement from Charles-le-Chauve, even as he protected and exalted Torquatus the Forester, promoting him out of the Blackbird's nest to dignity and honour; but Baudouin thwarted the Royal Father's will, and Charles-le-Chauve was exceedingly offended by the Forester's presumption. Charles fiercely resented this domestic rebellion. Parental authority, Papal decrees, royal prerogative, the laws of Church and State and his own plans and inclinations, were all equally infringed and opposed. He summoned a council at Soissons, declared to his prelates and nobles how his daughter had absconded with an adulterer and a thief; and Baudouin was outlawed. Furthermore, convening an ecclesiastical council, Saint Gregory's Canon *Si quis furatus fuerit*, and so forth, being duly propounded, excommunication was fulminated against the ravisher and the consenting Judith: King Lothair was urged to concur in the proceedings. Lastly, in a great council or Placitum held at Pistres on the Seine, the civil and ecclesiastical sentences were confirmed, and the lieges generally enjoined against affording any harbour, countenance, or support to the delinquents.

Resentment of Charles-le-Chauve.

Charles-le-Chauve's anger was more natural

than wise. Could Judith have been recovered from Baudouin, she would have left her character behind her: there would have been no help but to confine the wanton in a monastery. If she continued with the Forester, he, provoked by the father's conduct, had it in his power to become a very dangerous enemy. The forests of Flanders extended over Lotharingian ground: the coasts were open to the Northmen; and there soon became reason to apprehend that he might make common cause with the enemy. But Baudouin though venturesome, was neither obdurate nor perverse. He and Judith sought the mediation of the Holy See. Pope Nicholas interceded earnestly both with Charles-le-Chauve and Hermentruda. To the king, he pointed out the political dangers which might ensue, were reconciliation refused; his appeal to the mother's affection was grounded upon the contrition of the delinquents. Baudouin and Judith repaired to Charles-le-Chauve at Soissons. They were restored to favour, and by his consent they were married at Auxerre; yet he emphatically testified his opinion of their conduct by refusing to be present at the nuptials.

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863 Oct. Baldwin and Judith married after their elopement.

Flanders hitherto had no political existence. Previously to Baudouin's era, Flanders or "Flandria" is a designation belonging, as learned men conjecture, to a Gau or Pagus, afterwards known as the *Franc de Bruges*, and noticed only in a

Antient state of the territory of Flanders.

862—888 single charter. Popularly, the name of Flanders
862—863 had obtained with respect to a much larger surrounding Belgic country, an extensive district, whose boundaries were indicated by natural or peculiar characters, rather than constituted by precise demarcations: other examples occur of this habitual and intelligible though somewhat indeterminate chorography—Take for instance, *Le Bocage* in France, or the *Weald, High-Suffolk,* or the *Fen Country* in England. The name of "Flanders" was thus given to the wide, and in a degree indefinite tract, of which the Forester Baudouin and his predecessors had the official range or care. According to the idiom of the Middle Ages, the term "Forest" did not exactly convey the idea which the word now suggests, not being applied exclusively to wood-land, but to any wild and unreclaimed region; and Flanders, though containing fine and noble wood-lands, also included vast extents of moors and downs and plashes and marshes, bordered by the Ocean on the North and by the Ardennes on the South, of which large portions remained uncleared.

Flanders, a forest and marsh-country.

Excellent commencements had however been made. Saint Audomerus, Saint Amandus, Saint Bavon, and their companions and disciples, guided and directed those agricultural colonists, who, labouring in the service of their Divine Master, and converting the sentence of toil into a perennial blessing, gave the first impulse to that

industry which has rendered the Netherlands the Garden of the North. But the inhabitants always needed to struggle against the waters; and any etymology of the name of Flamingia, or Flanders, which we can guess at, seems intended to designate that the land was so called from being half-drowned. Thirty-five inundations, which afflicted the country at various intervals from the tenth to the sixteenth century, have entirely altered the coast-line; and the interior features of the country, though less affected, have been much changed by the diversions which the river-courses have sustained: fertile pastures on the sea-bord severed and channelled into islands, islands worn into sand-banks, and the sand-banks ultimately submerged by the invincible element.

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Inundations of Flanders, and their consequences.

These physical catastrophes produced remarkable political and moral consequences in other countries not touched by the waves. Numbers of the sturdy natives emigrated, seeking new homes, working their way and fighting their way. Some were driven back into Germany, others forward into the British islands. They principally sought or were invited into the territories of the Celtic races, whom they consumed. Scotland, Wales and Ireland bear testimony to the Flemish energy. The plough, speeded by mammon, may become an engine of human destruction, desolating as the sword.

Whatever had been the original amplitude of

877—888 the districts over which Baudouin had any controul or authority, the boundaries were now enlarged and defined. Kneeling before Charles-le-Chauve, placing his hands between the hands of the Sovereign, he received his "honour:"—the Forester of Flanders was created Count or Marquis. All the countries between the Scheldt, the Somme and the sea, became his Benefice; so that only a narrow and contested tract divided Baudouin's Flanders from Normandy. According to an antient nomenclature, ten Counties, to wit, Theerenburch, Arras, Boulogne, Guisnes, Saint-Paul, Hesdin, Blandemont, Bruges, Harlebec and Tournay, were comprehended in the noble grant which Baudouin obtained from his father-in-law. The development of Flanders and her feudal dependencies is an integral portion of European history, requiring the labours of those competent to perform the neglected task.

862 Flanders granted to Baudouin as an hereditary County or Marquisate.

Children of Baudouin and Judith. Charles died an infant.

Baudouin and Judith's first child was named Charles; but the infant died. Judith sorrowed much at his death, which she attributed to the want of mother's milk; and she therefore determined herself to give suck to the next babe, named Baudouin after his father. The Lieutenant-bailli of Tournay expatiates upon the maternal conduct of "Madame Judith," a reproach to the matronly luxury and self-indulgence of his times.

877—919 Baudouin-le-Chauve.

Baudouin the Second's manly vigour did

credit to his mother's tenderness. When he grew up to man's estate, he assumed the epithet of *le-Chauve*, in honour of his Imperial Grandfather, though his locks were abundant as those adorning any Merovingian King. Judith's first two husbands had in a manner connected Flanders with England. Baudouin-le-Chauve renewed the connexion more creditably, by marrying Elfreda or Elftruda, king Alfred's daughter. 877—888 877—919

Baudouin Bras-de-fer, once settled in his dominion, almost disappears from notice. His renown may have scared the Northman—at all events, so long as he lived, no important invasions of his honours or territories are recorded. Subsequently to his marriage hardly anything is commemorated concerning him, except useful works and good works, towns and fortresses improved, monasteries endowed, charity abundantly bestowed. In the centre of Ghent we may yet see the dark battered towers surrounding the *'Sgravesteen* or *Petra Comitis*, the castellated palace of Baudouin-Bras-de-fer: the Second Baudouin added the fortifications which defended the birthplace of Charles-Quint.

The eldest son and successor of Baudouin-le-Chauve was Arnoul, who obtained the epithet of *le-Vieux*. Fourth in descent from this Arnoul was Baudouin-de-Lisle, father of the Conqueror's faithful and affectionate Matilda. All these matters are of great interest to us: Normandy scarcely Arnoul-le-Vieux, son of Baudouin-le-Chauve.

877—888 proved more influential in the formation of the
862—888 Anglo-Norman Commonwealth than Flanders, encreasing in prosperity rapidly yet steadily.

Feudal relations of Flanders.

The Count of Flanders took his seat as one of the twelve Peers—the Duke of Normandy premier amongst the Dukes, the Count of Flanders premier amongst the Counts, rejoicing in the honour of bearing the sword before the king. Yet the Count or Marquis of Flanders was only imperfectly dependent upon the French Suzerain. In respect of Ghent, and the very important *Ambachten* and other districts known as *Rijks-Vlaenderen*, the Count was a Prince of the Holy Roman Empire. Baudouin's Castle of Ghent was built on Imperial ground. The feudal relations between the Count of Flanders and France were scarcely more than parchment-texts, efficient enough when the sword's point could engross the commentary, but very inert otherwise. Like the Normandy-Duke, he litigated the question whether his homage should be homage simple, or homage liege. Sometimes he assisted the Capets with his contingent for forty days, and sometimes refused his contingent, and approached so nearly to the condition of an independent Sovereign, that, according to the opinion of Flemish Jurists, Flanders might be truly styled a Monarchy.

877—888 § 2. Louis-le-Bégue was placed by his father's death under circumstances of peculiar

difficulty: Baudouin Bras-de-fer, from whom he had good reason to expect support, gave him no assistance, and remained aloof, perhaps impeded by bodily infirmity, pending the short but very important contest which ensued. The maxim—*le mort saisit le vif,—the King never dies*, was not then accepted as embodying an incontrovertible dogma; on the contrary, we doubt if the doctrine was recognized theoretically in any European Kingdom before the sixteenth century: the royal dignity was in abeyance unless a successor was or had been constitutionally acknowledged. Consequently, during two months after the death of Charles-le-Chauve, France was without a King, although Louis-le-Bégue endeavoured to exercise the royal prerogative, granting Abbeys and Counties, or assuming that he could make such grants: scarcely benefitting those whom he favoured, and encreasing the number of his ill-wishers and opponents.

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877 July—Dec. Transactions upon the accession of Louis-le-Bégue.

Richilda, with a step-mother's enmity, was much averse to his succession; and through and with her, a very powerful party was organized against Louis-le-Bégue. It will be recollected that none of the nobles, whose aid Charles had expected when in Italy, came to him according to their promise. Boso, ambitious, acute and enterprizing, was maturing important designs. About this time, or perhaps somewhat sooner, Hermengarda, the Maiden, the daughter of the Emperor

Party opposed to Louis-le-Bégue.

Boso married to Hermengarda, daughter of the Emperor Louis (p. 376).

877—888 Louis, eloped with him, and became his consort.
877—879 Boso, according to common fame, had poisoned his wife Engeltruda, in order to make room in his bed for this Princess; but whether he did or did not commit the crime,—whether he carried off Hermengarda, or whether she consented, or whether the future King of Italy, Berengarius, helped the lovers, as Louis-le-Bégue had done, are matters about which historians are at variance. Engeltruda was a woman of bad character. True or false, the facts and the rumours exemplify the popular and prevailing standard of morality.

Clergy and Nobility, intriguers and soundly-minded being equally unanimous in this respect, determined that Louis should not ascend the throne with the power which his father had enjoyed. It was their intention to demand a reform of the real or supposed abuses prevailing under the preceding reign.

877. 30 Nov. Royal insignia, &c., delivered by Richilda to Louis-le-Bégue.

On Saint Andrew's Day, Richilda, repairing to Compiègne, reluctantly delivered to Louis the testamentary writ, whereby Charles-le-Chauve had designated him as his successor, together with the tokens of authority, purple robe and arched crown, Saint Peter's sword and the rod of justice, shining with gems and gold. But these were put aside: the Frankish clergy and nobles paid no attention to seal and monogram or royal insignia, hallowed though they might be by the associations of antiquity: they em-

phatically ignored the existence of hereditary right; and Louis-le-Bégue came in as a constitutional, we may almost say as a revolutionary king. Hincmar, another Hubert, conducted the transaction. The Bishops, representatives of the people, interrogated Louis whether he would observe law and justice. Upon his assent, homage was performed: the homagers professed fealty and allegiance to their Senior and King, "Louis, son of Charles and Hermentruda;" and the son of Charles and Hermentruda then signed and subscribed with his own hand the declaration confessing himself King by the choice of the people,—"Ego Ludovicus misericordiâ Domini Dei nostri et electione populi Rex constitutus,"—promising to preserve those national franchises and privileges which, in the phraseology of the times, so misinterpreted by modern ideas, were called the rights of the Church; and to govern by the common council of the lieges the people committed to his care. The engagement thus ratified, Hincmar completed the ceremonies of coronation and consecration. Let it be observed how carefully and specifically hereditary right is denied; for though the *Seigneur-Roi* is denominated the son of Charles and Hermentruda, yet this description amounts to nothing more than a personal designation. Acting under the same impression and with the same intent, Napoleon's Senate,

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Louis-le-Bégue receives the homages, and subscribes the Declaration.

6 Dec. Louis-le-Bégue crowned.

877—888 when they recalled the Bourbon, as carefully endeavoured to protect themselves against the
877—879 acknowledgment of any hereditary or inchoate title, by drily accepting "Louis-Stanislaus-Xavier." With equal carefulness "Louis-Stanislaus-Xavier" strove to rebut the inference by reckoning on from his predecessors, and taking the style of Louis-Dixhuit.

Louis-le-Bégue unfairly disparaged.

All this was but mournful vanity. A Celtic Seer would have beheld Louis-le-Bégue ascending the throne, arrayed for his funeral, the winding-sheet's white folds wrapping themselves around him: he was afflicted with an incurable disease. After Louis-le-Bégue's death, when it served people's interest to disparage his memory, they called him *le Fainéant—Nihil faciens—qui nihil fecit*—but he had no time to do anything; and during his short reign, his earnestly-intended exertions were clogged by his subjects' coldness and traversed by adverse destiny. The Northmen were ravaging the Seine-country to such an extent, that stout Hugh the Abbot requested aid. Emeno, a Count in Poitou, rebelled: so also Gosfried, son of Roric Count of Maine. Louis-le-Bégue marched immediately to the troubled country; but at Tours he became so ill that he could not advance any further. His life was despaired of; but having unexpectedly rallied, he negotiated with the Bretons and obtained their homages; and upon his invitation the Pope—Pope John—

crossed the Alps, and after holding a Council at Troyes, bestowed upon him, for the second time, the royal crown. 862—888 / 877—878

This transaction affords much matter for consideration. Some suppose that the coronation was an Imperial coronation. Others, that the new King sought to establish an absolute authority; but a more obvious explanation can be suggested. Very serious doubts existed, whether the marriage of Louis with Judith the Adeliza could be a lawful marriage. She was a veiled recluse whom he carried off from the Royal Monastery of Cala, or Chelles on the Marne. Founded by Clotilda, this Convent acquired great celebrity, as a normal school and general educational establishment for damsels of Royal blood,—a female College. Here the Anglo-Saxon kings were accustomed to send their daughters. Saint Milburga, Abbess of Wenlock, daughter of the Mercian Merwald, was trained at Cala.—Charles-le-Chauve not only sanctioned but instigated this irregular or even scandalous matrimony, and possibly the Adeliza was (as her title imports) recommended by her relationship to some influential Royal Family. If the Adeliza had taken the claustral vows, her nuptial vow was null: Ansgarda, first espoused by Louis-le-Bégue and the mother of his sons Louis and Carloman, was also still living. We are most imperfectly informed concerning these marriages: according

878. 7 Sept. Louis crowned again by Pope John VIII.

862—888 to a widely-spread impression, either might be
877—878 considered void, and Louis sustained the humiliating mortification of ascertaining, that such was the Supreme Pontiff's opinion with respect to the Adeliza.

Pope John refused to recognize the fair fugitive of Chelles, pupil, novice or nun, as the wife of Louis-le-Bégue. Thrice betrothed, Louis-le-Bégue, according to the average of opinions, never had a lawful consort; and consequently, upon the same average, never any legitimate progeny.

Four Sovereigns ruling in the Carlovingian empire.

§ 3. An ill-combined and unharmonious Tetrarchy ruled the Carlovingian Empire. Three Sovereigns, descended from the Emperor Lothair, by Louis-le-Germanique, represented the German or Senior line. Carloman, Louis-le-Germanique's eldest son, held the Baioarian and Sclavonian States, King also of Italy. Louis the Saxon, the second son, retained the best parts of Northern Germany, Saxony, including the red land of Westphalia, Franconia, Friezeland and much of Lotharingia. Charles, or Caroletto, "Charles-le-Gras" in popular history, the third son, was restricted to a dotation or apanage in Suabia, but aspiring to more extensive authority, and qualified to win, if not to retain, exalted power.—Louis-le-Bégue represented the French or Junior line.

(See p. 337).

These were the possessors of thrones, but who were to reign when thrones should become vacant? Pepin King of Italy's descendants, the

now prosperous house of Lombardy-Vermandois, had tacitly waived their legitimate pretensions. When any one of the four regnant Sovereigns should die, the Seniors or Senior, the survivors and survivor might contend for the inheritance; but, looking beyond Carloman of Baioaria, Louis the Saxon, Charles of Suabia, and Louis-le-Bégue, to whom did the reversion appertain? 862—888 877—878

This was the perplexity clouding the mind of every thoughtful man:—although there might be many claimants, yet there was only one clearly-acknowledged legitimate heir, or *throne-capable* representative of Charlemagne, and this representative was an infant child, Louis the Saxon's sprightly boy. Doctrine and sentiment had much changed upon the subject of connubial legitimacy, since the Merovingian era. Lax in practice, the Franks had improved in theoretical consistency concerning marriage: the teaching of the Church had imparted greater sanctity to the union. Ecclesiastical Canons were prevailing over national customs:—the progeny born of connexions unconsecrated by the Priest were more decidedly lowered in position than before; and, except Louis the Saxon's boy, all the next of kin to the ruling Sovereigns, the Carlovingian princes Louis and Carloman of France, Hugh of Alsace, Arnolph of Carinthia, and Hugh the Saxon, were *mamzers*, either by reputation or undeniably. Only one uncontested legitimate heir to the four Sovereigns.

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The five reputed bastards, viz. Louis and Carloman.

A large and influential party stigmatized Louis and Carloman, the sons of Louis-le-Bégue, as illegitimate: their mother Ansgarda was defamed as a concubine, the living witness of their disqualification. We cannot pronounce upon the validity of the reasons, possibly insufficient, which sustained this conclusion; but the adverse opinion subsisted permanently, and a personal dislike was nourished against these princes, strengthening any plausible arguments, if such there were, branding their birth with disgrace.

Hugh of Alsace.

Hugh, titular Count of Alsace, Lothair and Waldrada's son, stood in the same painfully ambiguous station. Waldrada had claimed to be reckoned a lawful wife; but her son, denied the rights of royal birth, was equally deprived of the respectability resulting from a recognized position in society.

Arnolph of Carinthia.

Arnolph, Duke of Carinthia, the brilliant son of the heroic Carloman, by the left-handed Sclavonian consort, was prominently known as a bastard: his half-caste rendered the circumstances of his origin the more conspicuous.

Hugh the Saxon.

Lastly, Hugh, eldest son of Louis the Saxon, though dearly loved by his father, and deserving and returning that love, never forgot or concealed his illegitimacy.

Louis and Carloman were however the least blemished, their inchoate title to royalty, though not absolutely unchallenged, was not strenuously

contested. Their father, and all about the court and the royal family, treated Ansgarda's sons as heirs apparent; but Hugh of Alsace, Arnolph of Carinthia, and Hugh of Saxony, were classed in a definite category—all three marked out as base-born Carlovingians—not one of the three deemed to be genuine, or entitled by descent to a Carlovingian crown. 862—888 877—878

So far as external enemies were concerned, it chanced that the present moment was one of comparative tranquillity:—the Gauls somewhat spared from Danish invasions: the Danes having enough to do in England:—Alfred driven into Athelney, meekly submitting to his well-known chiding from the Neat-herd's wife;—and the conflict in our island at its fiercest.—The Danish moveable forces were therefore transiently diminished upon the Continent, and the coasts were less disturbed. But France was broken up by the troubles; and there was a general feeling of insecurity, a presentiment of impending danger. Every man knew his neighbour's untruth: every man acted upon the conviction that no trust or confidence could be reposed either in individuals or in general society. The Four Kings were all jealous of each other, each yearning for the dominions of cousin or brother—none of the Four aged, yet each hungry for the other's death. Nevertheless two of the Four, Louis the Saxon and Louis-le-Bégue, whose dominions bordered, Presentiment of dangers in the Empire.

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were drawn closer by surrounding pressures, and sought to dissemble their animosity. Parental love was strong in both. Louis the Saxon was earnestly anxious that his namesake, his sprightly child, should succeed to the German kingdom—Louis-le-Bégue equally desired to secure his royal rights for Louis and Carloman, the sons of his first love.

878 1 Nov. Treaty of Foron. Louis-le-Bégue and Louis the Saxon mutually guarantee the rights of their children.

Whatever opinions might have been fostered, no contradiction had, until the death of Charles-le-Chauve, been given to the doctrine that the Sovereignty was inherently and exclusively vested in the Carlovingian family, but the rights of the individuals composing that family were not definitely ascertained. It still continued to be a vexed question whether a Senior or a Senior's representative might not demand the dominion of a Junior or Junior's representative, in preference to the issue of such Junior—the son postponed to an elder collateral. This leaven of discord had fermented from the beginning, but now other causes of trouble had arisen, for the hitherto indefeasible supremacy of the collective Carlovingian lineage had been impugned by implication. Louis-le-Bégue confessed that he received his throne from the nation's choice. There also subsisted, what must be unfortunately termed a natural antipathy between the German line and the French; both were, however, now compelled to seek co-operating aid.

The sovereigns, Louis-le-Bégue and Louis the Saxon, met at Foron in Lotharingia, not far from Maestricht, and concluded the articles of a treaty to be thereafter confirmed in a solemn Diet, Carloman and Caroletto being summoned to attend. The object which both parents had most at heart, a mutual guarantee for their children's security, they effected in words. Louis-le-Bégue covenanted and swore to defend the hereditary right of the infant Louis. Louis the Saxon on his part covenanted, should he survive, to defend the sons of Louis-le-Bégue and any other children whom he might have, in the secure and quiet possession of their paternal kingdom, as their counsellor and protector. Never were the antagonistic theories and consequences of self-subsisting legitimacy and elective or constitutional monarchy, more distinctly contemplated and understood by any political reasoners, than by these kings.—The compact concluded, each departed to his own dominions. 862—888 878—879

The illness of Louis encreased: his bodily strength declined rapidly. In the wilds of the Ardennes there was a renowned monastery dedicated to the hunter's legendary patron; there Saint Hubert's votary lingered. No longer stinted in his sport by a father's grudging behest, the jealously preserved forest was his own; but the poor beasts were now very effectually protected against their tormentor, by the feebleness 878—879 Nov.—Feb. Louis-le-Bégue detained by encreasing illness in the Ardennes.

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of the royal huntsman's nerves and the anxiety of his mind:—no power had Louis to slip the hound, no care to dart the spear. A rebellion broke out in Burgundy. Bernard, Count of Autun, had been recently deprived of all his honours, which were divided between his namesake Bernard Plante-velue, and the High Chamberlain, Theodorick, the great intriguer. Some authorities assert that Theodorick was the father of Boso, or may be father-in-law, or may be his step-father, anyhow closely allied to Boso, and a prime mover in the little world of agitation disturbing the Gauls.

879 Feb. Mar. Revolts in Burgundy.

The deposed count Bernard insurrectionized the country. Louis-le-Bégue, in nowise content to compromise his rights, determined to march against the revolters, and would have headed his troops, but at Troyes he sunk into a state of hopeless debility. His eldest son, the young Louis, was sent away under the care of Hugh the Abbot, Count Boso, and Bernard Plante-velue. Theodorick the High-Chamberlain was to have continued with them, but the narrative is much confused; and when the obscurity dissipates, we find that Theodorick had separated himself from the rest—and for a reason.

Louis crept on, and with great difficulty reached the humble monastery of Jouarre, near Compiègne. He was now thoroughly exhausted, and feeling himself at the last gasp, he entrusted

to Odo, bishop of Beauvais and Count Alboin, the crown and robe, the sceptre of mercy and rod of justice. The expiring Monarch charged these friends and ministers that they should deliver the royal insignia to his son Louis, together with a Writ, or precept, addressed to the council of regency, directing the inauguration and consecration of the boy as his successor. On the following day the winding-sheet shrouded over the king's closed eyes. He died on Good Friday, and on Easter Eve they buried him.

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10 April, 879 Death of Louis-le-Bégue.

§ 4. Great constitutional importance was attached, by usage and custom, to the regalia. According to ancient traditions, the delivery of these symbols actually conveyed the royal authority. Analogies may be found to this opinion. The Lord High Treasurer of England, were there one, would receive his appointment by delivery of the Staff. The Lord Chancellor, as is well-known, is created by the delivery of the Seals. Bishop Odo and Count Alboin took leave of their dying master, and set out upon their journey, with the full intention of retarding or defeating the Will which he had declared; for as soon as they heard of the King's death, they, instead of executing their commission, surrendered the tokens of sovereignty to the High Chamberlain Theodorick, investing him with whatever influence might result from possession of the insignia; and a revolutionary interregnum ensued.

879 Interregnum after the death of Louis-le-Bégue.

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Besides Louis and Carloman, another heir might be expected. The Adeliza Judith was pregnant. She brought forth her babe (whom the mother called Charles, in honour of his ancestors) on Saint Lambert's feast day, five months after the death of Louis-le-Bégue. We do not hear anything more concerning the Adeliza: perhaps the Nun of Chelles, repenting her broken vows, returned to monastic seclusion. The child was first protected by Hugh the Abbot: he then disappears, until we ascertain that he had passed under the care of Rainulph the second, the son of Bernard of Septimania, Count of Poitiers; but anyhow the political existence of "Charles-le-Simple" was ignored during his early infancy, and when he afterwards was produced on the scene, uncharitable doubts were raised concerning his status, extending beyond the questions occasioned by the circumstances of his mother's marriage.

17 Sep. 879. Birth of Charles-le-Simple.

Parties or factions supporting or opposing the children of Louis-le-Bégue.

§ 5. Three parties, or factions, now arose, by or through whose exertions or persuasions the succession was to be determined. All the great men, clergy and nobles, had been fully preparing themselves for the vacancy of the throne, and all had determined to improve the contingency for their own advantage. Hugh the Abbot was pre-eminent in the party which supported the claims of the young princes Louis and Carloman. Others spurned the "concubine's sons." Gauzeline, the

brave Abbot of Saint-Denis, subsequently Bishop of Paris, who had persuaded the distinguished and experienced Count Conrad the Guelph to join him, laboured to bring in Louis the Saxon. Taken prisoner, cuffed and stripped at Andernach, the Royal victor could not help pitying Gauzeline's rueful plight and treated him kindly; and an intimate friendship then arose between them which now fructified. The benefices Louis the Saxon could bestow offered strong temptations; yet amongst his partizans some may have been influenced by less selfish motives. The divisions and morcellings of the Carlovingian territories among so many disputing *Roitelets*, or Reguli, were destructive of national strength; and the encreasing misfortunes of the empire enhanced the unavailing regrets entertained by those who, through their faithlessness, had aggravated the prevailing evils. There were many who were ready to adopt any measure for the purpose of restoring the antient unity; and the reconsolidation of the Carlovingian empire under one Sovereign, appertaining to the Senior line, would be a glorious consummation. Chief amongst these, in learning, dignity and station, was—as subsequent events disclosed,—Archbishop Hincmar, embued with the traditions of the old time; but he does not appear openly amongst the *Meneurs*, though we discern his intentions just visible through the turbid narratives.

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Parties favouring Louis the Saxon.

Parties favouring Boso.

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A third party would have been willing to discard the Carlovingian line completely, and to introduce Count Boso; but he rejected the proposition, possibly having already considered how he might establish himself more securely by adopting another scheme. Theodorick the Chamberlain transferred the County of Autun to Boso, who in exchange surrendered certain abbeys held as lay fees; and Boso, Count of Autun and Provence, and Duke of Lombardy, advocated the children of the late Sovereign.

The Gauzeline party therefore acted resolutely, and addressed their invitation to Louis the Saxon and his wife, proud Luitgarda, who ruled with her husband, and ruled him also; for historians speak of the masterful Queen as being highly influential in public affairs.

Louis the Saxon invades the territories of Louis and Carloman.

There seemed no conception amongst these Carlovingian princes that any promise was made to be kept. Louis the Saxon, anticipating the invitation, had determined to seize the French dominions. As soon as the death of Louis-le-Bégue occurred, the Saxon Louis marched his army and prepared to gain Lotharingia and then win the whole kingdom. What had become of the treaty of Foron? Six months had scarcely elapsed since Louis the Saxon had solemnly covenanted and sworn to the dying Louis-le-Bégue, that he would support and defend the young children in the quiet possession of their paternal kingdoms,

he their counsellor and protector; and now he did not give a thought to his engagement. Covenant and oath signed and sworn in winter, oath and covenant broken and violated in the spring. The German army reached Metz and Verdun, perpetrating as much mischief as the Pagan Danes could have done. The German chroniclers excuse their disorders by alleging that the people refused to supply provisions at a fair price to the soldiers, so they helped themselves. 862—888 879—880

There was full room for the play of parties; and Theodorick, the practised politician, Hugh the Abbot, and Count Boso disconcerted their adversaries' game, inducing Louis the Saxon to retreat, which plan they effected by surrendering to him that portion of Lotharingia recently ceded to Charles-le-Chauve, also the abbey of Saint-Vedast, or Arras, as a make-weight: the abbatial demesne and abbatial seigneuries of Saint Vedast, would, as in other abusive examples, be annexed to the King-Abbot's crown-lands. Louis agreed without consulting his supporters, Abbot Gauzeline and Count Conrad, and returned to Frankfort, where he had to bear with Queen Luitgarda's extreme disgust. "Had I been with you, Sir King, you would have got and kept the whole kingdom."—But Louis the Saxon had sufficient reason for the conduct he pursued. The news reached him how his brother Carloman was stricken with the palsy, and that his death, Louis is bought off by the cession of Lotharingia.

879 Louis the Saxon obtains the administra-

862—888 879—880 tion of his brother Carloman's German dominions (see p. 383).

though the event might be somewhat protracted, was certain, whilst the Duke of Carinthia, Arnolph the Bastard, would probably endeavour to assume the supreme authority. Therefore Louis hastened to Baioaria, where he compelled his almost speechless brother to admit him as Regent or Administrator of the Kingdom, the actual dominion being only postponed till death should release the sufferer.

879—880 Louis and Carloman called to the throne jointly—they divide their father's kingdom.

§ 6. Louis the Saxon having thus suspended his pretensions upon France,—for he had not abandoned them,—Hugh the Abbot and his party obtained the ascendancy. We have seen how Louis-le-Bégue appointed his eldest son, reckoned by historians as "Louis the Third," to be his successor; but without pronouncing upon the rights of Carloman or of any future children he might have. Hugh the Abbot and those who acted with him, construed the late king's bequest into a recommendation which they would neither rudely reject nor implicitly obey. They therefore bestowed the distracted, diminished and divided kingdom, from which some of the most important provinces had just been detached, upon Louis and Carloman conjointly. The boys were inaugurated, but with maimed rites. Hincmar, to whom, as Archbishop of Rheims, the high office of bestowing the benediction appertained, did not assist.

879 Louis IV. and Carlo-

It is not certain whether any other Metro-

politan gave the sanction of his presence, by which substitution the irregularity could have been palliated. An obscure monastery in the Gastinois was the place selected for the undignified ceremony, a transaction involved in doubt and obscurity. Some short time afterwards, the young kings, meeting at Amiens, amicably divided their dominions, Louis taking Neustria and the Marches, Carloman, Aquitaine and Burgundy and their Marches, and so much as he could regain.

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879—880 man crowned at Ferrieres.

§ 7. "So much as he could regain"—for, during the preceding events, the finest portion of *la belle France* had been torn away.—"I will not live," said the maiden Hermengarda, "if I, an Emperor's betrothed and an Emperor's daughter, do not make my husband a king."—No aspiration could have been more congenial to the ambitious spirit of Count Boso, the crowned duke of Lombardy, who won her: no contingency more inviting than the present confusion of affairs: no season more favourable than the disturbed interregnum: no era more cognate than this, when the doctrine, teaching that the Crown is bestowed by the choice of the people for the wealth and safeguard of the people, had been so recently and emphatically acknowledged, and Louis-le-Bégue the son of Charles-le-Chauve, the son of Louis-le-Débonnaire, the son of Charlemagne, his hereditary authority disclaimed, inaugurated by the people's will.

879—880 Boso founds the new kingdom of Provence, afterwards the kingdom of Arles.

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Leaving contending kings to their chances, and other partizans to their own devices, Boso repaired to Provence, where the country, extremely exhausted by the incursions of Saracens and Northmen, needed a defender. Six metropolitans, Besançon, Lyons, Vienne, Arles, Aix and Tarantaise, eighteen Bishops, and the chief nobles of the respective provinces, assembled in Council on the plain before the royal Castle of Mantaille, nigh the rushing Rhone.

15 Oct. 879. Boso elected king in and by the Synod of Mantaille.

The Prelates, taking up the speech as Princes of the Church and representatives of the people, declared that the countries committed to their charge were without a king or protecting chief, and by unanimous consent they raised the "serene prince, the Lord Boso," to the royal authority—recording their motives in the constitutional Act they subscribed. No specific territory is assigned, no boundary named; and it should seem that Boso might rule as king wherever he could command obedience. The realm which actually obeyed him was sufficiently noble and extensive. All the countries which then had, or subsequently obtained, the denominations of Provence, Dauphiné, Savoy, the Lyonnais, and Bresse, and some other districts of Burgundy, accepted Hermengarda's husband as their Sovereign, and he was anointed and crowned, with the ceremonies appertaining to an ancient monarchy. Thus arose the kingdom called, under Boso's successors, the

kingdom of Arles and Burgundy, and afterwards subdivided into Counties and Dukedoms, which exercised the most powerful influence in France and the Empire. 862—888 879—880

§ 8. The affront resulting to the Carlovingians damaged them more than the loss of cities and provinces. Boso's successful usurpation dispelled the prestige hitherto consecrating the Carlovingian Crown. We use the term "Crown," because all the Franks and Germans, and even all the inhabitants of Gaul who had been ruled by the great Emperor, maintained, notwithstanding their enmities and divisions, a union of political sympathy, priding themselves upon the importance the Empire possessed in the Christian commonwealth, and therefore resenting any diminution of that importance. Since the Lombard dynasty expired in the person of Desiderius, no crowned and anointed kings had ruled within the Carlovingian Empire or its dependencies, save and except the sovereigns of Carlovingian blood. It was an unheard presumption, that a stranger should aspire to such a dignity. Boso's elevation destroyed the exclusive family monopoly, and renewed the recollections of the times when Pepin-le-Bref was only a noble example of the *gros vilain*. All the Carlovingian sovereigns and princes, and all who in any degree identified themselves with the Carlovingians, were therefore direfully offended; whilst their per- Great political detriment occasioned to the Carlovingian interests by Boso's elevation.

862—888 sonal enemies, severed from the Carlovingian
879—880 interests like Hugh the son of Waldrada, or the Slavi, were correspondingly gratified.

Whatever pacifications were simulated with Boso, his Carlovingian cotemporaries only sought the intruder's destruction. Endued with extraordinary talent, activity and ingenuity, and supported and comforted by Hermengarda's valour and love, Boso defeated his opponents, and was as constantly employed in assailing them.

Boso's merits and talents.

After his accession, of which the full and authentic protocols are extant—and very interesting they are—we hardly know anything concerning Boso directly and personally, except what we collect from two or three Charters, in which he serves himself heir to his Carlovingian predecessors, and the help afforded to the imagination by the characteristic groupe, believed to have been copied from an antient painting in Vienne Cathedral, representing him and his crouching lion, held by a silken bridle. Nevertheless, we have every reason to conjecture that Boso, concurrently with his own success, encouraged the most dangerous enemies of the Empire, the Northmen, and that he acted conjointly with Hugh, Waldrada's son.—Humiliated as a bastard, any birthright denied, the arguments in favour of Hugh's legitimacy might almost compete with those adduced in favour of Louis and Carloman. But all the Carlovingians had been inveterate

Hugh, the son of Waldrada, heads an insurrection in Lotharingia.

against Hugh, and he rejected them in his turn. Prosecuting a Robin-Hood insurrectionary warfare in Lotharingia, he was contriving to act against Louis the Saxon, or Louis the Saxon's brothers the Baioarian Carloman and Suabian Charles, or against Louis and Carloman of France, with any who might assist him, whether Christians or pseudo-Christians, pirates or pagans. 862—888 879—880

§ 9. Since Charlemagne's death, never had circumstances been so opportune, or offering the like encouragement to the Danes, or they so competent to avail themselves of the opening. Wisely and energetically as Alfred had defended his realms and people, he was nevertheless glad to purchase tranquillity by presenting Guthrun at the font, and legalizing his rough-hewn godson as King of the East-Anglian Danelaghe. Hastings commanded the Loire-country, and the dreaded and half-converted Danes, dispersed as colonists in various regions of Northern Gaul, were ready to join in the hurrah. Rollo was preparing to revisit Rouen; and the whole body of the Northern nations, encouraged by their British triumphs, were busily fitting out a series of expeditions, armada following armada, clearly displaying their projects of effecting a territorial conquest. Hitherto the Northmen had rather avoided the genuine Teutonic countries on the Continent, where they encountered purer races than the Romanized Franks and more like themselves. Renewal of the Danish invasions upon a more extensive scale.

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The English acquisitions, though laboriously won, taught them that they need not dread any kindred enemy. Combining naval and military operations, their attacks again extended on either side of the Elbe, and westward and southward from Elbe to Meuse, from Meuse to Somme, from Somme to Seine, from Seine to Loire, the Danish settlers in the Gauls co-operating with the new comers, their old friends.

Danish Commanders: fierceness and continuity of their invasions.

Fierce, bold and experienced were the chieftains who now simultaneously or successively assaulted the Carlovingian Empire. Sigfried or Sigurd, King of South Jutland and son or grandson of Regner Lodbrok, Godfrey, son of Harold, Gorm or Orm or Worm, Hardacnute's son, King of Lethra, and Oskytel or Auscatil or Ketil, probably he who had desolated Croyland and murdered good Abbot Theodore, whose slaughter called for vengeance; and Gormund, Hals and Rollo, and Rollo's wily kinsman Gerlo, and Botho, afterwards Constable of Rollo's host, well provided with artillery, animated by a new spirit, bringing all their wit and weight to bear on the regions they ravaged. The attacks, movements, sieges and engagements, by and with or between the Northmen and the Carlovingians, now became so incessant, that any period when the Gauls, Belgium or Northern Germany were free from the Danish ravages, was merely exceptional. The Northmen might be defeated, but the very shed-

ding of their blood made the fire blaze more fiercely. The multitudes of troops they raised, fully evince that they intended to establish their dominion within the Empire's boundaries, according to the plans which they were accomplishing in England. Had they subdued the Frisic and Saxon coasts, together with Belgium and the Picardy of modern times, they would have created a "Danelaghe" corresponding to East Anglia and Northumbria, rendering the German Ocean a Danish ocean, their territory extending round and round, and from land to land. 862—888 879—881

§ 10. Sovereigns so young as Louis and Carloman had never heretofore reigned;—boys, literally,—unsupported, slandered, betrayed, nay, worse than betrayed, abandoned to their own wild energies. But in other respects the situation of the Kingdom was also unexampled: though the royal authority might be divided, Louis and Carloman were conjoined in affection.—For the first and the last time in the sad Carlovingian annals,—from the hero Charles-Martel to the Fainéant in whom the line expired,—the family exhibited two brethren sincerely loving each other—free from envy, jealousy,—co-operating as loving friends, between whom not the slightest quarrel or dissension is recorded. Louis and Carloman —amiability of their characters.

These lads were the only Carlovingian Sovereigns who appreciated the simple truth, that concord is strength: Louis and Carloman never

862—888 entertained the idea of profiting by enmity. Their mutual confidence they extended to their cou-
879—881 sins, the German Princes, scheming, treacherous, always working underhand. Moreover, Louis and Carloman were handsome, vigorous and healthy, warriors in body and mind: had there been any loyalty left amongst the Franks, they might have cherished these last blossoms of the cankered stem as giving hope of the Empire's revival.

The conference of Orbe.

The same cause which diverted Louis the Saxon from his attacks upon France, Carloman's illness—the opportunity of profiting by a brother's affliction—sent Caroletto or Charles of Suabia to Lombardy. Orbe, where the sons of Lothair whilome assembled in angry discussion, again became the scene of a congress, but a peaceful one: even had there been no better motives, self-interest dictated union. Here the Kings of France, Louis and Carloman, met their cousin:
880—881 measures, which proved unavailing, were con-
Charles-le-Gras King of Italy and Emperor. (v. p. 387.)
certed for suppressing the Provence revolution. Louis promised that he would abstain from occupying any territory which might revert to Charles: the latter proceeded to Lombardy, and obtained the Iron and Imperial crowns. The Frankish Sovereigns returned to their kingdom, where the Northmen had savagely resumed their warfare.

Another atmospheric cycle of inclemency was in course, the rivers frozen, the earth parched with cold, the season impeding military opera-

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tions. Young Louis nevertheless marched to the Loire and attacked the Northmen, who were extending their settlements and ravaging the country. Loud was the triumph of the Franks on Saint Andrew's mass-day—the young Warrior, leading on his troops, completely routed the Danes, whose carcases choked the shallow Vigenne. But this victory was only an incident in the great campaign, now commencing with raging violence in the North.

879. 30 Nov. Battle of the Vigenne.

§ 11. Baldwin's iron arm rested in the coffin, and the whole Northern coast was covered by the Danes, whose combined forces had landed,— national and individual hostility or rather treachery, co-operating amongst the Franks in their favour. Strong suspicions support the accusation that King Boso and Count Hugh had concerted their schemes with the Northmen. But amongst the meisné of domestic traitors, Isembard, the Seigneur of La Ferté in Ponthieu, obtained the pre-eminence. Isembard's castlegarth now constitutes a suburb of Saint Valery. He was also Avoué of Centulla or Saint-Riquier. We have full notice that the parties which distracted France were malignantly active. Gauzeline and Conrad invited Louis the Saxon again to Lorraine: he advanced a second time with his Bellona, in the full purpose of extending his conquests over the whole Frankish kingdom. But these designs received signal frustration:

880—881 Danish invasions proceed with encreased vigour.

Louis the Saxon invited again by Abbot Gauzeline and Conrad against Louis III. and Carloman.

862—888 the Danes, excited to the highest pitch by the Carlovingian dissensions, overspread the North-sea and channel territories with their forces. Godfrey, entering the Elbe, landed and advanced to the Somme country, which he overwhelmed by his multitude. Abbot Gauzeline and Count Conrad could not afford to Louis the Saxon the support they expected: their insurrectionary power was below their will.

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Louis the Saxon, Queen Liutgarda consenting, made peace with Louis and Carloman; and he might well rejoice in the pacification, for his kingdom was in the greatest danger. Saxons and Thuringians fought desperately: they had good reason, they were fighting for their lives. The Northmen occupied Ghent, where they wintered. Louis the Saxon was perplexed by the encreasing perils; nevertheless he placed himself at the head of his army, assisted by Hugh, his brave and affectionate son. The first battle was the battle of the Ardennes, a desperate conflict. The Danes began to give way: Hugh, yielding to his ardour, was lost among the Northmen. Louis the Saxon immediately stayed his troops: could he but save his child, what mattered renouncing the advantage? he hoped that Hugh had been taken prisoner, and that a ransom might be accepted,—he would give any sum of money to redeem the captive; but Hugh never reappeared alive, Godfrey had slain him. The battle was over: five thousand North-

880 Battle of the Ardennes. Danes defeated, but Hugh, son of Louis the Saxon, killed.

men are said to have fallen,—a victory gained by Louis at the price of an irreparable loss! The Northmen retreated to their vessels, having previously burnt their dead: the last known instance of funeral cremation. The King sought his son's body: the corpse was found and buried at Lauresheim. 862—888 / 880—881

§ 12. Then followed the most calamitous battle of Luneburg Heath, otherwise the battle of Ebbsdorf, wherein the Danes avenged, and more than avenged, their disgrace in the Ardennes. Godfrey is supposed to have been again the conquering leader. The Germans were thoroughly routed and cut to pieces. Bruno Duke of Saxony, Queen Liutgarda's brother, the Bishops of Minden and Hildesheim, Theodorick and Marquard, eleven Counts and eighteen other of the King's chief Barons or vassals, were killed, and nearly all the survivors captured and swept away as prisoners by the Northmen. The slain had perished gloriously:—defending their country and faith they died the martyrs' death, and received the martyrs' honours; and their commemoration was celebrated in the Sachsen-land churches till comparatively recent times. 880 Feb. 2, Battle of Ebbsdorf. The Germans defeated by the Danes —greatness of their loss.

An unexampled sorrow was created throughout Saxony by this calamity, which, for a time, exhausted the country;—Scandinavia and Jutland and the Baltic isles resounded with exultation. But there were others who rejoiced in the

862—888 retribution which afflicts an enemy through the means of an enemy: nations who hated the
880—881 Danes hailed the Danish victory: the oppressed and enthralled Sclavonians, Daleminzians, Bohemians, Sorbs, who immediately retaliated upon their tyrants, and wasted Thuringia and Saxony with fire and sword.

Sorrows, vexations and misfortunes accumulated upon the head of Louis the Saxon, each succeeding year more dreary. Yet one consolation remained to him, his lively boy; and for the child's sake as well as his own, his despondency was cheered by a great accession of good fortune, the pleasurable zest being heightened by the patience with which he had waited during nearly three years for the full enjoyment of the inheritance. Carloman, upon whom the Germans and Italians had fixed their hopes neither presumptuously nor unworthily—the courteous, the brave, the learned Carloman, in whom, the moment before the stroke had fallen upon him, no bodily or mental talent required for the defence and honour of the throne was wanting,—after lingering so long in distressful languor—now expired. Carloman's talents were inherited by the Sclavonian concubine's son, who had been named Arnolph by his father in honour of Arnolph of Metz, the patriarch of the Carlovingian dynasty. Probably Carloman had bestowed the appellation with some hope of designating the

Death of Carloman of Bavaria —Louis the Saxon obtains the kingdom.

22 March, 880.

Prince as his successor, but the bold and popular youth was not yet able to assert his claim,— he must content himself a while with his Carinthian Duchy. 862—888 880—881

Upon receiving the intelligence of his brother's death, the sufferer's happy release, Louis, with his Queen and only child, his heir, hastened to Ratisbon. Arnolph secured himself in his castle of Mosaburch, surrounded by impassable marshes. The Baioarian nobles hailed the arrival of King Louis and the boy Louis, submitting themselves with extreme alacrity to his sovereignty. Arnolph also became a homager, and thereby maintained his position, being confirmed by Louis in the Duchy of Carinthia. And thus Louis had obtained his heart's desire, his brother's kingdom for himself and his child; but the active child, brought to witness his father's inauguration, fell from the palace-window, his skull was fractured, his brains were dashed out.—Never afterwards had Louis the Saxon a gleam of brightness; and his cheerless life was soon brought to a close. 880 Death of Louis the Saxon's child. (see p. 385.)

§ 13. It was the constant complaint of the Romane Franks, that they had no chieftain around whom they could rally. An idle and factious pretence,—chieftains they possessed, fully competent to have enabled them to concentrate their national forces and energies; but the one thing was wanting—truth. Louis and Carloman the young royal brothers,—very young,—were endued with Treachery and disloyalty of the Franks.

862—888 remarkable gifts and talents, both of body and mind: unshaken, energetic, active, faithful to each 880—881 other, faithful to all with whom they were concerned; and they were guided and aided by the most experienced surviving warrior of the era, Hugh the Abbot. In the experience of this military counsellor, the Franks ought to have placed full confidence. Loyalty should have bound them to their young Sovereigns; but that sanctifying gift, that unselfish, natural affection,—which, after all, is the truest support of monarchy, as well as the source of the greatest comfort and ennoblement to a people,—was taken away.

The Tetrarchy was re-established: there were now again four reigning Carlovingian Sovereigns. How long could or ought this Tetrarchy to endure? Charles the Emperor, the exalted representative of the Senior or German line, had won universal confidence.—His reputation increased in proportion to his successes:—Louis the Saxon was evidently drawing nigh his end, and all the countries of the Teutonic tongue would naturally seek for Kaiser Karl as their sovereign: Louis and Carloman, the representatives of the French line, might be considered as minors,—were they reduced to dependance, France would once more be incorporated with the Empire?—These considerations revived Archbishop Hincmar's political enthusiasm for the restoration of Carlovingian unity; and he exhorted and advised the Emperor

The Emperor Charles, his encreasing influence.

to treat the two young French kings as his wards, and to take order for the due and regular government of their kingdom—in other words, to dethrone them, the preparation for captivity and death. 862—888 880—881

The advice was bestowed exactly at the time when the Brothers were displaying extraordinary boldness, merit, and talent and giving the greatest promise of excellence. Archbishop Hincmar was a sound theologian, upright in his conduct, a wise man and a good man: but political casuistry stupifies the conscience of the wise and the good. Hincmar's conduct towards the grandsons of Charles-le-Chauve was, from the beginning, equivalent to a prophecy of evil: therefore he tried hard to make his words come true. No immediate step was taken by the Emperor to follow the Archbishop's suggestions; but the influence of Louis and Carloman was sensibly diminished, and their subjects continued to betray their kings, their country and themselves, by apathy and treachery.

§ 14. The Danish invasions, the exploits of Sigfried and Godfrey, excited the apprehensions and energies of the young French Sovereigns. The Northmen continued stretching and speeding over the country. Corbey and Amiens had been pillaged, Cambray taken, Arras occupied and the Northmen stationed in the Abbey of Saint-Vedast. They burnt the city but spared the Churches: 880—881 Louis of France, his operations against the Danes.

862—888 in other respects their devastations were merci-
880—881 less. Plunder, which they had reaped so abundantly, no longer satisfied the bloody Danes; they slew the inhabitants indiscriminately. Whether the people submitted or not, they sustained the same fate. All about Courtrai, where they established their winter-quarters, they exterminated the inhabitants.

Evidently calculating upon subduing the country by terror, they succeeded to a considerable extent. Abbot Gauzeline summoned his troops, but when they had to face the Danes they ran away, and the people generally gave themselves up to passive despair. Carloman could not withdraw from Burgundy, and Louis, returning to Neustria, had to fight the battle singlehanded. Unexperienced in the art of war, the youth's acuteness and daring compensated for his deficiencies. Nay more, so far as his dastardly and unprincipled subjects were susceptible of the inspiration, he excited them to quit themselves like men.

The Danes were masters of the Seine and Loire districts. Gormund and his companions commenced movements for the purpose of gaining a tract offering a very strong position, adjoining the future Norman Duchy. This is the Vimeux constituting subsequently a bailliage of Ponthieu, a compact peninsula, enclosed by the Somme on the North-East, and on the South-

West by the river Bresle,—which river Bresle, skirting the walls of Eu, falls into the sea at the well-known Tréport, and subsequently constituted the boundary between Ponthieu and Normandy. A classical land is the Vimeux in our English history. The Vimeux contains Azincourt's battle-field: on this coast was Harold shipwrecked: here is Saint-Valery, the embarkation port of the Conqueror. 862—888 880—881 The Vimeux territory—its connexion with English history.

Gormund and his Danes, the recreant Isembard guiding them, having plundered Beauvais and all around, advanced sea-ward and encamped in the Vimeux, readily accessible to their vessels on the extended coast. Isembard's castle of la Ferté gave them cover when needed on the sea-side, whilst on the opposite frontier they were protected by the expanded estuary of the Somme, rendering the whole territory unusually defensible. Laden with booty, they halted between Eu and the locality where Abbeville now stands,—for, as yet, the *Abbatis-Villa* was not built,—in and about the hamlet of Saulcourt. Louis, whose spies had diligently marked their movements, here surprized them. The Danes, probably feasting and getting drunk, expecting any thing rather than the onslaught, were put to flight. Gormund and Isembard were killed, the latter, according to tradition, fell by the sword of Louis. A tumulus still called the *Tombe-d'Isembard* marks the spot where the traitor perished; but the sepulchral 881 Feb. Gormund and the Danes occupy the Vimeux. Battle of Saulcourt. Louis defeats the Danes.

862—888 mound wastes away beneath the ploughshare, which turns up the relics of the conflict.

880—881 Far and wide spread the intelligence of the victory, the numbers of the slain encreasing in proportion as the fame receded from the scene of slaughter. Popular lays transmitted to posterity false Isembard's felony and the Pagans' chastisement; and the battle of Saulcourt was equally commemorated in a song constituting a remarkable specimen of German poetry—being amongst the earliest examples of Teutonic rhyme. The versification is inharmonious, lacking the dulcet rhythmic melody which sounds in the ballads of Scotland, or in the parents of the Scottish ballads, the marvellous. *Kiœmpe-viser* of the Dane, but spirited, and breathing life and power; telling how "Ludwig" takes shield and spear, and leads on his troops, chaunting *Kyrie eleison*,—and how the blood rose in the cheeks of the Frankish soldiers, enjoying the sport of war.

Antient Teutonic song commemorating the victory.

The folly, however, of the Franks,—vain-glorious cowards,—neutralized the success. They relapsed into disreputable disorder, emulating the Danish debauchery without possessing the Danish sturdiness and Danish sagacity. A body of Northmen who escaped the general dispersion sallied forth, and attacked these rascally troops. The Franks scattered and gave way—many were killed: had not young Louis alighted from his horse and rallied them, fighting furiously and

Bad conduct of the Frankish troops after the victory.

exerting himself beyond his bodily strength, they would have sustained the disgrace of a total defeat from a defeated enemy. 862—888 881—882

The Vimeux slaughter did not produce any perceptible effect upon the general fortunes of the war.—Reckless of loss, the Northman's resources seemed inexhaustible. All the Scandinavian and cognate nations were enthusiastic for conquest, and they re-entered France. Louis, on his part, was worked up to corresponding energy: the young hero fully prepared himself for all emergencies, and determined to repel the enemy. Abbot Hugh still continued to be a trusty adviser in counsel, a wise and fearless warrior in the field; but the young King was virtually deserted by his subjects, who, whenever they could, displayed their incorrigible recreancy. He was constantly spurring them on; and they, as constantly, falling back. They acted as though they were seeking occasions to degrade themselves. About two miles from Arras, at Estreuns or Etrun, above the confluence of the Scarpe and the Ugy, is a *Camp de César*, one of those numerous antient fortifications, circled and guarded by deep trenches and grassy ramparts, which, scattered throughout the Gauls, are universally ascribed by popular tradition to the Roman conqueror, thus rendered memorials of his might and the lasting domination bestowed upon his Empire.

881 Louis adds additional fortifications to the Camp of Cæsar at Estreuns nigh Arras.

Louis strengthened this fortress by outworks

862—888 and stoccades. If not Cæsar's, the camp is worthy
of Cæsar. So advantageous is the position, and
881—882 so firm and fresh the foss and rampire, that Marshal Villars availed himself of the protection the station afforded, when Marlborough marched to invest Bouchain. But the strategic talents of the young Louis were rendered wholly unprofitable by the cowardly baseness of the Franks. The fortifications being completed, he could neither persuade nor compel any of his nobles to undertake the perilous command of the Post—shame they had none, all sense of honour was bartered or scared away; and then they raised the cry that the measures Louis adopted were burthensome to the Franks, and advantageous only to the enemy.

Cowardice of his nobles.

20 Jan. 882. Death of Louis the Saxon.

§ 15. At this juncture the heart-broken, childless Louis the Saxon, died, brought to the grave by grief. Whilst the Romanized Franks were despising their young King, the Germans had been favouring him, planning to raise him to the throne. The Teutonic song of Vimeux, the Song of Victory, as the lay was designated by learned Dom Mabillon, is not unreasonably conjectured to be a political ballad: a specimen of party minstrelsy, prompted or purchased by those who had sought to array the young hero Louis, the Frankish Louis, against their decayed unprosperous Sovereign. The idiom of the composition supports this conjecture—such a pure Franco-

Louis of France refuses the offer of Lotharingia.

Theotisk language as the song exhibits, was no longer spoken in any portion of the dominions which the son of Louis-le-Bégue then actually ruled. 862—888 881—882

The nobles of German Lotharingia therefore immediately turned to Louis, and offered homage. According to the prevailing usages, they were justified in making the proposal. Louis, on his part, had he adapted his conscience to the standard of public morals sanctioned by his kinsmen and progenitors, would have been fully authorized in accepting the proffered kingdom. But, unlike any other Carlovingian Sovereign who had hitherto reigned, Louis remembered the oath he had sworn at Orbe to his cousin Charles the Emperor, and the sincere and honest youth refused the homages. Nevertheless he was willing to give all the aid in his power, and he despatched detachments to resist the Northmen then harassing the country.

Affairs summoned Louis to the Outre-Seine district. He presented himself to receive the submission of the Armorican Sovereigns, and then advanced to Tours. Hastings and his Danes were commencing hostilities, but Louis pacified them by display of force and employment of policy; and it is possible that at this time Hastings was confirmed in the county of Chartres. His successes in treating with the Armoricans and the Danes.

If any were now rightminded amongst the Franks, the most joyful anticipations ought to

862—888 have prevailed. Thankfulness might be well inspired by the bright character of the two young
882 Kings. Sincere affection conjoined them, living examples of boldness and courage, faith and truth. But no renovation could be imparted to Charlemagne's blighted race. Louis met with his death ingloriously, casually, and in a manner, foolishly, —a frolic killed him. Pursuing in dalliance a fair damsel, probably of Danish lineage, Gurmund's daughter, she fled into her father's house. His horse dashed him through the low, narrow portal, galloping merrily after the girl. Bowing forward to save his forehead from the blow, the eager rider gave himself the harm he tried to avoid; he could not stoop enough to clear the transom, which crushed him against the pommel of the saddle; and the severe bruises he received, concurring with an inward injury occasioned by his desperate exertions in the Vimeux battle,
5 Aug. 882. became mortal. Dying, Louis was removed to
Death of Louis III. Saint-Denis, where he expired.

Attempts seem to have been made to conceal the cause of his death, the accounts of the circumstances being perplexed, and contradictory. Those who loved Louis, deplored the loss of the kingdom's hope: his enemies slandered him as a young ruffian, distinguished only by vice and absurdity, employing language so coarse and uncharitable that the charges refute themselves: the character given by his revilers could scarcely

have been merited during a long life of inveterate profligacy. 862—888

§ 16. Carloman, at the age of sixteen, succeeded to his brother's dominions, troubles, courage and fatal destiny. Louis the Saxon's death, followed by the death of his namesake the young French King and the encreasing confusion of the Empire, imparted a fresh impulse to the pertinacious activity of the Danes: the country literally burning from Rhine to Scheldt, from Scheldt to Seine, and far in the interior, where they had never hitherto penetrated. 881—882 882 Carloman succeeds to the entire kingdom.

These renewed attacks had commenced during the last months of Louis the Saxon's reign, when the Northmen established themselves in Charlemagne's imperial fortress at Nimeguen. They were temporarily subsidized away, but they re-entered the city, and continued afterwards in possession for many years, and burned Charlemagne's Roman palace, second only, if second, to Ingleheim. The circular Church, the "Capella" or "Cupola," alone escaped, and still exists: the name borne by that remarkable structure, the *Heiden-Kapelle*, bears record to the occupation of the sanctuary by the Pagans. The devastation spread extensively into Lotharingia and Rhenane Germany. The whole of the Hespen-gau, or Hasbay, was ravaged, and all as far as the Moselle; and the antient Roman cities, hitherto spared, and the Burghs, which flourished round the Monaste- 881-882 The great Danish invasion of the Rhine, Scheldt and Meuse country.

862—888 ries, were involved in the same destruction. Car-
loman, at the time of his brother's death, was
881—882 employed in besieging Vienne, where he was energetically attacking Boso; but the sound of the Danish hurrah reached him there, and the Neustrian nobles earnestly invited the young King to meet them, receive their homage, and undertake the defence of the country. The boy rejoiced in the war, and assumed the command with determinate energy.

The ravages of the Northmen had indeed been desperate. Trèves burnt, Cologne burnt, Maestricht burnt, Tolbiac burnt, Liege burnt, Tongres burnt, Cambray burnt, Coblentz burnt, Bonn burnt, Juliers burnt, Cornelien-Munster burnt, Malmedi burnt, Aix-la-chapelle burnt. Metz was defended by her Roman fortifications and the valour of Bishop Wala; but Wala was afterwards killed in a chance skirmish, having fought bravely. The Netherlandish country suffered dreadfully. Aldenburgh, Rodenburgh, Furnes, Alost, Oudenarde, Comines, Bailleul, Harlebec, Torholt, Antwerp, Poperingues, Cassel, Nuys, and very many other opulent towns, whose names are first commemorated by their calamities, were ravaged and destroyed. Thus did the Danes pollute, pillage and ruin the great Roman cities of the North, the strongest, the richest, the most honoured by tradition and piety—schools of learning, monuments of art, seats of luxury, imperial

grandeur, some dating from the earliest periods, but many more which had arisen silently under the genial protection of the monastic communities, and whose healthy and prosperous existence we ascertain from their misfortunes. 862—888 882—883

§ 17. Germany, like France, was filled with consternation: Franconians, Thuringians, Bavarians, Saxons, Frisons, now all conjoined in imploring Kaiser Karl to sustain the falling Empire. A grand Diet was held at Worms— Here the homages were rendered. All the lieges of the late kingdom of Louis the Saxon, and all the lieges of the Baioarian kingdom and the appurtenances thereof, became the Kaiser's men. Arnolph, confirmed in his Duchy of Carinthia by the Kaiser, submitted with the rest. If Arnolph, coming forth from Mosaburch, unwillingly saw his father's realm bestowed upon his uncle, if his jealousy had been suspected, means were taken to obtain a greater hold upon his conscience: he was either required to give a stronger and more binding pledge than the ordinary ceremonies—now mere forms—afforded, or he proffered a more solemn adjuration. And upon the holiest relic, a particle of the true cross, he took the oath, which, if violated, might bring upon his head the direst vengeance. 882 The Emperor Charles invited by the Germanic nations.

The German nations thoroughly confided in the Emperor's prowess. Placing themselves willingly and gladly under his protection, they be-

862—888 lieved that Kaiser Karl had inherited Charle-
882—883 magne's valour; and, when guided by such a commander, never would they fear an enemy. On either side of the Alps equal enthusiasm prevailed. Troops from Lombardy joined the musters which flocked in from Alemannia and Saxony, Franconia, Suabia and Frisia: a most imposing army assembled, and a splendid muster at Andernach promised transcendant victory to the Emperor.

Oct. 882. Battle of Condé between Carloman and the Danes.

Carloman, on his part, fully took his share in the perils and exertions of the war. The Northmen established themselves in modern Picardy, near Condé, a name so familiar to us from the title which it imparted. Carloman gave them battle, the Danes were worsted, upwards of a thousand were killed; but the Pagans quitted Condé, nothing daunted, pursuing their hostilities beyond the Oise. For the thousand Northmen killed, thousands re-entered the country: corpses strewed the roads and highways, clerks and laymen, nobles and peasants, women and children and infants at the breast.

As usual, no trust, no honour.—The nobles who invited young Carloman to defend them refused to participate in his dangers: he had scarcely any means of opposing the invaders except through his own courage and personal exertions. The antient kingdom of Soissons had been hitherto singularly spared, an oasis of tranquillity;—possibly owing some portion of that

Districts hitherto spared, Soissons, &c. ravaged by the Danes.

tranquillity to the awe which the veneration rendered to the patron saints inspired even amongst the Danes. But the protecting influences now failed, and the exempted regions tasted the scourge. For the first time, the rock of Lâon was insulted: the Pagans occupied Soissons and invested hallowed Rheims. Bearing with him Saint-Remi's relics, Archbishop Hincmar fled by night. He died soon after: with the year, his chronicle suddenly ends: it is supposed that he dictated the last paragraphs; and we henceforth lose the coeval testimony afforded by the ablest and best-informed witness of this doleful era.

862—888
882—883
Nov. 882. Flight and death of Archbishop Hincmar.

Hincmar, the chiefest statesman, knew more of the events connected with the leading partizans than any other chronicler; had he continued his task he might possibly have instructed us how and in what manner Eudes, the son of Robert-le-Fort, Eudes Capet, Count of Paris, attained his great celebrity. All memorials concerning Eudes are lost until we come upon him by surprise, when, supported by Abbot Gauzeline, who during these transactions became Bishop of Paris, we find the hero defending the future Capital against the Northmen, and turning the fortunes of France.

§ 18. Kaiser Karl began gloriously; but difficulties thronged rapidly round him, and the cry of jubilee, so loud at Worms, and swelling louder at Andernach, suddenly dropped and became faint

The Emperor Charles. Difficulties of his situation.

862—888 and fainter. Italy was disturbed, dissensions pre-
882—883 vailed in the Western borders, wasting the national strength. Poppo Count of the Suabian Marches and Egino quarrelled—Saxons against Thuringians. These local feuds occasioned great trouble; but Henry, Poppo's brother, who held a county or benefice in the Rhine country, remained faithful to Charles, a ready and earnest partizan. Few names of North-German chieftains are mentioned during the present crisis of Carlovingian history: so many were felled down on Luneburg Heath, that the old aristocracy seems to have been nearly extirpated: the Danes cleared the soil for the growth of new families. Moreover, the Emperor Charles was not treated honestly: Liutward, Bishop of Vercelli, the Emperor's prime minister in Italy, enjoyed his master's confidence; but heavy charges are preferred against the Prelate. He was accused of undue familiarity with the Empress Richarda. This noble lady, said to be daughter of a Scottish king, held the station of consort, but Charles did not cohabit with her.—Charles lived with an obscure concubine, by whom he had Bernard, the child upon whom he doted, his only child.

882 The Emperor Charles baffled by the Danes, compelled to make peace upon disadvantageous terms.

Charles became depressed:—probably the morbid affection, whatever the disease may have been, which rendered his aspect so woefully conspicuous,—was gaining upon him. *Caroletto*, the name the Italians gave him, implies delicacy

of form: and we may therefore conclude that his youthful appearance had suggested the endearing diminutive, and his general conduct until this campaign displays much activity as well as talent; but henceforward, we observe his spirit declining, and the malady occasioning more distress. 862—888 882—883

§ 19. Sigfried, Godfrey, Worm or Orm, and Hals, the four wary and sturdy chieftains, entrenched themselves at Esloo on the Meuse. The Danes had acquired sound experience in war: ingenious handicraftsmen, they profited by the arts and contrivances of the Romanized nations amongst whom they were thrown. They carried their skill to Normandy, they did not learn it there. Esloo was a strong fort, and ably defended: an assault being impracticable, Charles commenced a regular blockade. The Northmen were straitened by deficiency of provisions, and considered themselves in peril; yet the Emperor's operations did not prosper: the sultry weather set in, the locality was insalubrious, an epidemic broke out in his camp. The heart of Charles sunk within him, his discouragement was manifest; and, agreeing to the terms proposed, he accepted a very disadvantageous compromise, through the faithless bishop's evil counsel, as the Franks asserted,—false Liutward, bribed by Danish money. Unsuccessful blockade of Esloo—Friesland ceded to Godfrey, and Danegelt paid to Sigfried.

Godfrey demanded all the benefices whilome held by his Danish predecessors on the North Sea

862—888 coast, and more than they had held, all Friezeland, Friezeland East, and Friezeland West, from
883—884 Weser to Meuse, and all the islands, a territory so extensive and important, that the cession was considered as rendering him the Emperor's partner, a compeer in the realm.

Gisella, daughter of King Lothair, married to Godfrey the Dane. (See p. 394.)

Other conditions accompanying the treaty gave him a still further claim to such a designation. Godfrey was baptized; and, at the neophyte's request, Charles bestowed upon the Dane in marriage his kinswoman Gisella, the outlaw Hugh's own sister, daughter of the late king Lothair and Waldrada. She was no longer in the bloom of youth, five and thirty years old at least. Gisella seems to have been an affectionate wife to Godfrey during the brief term of their marriage; yet unless that marriage had been suggested to the brave Dane, he could scarcely have sued for the mature Princess of his own accord; and we are left to conjecture who may have been his adviser. This marriage between Godfrey and Gisella bears upon one of the most perplexing points in Norman history: it has been alleged, and not without ingenious plausibility, that Rollo's marriage with Gisella, Charles-le-Simple's daughter, is only a mistaken traditionary version of the transactions we are now recording. But the name-coincidence must be considered as merely accidental, or, to speak more precisely, resulting from the circumstance that *Gisla* or

Gesellin might be either a baptismal name, or a conventional or family-circle appellation. 862—883

Sigfried had no objection to baptism, he was also bought off, and receiving gifts in gold and silver to the amount of somewhat more than two thousand and eighty pounds or livres—"we reckon the pound at twenty sols," says the annalist—he departed for Paris. 883—884 Sigfried. baptized, and tribute paid to him.

§ 20. Carloman was not included in this armistice: the Northmen had not touched his money, therefore after the Esloo proceedings they crossed the Meuse, no one daring to raise a finger against them, spread themselves over the country, and occupied Amiens as their winter-quarters. The Frankish nobles, instead of supporting their valiant young king, abandoned all plans of defence; and holding a great council at Compiègne, opened negotiations with the Danes. The Primores treated in Carloman's name, but without consulting him: their counsel, to have pleased the young warrior, would have been of another sort. The Danes re-enter the Somme country.

It might be thought that the Franks could not render themselves more vile than by such cowardice, yet they contrived to place themselves a stage lower than mere cowards: they exhibited an utter want of common sense. Needing a negotiator fit to manage a treaty with the cunning, greedy Danish chieftains, they, for this purpose chose a fellow-Dane, a born enemy, an The Frankish nobles negotiate with the Danes.

862—888 enemy who knew their weakness, who had profited by their dissensions and their disloyalty, Sigfried,
883—884 the pseudo-Christian. Whilst the Danes were merry-making at Amiens, and the Frankish nobles in anxious session at Compiègne, Sigfried journeyed backwards and forwards, hither and thither, as the mediator, bearing and returning demands and replies, proposals and answers, spinning out the tedious negotiation, the Danes however, not staying proceedings, but marauding or levying black-mail all the while.

884 Feb. 2. Tribute imposed by the Danes.

At length came Candlemas-day: a dark day for the Franks, when the Danes declared the amount of the geld they imposed—twelve thousand pounds, at twenty sols to the livre—for which they would grant a truce till October. The money was raised with extreme difficulty: shrines stripped of their gold and jewels and pillaged sacristies, furnished some portion of the funds. Between Danes and Franks, Pagans and Christians, enemies and friends, the Church fared miserably; all drew upon her, all spoiled her.

At length the last geld-instalment was paid; but the Franks did not thereby purchase any exemption from disquietude. Beyond the Scheldt, in Lotharingia, the Danes continued plundering; nor were the Franks by any means certain that after the Danes received the money, they would keep to their bargain. However, they evacuated Amiens, and marched and boated towards the

coast, the Frankish troops following them quietly and at a respectful distance. The Franks could not be sure that the Danes would not turn back again; nor were they relieved from their apprehensions until they heard how the Pagans had fairly embarked at Boulogne. As usual, however, the compromise was ineffectual, some of the Danes may have crossed over to England, but the greater part cruised in the Channel: their carnivorous instinct taught them that they would soon be able to fall again upon their prey. 862—888 884—885

Carloman, the immediate pressure removed, rode for pastime to the forest of Baisieux in the *Corbiois*, between Arras and Amiens, still recognizable in the scrubby woodlands crossed by the chaussée. The sportsman never seems to be deterred by the Nemesis so frequently avenging the wantonly causeless destruction of God's creatures, the answer to their call of agony. Carloman having chased a wild boar, the animal in self-defence turned round and attacked his unprovoked enemy: Berthold, the king's companion, trying to save his master's life, ended it. His spear pierced Carloman's thigh, the wound festered and became incurable: they buried the king at Saint-Denis. As soon as the hovering Northmen, bought off from the Somme, heard of Carloman's death, their raven banners pounced again upon the French territory. They had well chosen their time: Hugh the Abbot, hitherto so 884 Dec. 6. Death of Carloman.

862—888 stout, lost his wits: the French were without government, courage or wisdom.

884—885 Yet, could Hugh the Abbot and the Primores who composed a species of irregular Regency have broken the spell of terror, they were fully competent to defend the country; but instead of resisting the enemy, the Frankish nobles tried to reason and argue him away, remonstrating with the Northmen against the breach of the treaty.—Had not twelve thousand pounds, at twenty sols to the livre, been paid to them within the year to withdraw their forces? and now they were there again.

885 The Danes renew their invasions on Carloman's death, and demand another Danegelt.

Not so, quoth the Dane—According to the beneficiary or feudal system, a *gersum* was rendered to the Seigneur upon the Vassal's death, but also in some cases upon the death of the Lord—a life-bargain. This principle the Northmen applied to their transactions with the French: their engagement expired with Carloman's life, they had concluded their bargain with him, and not with the kingdom. If Carloman's successor or the French, wished to renew the treaty, the Danes must have the same amount of tribute repeated, sol for sol, livre for livre, the same in weight or the same in tale—on no other terms would they allow the kingdom peace or rest.

885 The Emperor Charles, invited to the Throne of France.

§ 21. Who was to succeed Carloman?—the child of the Adeliza Judith, of whom she was delivered five months after Louis-le-Bégue's

death: from whose birthday, the feast of Saint Lambert, the foul-mouthed gossips reckoned back to the season when Louis was sinking under mortal illness, and spitefully whispered their conclusions? The child probably continued under the care of Rainulph the second, Count of Poitiers; but had any party been inclined to think of such an infant, a regency must have been appointed to govern in his name; and he was silently passed over.—Kaiser Karl, at this time in Italy, was therefore the only competent legitimate successor to the kingdom. Notwithstanding the reverses he had sustained, his reputation still stood high,—if they excluded the Kaiser, whom could they elect, unless they repudiated the Imperial lineage, and elected the half-caste Arnolph, or some gros-vilain, some stranger? 862—888 885

Theodorick, the High Chamberlain, was, for the fourth time within seven years, called upon to perform the duty of inviting a Sovereign to ascend the throne. Destiny seemed to have accomplished the end which patriots sought. The injurious severances might be terminated, the rents closed, the dissensions healed, no longer a divided, but a united Empire. Charles, king of Germany, Charles, king of Italy, Charles, king of France, Charles the Emperor—Charlemagne's magnificent inheritance again subjected to a Charles, under whose auspices all the former prosperity of the Franks might be restored. Apparent reunion of the divided Empire.

862—888 885

The French tender their homages, and immediately neglect their duty.

Yet this was a mere delusion, the Carlovingian empire was an effigy destitute of a soul: the organic spirit had for ever departed. Emperor Charles hastened from Italy, and on his arrival in France, the French with corresponding alacrity hastened to greet their Sovereign. Kneeling before him, they placed their hands between his hands, and became his men.—It is a weariness to be constantly remarking upon the perfect faithlessness of these generations, yet it is right to recollect, that whenever the solemn oaths and engagements binding Seigneur and Vassal by mutual promises of protection, trust and truth, were violated by either party, the delinquents set at nought religion, honour and morality.

French allegiance was not more lasting than the familiar notion of the lover's vow. The Emperor, accepting the Crown, undertook an anxious task: the Northmen were ravaging Lotharingia desperately: they entered and held the strong cities: amongst others they thus occupied Louvaine. Charles summoned his army for the purpose of expelling the enemy: ruefully scanty was the reluctant arrière-ban, Hugh the Abbot had the gout, and sent his essoign. The besieging army dispersed disgracefully—the jolly Northmen, as the Franks retreated, crowded on the Louvaine walls and shouted out their jeers, scoffing against the dastards.

§ 22. Dangers gathered apace on the further

confines. The cession made by Charles to Godfrey the Dane was a transaction of dubious import, a refined and wily policy, and therefore liable to be defeated by contingencies, so nicely weighted in the balance of argument, that the scales were as nearly as possible in equilibrium. Godfrey's County of Friezeland extended from the æstuary and æstuary islands of the Meuse unto the Weser: a territory which, according to more recent political demarcations, contained Holland and the largest portion of the Dutch Netherlands, the Duchy of Oldenburgh, the Duchy of East Friezeland, and very many Seigneuries and Communities.—Here were the seven Sea-lands, the Commonwealth whose representatives assembled under the oaks of Opstal-boom. Here were and are the Theel-lands, amongst whose happy and contented indwellers the Agrarian law, elsewhere a phantom either lovely or terrific according to the spectator's mind, has been fully recognized, even to the present age. Hence, according to the traditions of the country, came Hengist and Rowena;—a valuable and opulent territory, but constantly exposed to the raging ocean as well as to the pirate.

862—888 / 885 Friezeland and Lotharingia, Godfrey, and Hugh.

Godfrey's County of Friezeland: its extent.

Therefore it was the duty of each Frison to raise and strengthen the doughty dyke, which, in the words of their antient doom-book, "encircles the land like a golden ring; and the Frison was to defend his dear Father-land against the sea with the spade and with the fork and with the

The Frisons. Their love of liberty.

862—888 to 885

hod; and against the Southern Saxon and the Northman, against the tall helmet and the red shield and the unrighteous might, with the point of the lance and the edge of the sword and the brown coat of mail.—And thus shall we Frisons defend our land within and without, if they will help us, God and Saint Peter!"

So spake this energetic race, when they fully asserted the patriarchal liberties which rendered their commonwealth as truly illustrious as the fondly favoured republics of Italy, though denied the capriciously bestowed reward of historic fame. But the Frisons had to endure many trying vicissitudes: they were repeatedly attacked and partially vanquished by the Northmen: they were compelled to shelter themselves under the Imperial eagle. Thrice had the Carlovingian Monarchs, in the assertion of their supremacy, granted Friezeland as a Benefice to Danish chieftains, but none of these Counts had remained in the country; and one cause, without doubt, which obstructed the establishment of Danish supremacy, had been the sturdy independence of the native tribes.—"The men," says an English writer of the fifteenth century, "be high of body, strong of virtue, stern and fierce of heart: they be free, and not subject to lordship of other nations, and they put themselves in peril of death by cause of freedom, and they had liever die than be under the yoke of thraldom."

Difficulty of reducing the Frisons to subjection.

Such was the character which the Frisons earned when they had vindicated their independence; and the Emperor Charles effected, politically speaking, a Machiavellian *tratto doppio*, by bestowing this territory upon Godfrey. The surrender satisfied the claims which previous possession of the country had given to the Northmen, and also found full employment for the new Count in maintaining his rule. If Godfrey rendered Friezeland a tranquil Imperial Province, well.—If the Frisons could despatch Godfrey, better—But Godfrey succeeded in coercing the natives, and according to the traditions of Friezeland, they, the Frisons, were so completely (though temporarily) reduced, that, in token of subjection, Godfrey compelled every man to go about with a halter round his neck, which was immediately tightened upon the slightest token of disobedience to his power; a significant and instructive myth, insomuch as it explains the principle so generally enabling the few, or the one, to coerce the multitude. Each individual brings home to himself his own chance of danger, and individual fear pulverizes resistance.

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Count Godfrey gains the mastery of the Frisons.

§ 23. When Godfrey demanded Friezeland and Gisella, had her beauty charmed him? Gisella was King Lothair's daughter, and sister of Count Hugh the son of Waldrada: of that Hugh who was so determinately opposing the legitimate branches of the family, all inimical to him, all

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Godfrey and Hugh combine against the Emperor Charles.

862—888 scoffing and scorning him, all agreeing to keep him out of any share of his father's dominions. And we doubt not but that the transactions immediately subsequent to the marriage, disclose the suggestions upon which the Suitor spoke as well as the Adviser.

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Godfrey and Hugh combined: the latter exhorted his brother-in-law, the Dane, to co-operate with him. If Hugh regained his inheritance, he would share Lotharingia with Godfrey. Godfrey should be confirmed in half that kingdom.

Godfrey combining with Hugh of Alsace demands from Charles an encrease of territory.

Godfrey commenced by deputing ambassadors to the Emperor, soliciting additional territory, the whole Rhine-land from Sinzig to Coblentz. Fertile Friezeland abounded with cattle, and crops, grain and flesh-meat, butter and cheese; but though barn, larder and dairy were well stored, the cellar was scantily supplied, and therefore he craved a country which (as he alleged) would supply him with wine—that Rhine-country where Charlemagne's practical sound sense and judgment covered the sterile rocks with garlands of green. Godfrey's policy, however, was perfectly sober; and the requisition, though it sounds to us roughly worded, was in substance justified by the expansive arguments of diplomacy. He claimed a Danish land: the Rhine-benefices had been granted to Harold by Louis-le-débonnaire, and his pretensions were warranted by a sufficient shew of reason. Had the Dane pre-

vailed, he would have established himself in the heart of the Empire. Cologne, and all the Ripuarian country between Moselle and Frisia, would have been amalgamated into Godfrey's kingdom; and Godfrey the husband of Gisella King Lothair's daughter, might, like Rollo, the husband of Gisella King Charles-le-Simple's daughter, have founded a flourishing dynasty. 862—888 885

Scheme devised by the emperor, the Archbishop of Cologne, &c., for ridding the empire of Godfrey.

The Emperor Charles was equally clearsighted, and devised a scheme for ridding himself of the enemy. Three were his counsellors, all entering heartily into his views—Willibert, Archbishop of Cologne, who must have quailed at the very thought of the Danes fixing themselves within a morning's march from Cologne—Count Henry, whose title to the Rhine-benefices would be most inconveniently disturbed by Danish suzerainty—and a Count Everard, whom Godfrey had evicted. —Count Henry took the lead in council. To dispossess Godfrey by force was impracticable. In Friezeland, protected by his rivers and swamps, he was unassailable: no army could march thither. "We must draw him out," quoth Count Henry: —they therefore spoke fairly to Godfrey's ambassadors, giving him good hopes that his demand should be granted, and invited him to a conference with the Bishop and Count Henry, who would offer terms on the Emperor's behalf. Godfrey came unsuspiciously, accompanied by his wife Gisella. An island at the confluence of the rivers

862—888 Rhine and Waal was proposed for the conference. Godfrey was received by a small, but apparently hospitable party—good Bishop Willibert, Count Henry, and Count Everard. The whole day passed in discussion: from humanity or other causes, they did not like to murder Godfrey before the eyes of his wife, so the Bishop helped, and by his intervention Gisella was induced to quit her husband, and leave him with Henry and Everard upon the island. The discussions were renewed between the Northman and the two German nobles. Count Everard complained of the injury he had sustained from Godfrey. Rudely preferred, Everard's complaints were answered angrily by the Dane—Count Everard drew his sword, and cut the unarmed Northman down at one blow: Everard will perhaps appear again performing a similar safe service. Few in number, the German soldiery were well equipped, and they made the matter sure, stabbing Godfrey through and through: others who were dispersed about in the vicinity, dealt similarly with all the Northmen by whom Godfrey had been escorted to the place of slaughter.

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Godfrey killed by Count Henry.

Godfrey thus had been successfully removed, yet the work was only half done—the other half remained to be performed. Hugh, Waldrada's son, continued powerful as ever, and when he should know how his friend, ally and brother had perished, would he not become a more inveterate

and dangerous enemy than before? The outlaw Prince, sheltered in his forest-country and supported by his affectionate retainers, was beyond the grasp of Charles: further wiles were therefore needed to accomplish the desired end, neatly and speedily. Ere he could receive the intelligence of Godfrey's assassination, the kind and friendly promises of Count Henry invited Hugh to Gondreville, on the Moselle. Count Hugh, nothing suspicious, repaired to the appointed place of meeting. There the confiding prince was seized.—"Put out his eyes, Count Henry, when you have him,"—was the command which the Emperor Charles had given. Count Henry most willingly obeyed the mandate. Hugh's companions, cruelly and shamefully mutilated, also sustained their doom. Blind Hugh was sent far away, to the Abbey of St. Gall. After a time they transferred him to doleful Pruhm in the Ardennes, and there he was shorn as a monk by Abbot Regino, who inserts in his chronicle the narration of these dealings, without affecting any compunction for his share in the transaction, or any regret or sorrow for the victims whose fate he records.

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Hugh of Alsace treacherously seized and blinded.

Regino was truthy and honest, he saw no wrong in such transactions: how could he? nor should we, had we been in Regino's place; nor would Regino do worse than we do, were he in ours. There are fashions in wrong, but wrong

862—888 abides: the stuff is identical, though make and pattern change. The world's progress gratifies
885—886 mankind with varieties and modifications of injustice, but the progressing world's injustice remains indestructible. The Danes and those who companied with the Danes were well served—they were beyond the pale of Carlovingian civilization.

885 Danish warfare recommences more intensely.

§ 24. The Northmen again directed their operations towards Central France through the Seine-country.—Paris stands in the way, and Paris must be gained or subdued.—Like all amphibious creatures, they took most naturally to the water, and therefore they determined, as during previous invasions, to render the Seine their highway. Reinforcements swarmed in from Lotharingia, from Belgium, from the British Islands: the Danes were intoxicated with success, they had measured their strength against their enemies, and they could appreciate that strength. How thoroughly had they overcome the stout Germans on Luneburgh Heath: how had they baffled the craven Franks, tricked them, drained them, pillaged them, disgraced them, defied them!

The Danish battle-axe, gisarme and arbalest, had always been the terror of the foe: the Danes had always been fearless warriors, but threescore years of incessant warfare had disciplined the desperate Berserkers into a skilled soldiery.—Jarls and Vikings now added excellent general-

ship to personal bravery: obsidional devices, whether for attack or defence, had become familiar to the Northmen: the Teutonic and Scandinavian nations were clever carpenters: born in the forest or the forest-glades, the hatchet was the first plaything in the hand of the boy. The Burgundians so fierce in war, who now appear so awfully mysterious, the spectres of the Nibelungen Lied, used to travel the country, and get their honest living by working at their timber-trade. Norsk ingenuity is the admiration of every traveller at the present day. 862—888 885

Sigurd or Sigfried is the acknowledged leader of the enterprize, he alone is honoured by the title of King. Rollo acts concurrently though independently, and reoccupies Rouen.—This movement was made before the main body of the Northmen had come up: the French were therefore encouraged to resistance. Hard fighting ensued, both in the advance and about the city. Ragnald, whom the French chroniclers call Duke of Maine, while the Northmen exalt him to a higher rank, "Prince of all France," was the chief French commander. So imperfect are our historical materials for this period, that it is impracticable to identify Ragnald, though so distinguished in station. Ragnald endeavoured to play Hastings off against Rollo, but did not succeed. He then collected a large army from Burgundy and Neustria, and prepared for battle; but, on the other hand, 885 July 25. The Northmen reoccupy Rouen.

862—888 the French not unfrequently favoured the enemy. Some dreaded the consequences of resistance.

885 Who could forget the horrors of the cold year? The events of the former invasion, the corpses floating in the river, or swinging from the branches, had left a warning remembrance; and others gladly placed themselves under Danish protection. This assimilating process, which had been going on more or less through all the periods of the Danish invasions, aided the Northmen, but assisted in extinguishing their nationality. A fisherman or boatman, who entered Rollo's service, saved his new master all trouble from the Duke of Maine: he killed Ragnald, probably by stealth: he ran him through. Ragnald's army dispersed.—"And now, my men, on to Paris!" *Age nunc, navigemus Parisius*—Rollo's words, which we give in Dudo's Latin, were preserved traditionally in the family.

885 Aug. Ragnald duke of Maine killed. Rollo proceeds to Paris.

The main fleet and army of the Danes advance to Paris.

§ 25. "On to Paris!"—This was the general cry amongst the Danes. Sigfried was coming, and Sigfried came. So mighty a fleet had never been seen: for two leagues in length the broad river was covered with Danish craft, great and small, boats and wherries, barks and barges: their forces were reckoned at forty thousand.

Pontoise taken.

Pontoise, strongly and judiciously fortified, surrendered by capitulation, without offering any opposition: the garrison retired to Beauvais—a transaction raising suspicions of collusion: the

Northmen entered the town, burnt and destroyed as usual; and, rejoicing in their success, prepared to attack Paris. On all previous occasions Paris had been the easiest of conquests: long before Regner Lodbrok had carried away the big iron bar of Paris gate, Paris gate stood open to them; for the inhabitants had no heart to defend their homes. Counts and Bishops, monks and merchants, landsmen and seamen, had been always ready to purchase safety by flight or ignominious submission; but amidst the Empire's decay, an unexpected element of strength was disclosed. 862—888 885

Old travellers tell us how the matchless Damascus steel is prepared by burying worn-out horseshoes in a damp cellar: the metal's weaker portion perishes by oxidation, and the bright particles are discovered, shining amidst the brown rust, and in them is concentrated the essence of the trenchant ore. This Arabian process typifies a moral process not unfrequently occurring: misfortunes eliciting virtues or powers unknown or unused.—The wisdom of Charles-le-Chauve's plans of fortification now became apparent. Gaily coloured, and therefore called the Pons Pictus, his breakwater bridge, stretching across the river, completely prevented the advance of the Danish vessels: his castles, particularly the Grand-Châtelet, having been recently protected by additional bulwarks and superstructures, could only be reduced by a regular siege: on every Utility of Charles-le-Chauve's fortifications of Paris.

862—888 to 885 side was the island carefully defended. And let us be here permitted to wander into the regions of poetry for the description which most vividly enables us to look down upon the scene.

Siede Parigi in una gran pianura,
Nel' ombilico di Francia, anzi nel cuore
Gli passa la riviera entro le mura,
E corre e esce in altra parte fuore:
Ma fa un isola prima, e v' assicura
De la città una parte, e la migliore;
L'altre due, (che in tre parti è lá gran terra)
Di fuor' la fossa, e dentro il fiume serra.

Dovunque intorno il gran muro circonda
Gran munizioni havea già CARLO *fatte;*
Fortificando d' argine ogni sponda,
Con scanna-fossi dentro e case-matte.
Onde entra nella terra, onde esce l'onda,
Grossissime catene aveva tratte,
Ma fece piu ch'altrove provedere
Là, dove avea più causa di temere.

Yet bridges and towers were only secondary protections and defences: the disintegration of the kingdom was bringing out more. Chief in command within the city is Eudes, son of Robert-le-Fort, Count of Paris, the future king; and with him his brother Robert, for whom also is a crown in prospect. We have not the slightest means of conjecturing how and in what manner the sons of Robert-le-Fort had regained their ancestorial importance. We have an indistinct perception that this city passed to the Capets from Conrad the Guelph—but many of Robert-le-Fort's ho-

The defenders of Paris, Eudes and Robert Capet, &c.

nours, which upon his death were granted to Hugh the Abbot, had not been restored to the Capet family. 862—888 885

In this event-abounding period, the most important pages of French history are unfortunately lacerated or lost; were they extant, we should know the battles in which Eudes had so signally distinguished himself against the Northmen as to acquire his now pre-eminent fame. Bishop Gauzeline was the compeer of Eudes in military valour and skill: by his side, supporting him in noble rivalry, was his sister's son, Ebles, brother of Rainulph the second Count of Poitiers. This Ebles, Abbot of Saint Germain-des-prés, afterwards Abbot of Saint Denis and Chancellor of the realm, was a sturdy soldier in hand and heart, an excellent marksman.—Abbot Ebles can kill seven Danes at one shot, was the saying at Paris, testifying the opinion entertained of his skill; which Abbo, the antient poetic historian of the siege, expresses so ingeniously in his ambiguous verse, that you may suppose he records the feat, not as an hypothetical but an actual performance. Ebles, a favourite personage with the Monkish Poet, is frequently designated by him as *Martius Abba*, or *Mavortius Abba*, thereby misleading a very learned historian into the creation of an *Abbé Mars* as an additional defender of Paris. Rainier Count of Hainault was much distinguished for valour, Eudes Capet pre-eminent above all.

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An exceedingly curious narrative of the siege exists in the poem, addressed by the before-mentioned Abbo, the monk of Saint Germains, to his teacher, a great master of verse, from whom, toiling over Virgil, the author learned the art.

Abbo's Poem "de bellis Parisiacæ urbis."

The florid and ample composition, an encomium upon Eudes, commemorating the prowess which conducted him to the throne, narrates the events occurring during the beleaguering of the Capetian Capital: details abound, singularly curious and authentic. Abbo delighted in his toil; yet verse was an ungrateful labour, extorted from an unwilling muse. Perplexed and obscure, his rugged lines are studded by barbarous Hellenisms, many passages almost defying interpretation.

Abbo's poem, notwithstanding its imperfections, is a most remarkable muniment, a textual guide to the historian; but if we seek a picture possessing life and colour, we must contemplate the siege as idealized by the Bard of chivalry. The lays of the Trouveurs readily transmuted the Danes into the more familiar miscreants, the Saracens, and the achievements of Eudes-le-Grand were bestowed upon the greater Charlemagne. The sonorous *Chansons de Geste* acquired a wider circulation in florid prose, and the *Reali di Francia* and the other tales composing the Carlovingian cycle, became the most favourite volumes of popular Italian literature. Ariosto adopted the inspiration of these fictions, his re-

Siege of Paris by the Danes, romanticized by Ariosto.

naissance poetry imparting grace and elegance to the rudeness of Gothic romance. Sigfried is adorned by Agramante's plumed casque; and the *Assedio di Parigi*, the most brilliant episode in the Orlando Furioso, may be read with delight as an exalted version of the events which now befel. 862—888 885

The Northmen fully appreciated the difficulties they had to overcome. Paris fortifications, and the front presented by the garrison, opposed formidable, and, as the event proved, insuperable obstacles. The Northmen never wasted their strength, never fought if they could gain their object without fighting, always ready, according to the Italian proverb, to lengthen the lion's skin by the fox's tail. Could the Commanders of the Place be inveigled into a truce, the Seine would be free to the Northmen: Sigfried therefore commenced negotiations. He sought a personal interview with Bishop Gauzeline, endeavouring to obtain the Prelate's assent. The cunning Dane made tempting overtures:—the Bishop and Eudes and the other chieftains, if they acceded, should preserve their dignities and possessions, nay, be the gainers. Sigfried's offers produced no effect: his threats were equally fruitless; and hurling his defiance at the Bishop, the Viking departed. 885 Sigfried demands a free passage up the Seine for the Northmen, and is refused.

§ 26. Mournful was Saint Catherine's morn, when the siege began. Eudes and his brother 885 Nov. 27, The siege begins.

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Robert, and Count Rainier, and Abbot Ebles, and Bishop Gauzeline occupied the Grand-Châtelet, the city-castle. Against this Donjon the Northmen directed their first onslaught; and Bishop Gauzeline was wounded. Urged to the utmost fierceness, the Danes, provoked by resistance, continued their attacks against the stubborn walls. Terror spread throughout the city: the assault continued from morn till night-fall, the inhabitants were in the utmost dismay.

Sonar' per gli alti e spaziosi tetti
S' odono gridi e feminil' lamenti.
L' afflitte donne percotendo i petti,
Corron' per casa, pallide e dolenti;

Le campane si sentono a martello
Di spessi colpi, e spaventose tocche:
Si vede molto in questo tempio e in quello,
Alzar' di mano, e dimenar' di bocche.
Se 'l tesoro paresse a Dio si bello
Come a le nostre opinioni sciocche,
Questo era il dì, che 'l Santo Concistoro
Fatto avria in terra ogni sua statua d'oro.

S' odon' rammaricare i vecchi giusti,
Che s' erano serbati in quegli affanni
E nominar' felici i sacri busti,
Composti in terra già molti e molt' anni;
Ma gl' animosi giovani robusti,
Che miran' poco i lor propinqui danni
Sprezzando le ragion' de' più maturi
Di quà, di là, vanno correndo a i muri.

Strenuously had the Parisians laboured in strengthening their defences; yet the additional

fortifications of the Grand-Châtelet were not quite completed. Eudes and the Bishop therefore employed themselves throughout the night in directing the needful operations, watching whilst the Northmen caroused. With the dawn, the enemy renewed their attacks, and again sustained a repulse. The siege continued with varied fortunes. Sometimes Paris sustained the greatest strait, whilst at others the dangers diminished: intervals ensued during which the Danes merely observed the city. Yet the assailants and defenders, besiegers and garrison, though their powers might fluctuate, were so equally matched, that during the whole period,—first and last nearly four years,—Paris was never at ease, nor the Northmen neglectful of the object which, ultimately, they were reluctantly compelled to resign. 862—888 886

In the course of the early Spring the Danes were favoured by their favourite element: Hnikkar, the Scandinavian Neptune, the tricksy water-demon, ought to have been the Norskman's tutelary deity. The Seine swelled to a great height, swept away several piers of the Petit-Pont, and opened the stream for the Danish vessels. Indefatigable Bishop Gauzeline repaired the bridge and manned the adjoining tower, entrusted to twelve citizens, or rather members of the merchant Guild. The Northmen endeavoured to burn the painted bridge; but the bishop's activity frustrated their plans: he sunk the Danish fire- 886 Feb. 6, Great flood of the Seine: further attacks made by the Northmen.

862—888 ships, and the bridge was saved.—The Northmen also attacked the Petit-Pont tower, heaping combustibles against and around the building. The conflagration compelled the selected garrison who defended the bulwark to surrender, the Northmen promising security of life and limb; but the promise given was immediately violated, and the twelve defenders mercilessly slaughtered. Abbo preserves their uncouth names, and Paris has been invited to commemorate their prowess by a national monument.

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Bishop Gauzeline's health was beginning to fail: this last calamity disheartened him; he solicited aid from Charles, King and Emperor. The Sovereign was now in trouble: the Eastern parts of Germany were becoming alienated under an inimical influence, and discontent was encreasing in the Gauls. Charles however ordered Count Henry, the treacherous betrayer of the Danish Godfrey, to march for the relief of the city. Had the troops or their commander exerted themselves, the Northmen might possibly have been driven away from their positions; but Count Henry and his Germans were cool. Why should they shed their blood in defending the French, for whom they cared not? Count Henry returned exhausted to Germany without striking a blow.

Count Henry sent by Charles to relieve the city, but fails.

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§ 27. Bishop Gauzeline exerted his strength to the utmost, became more harassed, and died: his death shed great gloom upon the citizens, who

Death of Bishop Gauzeline, discouragement of the Parisians.

trusted his valour and his prudence. He had been endeavouring to treat with the Northmen; but the expectations of peace were destroyed, and general depression prevailed. 862—888 886

Provisions became scarce within the walls, the citizens, more and more dispirited. Eudes, secretly quitting the city, repaired hastily to the Emperor, earnestly soliciting further aid, lest Paris should utterly succumb. Charging through the Danish squadrons who attempted to intercept him at the gate, he re-entered Paris safely, reporting a promised reinforcement. Eight months however elapsed ere the perplexed Emperor could fulfil the promise, when he despatched Count Henry again, with more confidence than before. The army under this ill-omened commander was fully adequate, it should seem, to effect the military operations with which he was entrusted. This time Count Henry was active, too active: the Northmen, entertaining an excusable hatred against the executioner, if not murderer, of Godfrey, had prepared a snare for him and his troops—deep ditches covered with hurdles and grass, a contrivance so stale and common that it should seem as if the simplest tyro would have been able to anticipate and frustrate the device. But astute Count Henry's proficiency in artifice failed to warn him against other men's stratagems: galloping round the Danish camp, he and his horse fell into a pit; and the Danes, rushing out of

886 July, Aug. Count Henry despatched a second time: slain by stratagem.

862—888 886—887 their hiding-places, killed him, carrying off shield and sword as trophies—a successful vengeance, dispiriting to the French and Germans, and causing corresponding joy to the Danes.

Revolt in Burgundy. § 28. Whilst the Northmen were beleaguering Paris, the Burgundians rebelled, refusing obedience to Charles or assistance to their fellow-subjects, probably instigated by Count Raoul, aspiring to independence. The disaffection of Eastern Germany was sympathetic. Charles, though contending against disloyalty and disabled by encreasing infirmities, acted boldly: he assembled his forces, and prepared wisely for action. He conciliated Eudes, restoring to him such of Robert-le-Fort's domains as had been held by Hugh the Abbot, and appeared in person before Paris with a very large army. The Emperor expected to have been supported by Count Henry. Henry had been slain; nevertheless the Imperial General boldly pitched his tents in the face of the enemy. Winter was drawing on, and both parties ready for a compromise. Charles offered a Danegelt, and moreover he ceded to Sigfried,—the transaction amounting to a cession—the revolted Burgundy, thus employing a foreign enemy to suppress domestic rebellion.

886 Sept. Charles treats with the Danes, and compromises by a subsidy. Siege partially raised.

The Danes made ample use of the opportunity granted to them, not conceiving themselves under any obligation to keep within a prescribed boundary. Some continued encamped or quar-

tered near Paris, but large numbers dispersed themselves over the adjoining districts. The truce was imperfectly observed by the Danes: the Parisians abstained from positive hostility, but they would not allow the Danish craft to ascend the river, so the Northmen dragged their vessels round: this was thought a wonderful manœuvre. During the movements before Paris, one of their heavy, stout and clumsy boats, the keel hollowed out from a single piece of timber, was swallowed by the silt, and dug up about fifty years since near the Champ-de-Mars. 862—888 886—887

Beauvais was burned: Rollo helped to kindle the fire. Saint-Médard was burned, Sens besieged; the gigantic, almost cyclopean, Roman walls (yet standing) enabled the inhabitants to resist. Yet Bishop Everard thought it expedient to ransom the city. He probably felt that no fortifications could compensate for the astounding pusillanimity of the Frankish Community. Shortly afterwards the Bishop died; and the Northmen, as on other occasions, considered that the covenant had expired, and spoiled all the adjoining districts of Burgundy. 886 Autumn. Beauvais, Sens, &c. taken by the Northmen.

The Loire and Seine-country was pillaged, Rollo amongst the ravagers: Sigfried returned to his fleet in the following spring, resuming his devastations; but during the autumn he sailed to Friezeland or Holland, where he was killed. The Royal general's death did not derange the Danish operations.

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operations of the Northmen: possibly Rollo, who returned to Paris during some of these transactions, assumed the command. They continued to watch the city, making occasional hostile demonstrations, until the last penny was paid. The King of France who succeeded Charles had to discharge the balance.

§ 29. Bitterly was the Emperor reviled for his dealings with the Northmen by his subjects and contemporaries. Modern historians repeat the hootings—"*Cet infâme traité*," says one, no less indignantly than if the Emperor Charles were a living legitimate Sovereign; yet, if we endeavour to form a calmer judgment, the transactions are undeserving of such stern reprobation. They may have proved detrimental: they sound disgraceful; nevertheless Charles was justified by precedent, by policy, above all by necessity.

Wise men recommend making a bridge of gold for a flying enemy. It was no new thing which Charles had done. Louis-le-Bégue, Charles-le-Chauve, our Anglo-Saxon kings, our great Alfred, gladly purchased peace from the Pagans by money or more than money,—grants of territory, provinces or Kingdoms. Charles the Emperor abandoned Burgundy to the Danes—and wherefore? —the Burgundians were abandoning him, and he surrendered them to the chastisement of the foeman. He bravely attempted to relieve Paris, though Paris was scarcely his. Paris virtually

belonged to Count Eudes, and Charles must have had a presentiment of the Capetian aspirations. 862—888

The unfairness of these harsh censures is peculiarly manifested by the feature, that in the estimates thus formed concerning the conduct of the unfortunate Emperor, no consideration is given to the accompanying circumstances. The subject is discussed and commented upon as though Charles could choose. But he was appalled, and well he might be, by the raging Saracens, and the advancing Magyars. Italy was almost overwhelmed by the Mahometan Hosts— from the gates of Rome southward, the country was completely under their power. They were committing enormous devastations: awful sensation was produced by the destruction of the most hallowed sanctuaries, Monte Cassino for example. The political or moral influence of the Saracens was even more to be apprehended than their warlike energy: the Italian nobles and communities often colluded or combined with the Infidels. This was memorably the case with the Republic of Amalfi. Worse than all, they were favoured by the Prelates; and Athanasius Bishop of Naples, supporting them by his alliance, had opened the way further to the gates of Rome. The fierce Magyars were drawing nigh to the Imperial confines. The united, honest, loyal and hearty cooperation of Franks and Germans could alone expel the Northmen. Experience had shewn that

886—887 Charles-le-Gras, unfairly censured for his compromise with the Danes.

Charles-le-Gras compelled to compromise with the Danes by the pressure of other enemies.

862—888 such a condition was impossible; therefore weighing evil against evil, the temporizing plan adopted
886—887 by Charles was the best which could be devised.

886—887 Domestic troubles. Empress Richarda accused of adultery.

§ 30. Home and foreign anxieties combined: a troubled household and domestic dissensions discredited the monarch, and contributed to destroy the reverence due to his person, and thereby weaken his sovereign authority. When the spell of obedience is once broken by contempt, the power of command departs. Vices, nay even virtues, incidentally assuming the tinge of meanness or silliness, often damage the earthly divinity of Royalty proportionably more than crimes. Nero the fiddler clenched the deposition of Nero the tyrant. Whilst Henry the Eighth died quietly in his bed, Charles Stuart's awkward fondlings with Henrietta Maria at the banquet, contributed almost as effectually as the High Commission Court or the Star-Chamber in conducting him to the scaffold through the windows of Whitehall.

Charles was on very bad terms with his wife, Richarda. Ten years married, their marriage was childless. She was defamed as an adulteress, Bishop Liutward her reputed paramour. He certainly appears to have been politically untrue. Richarda offered to clear herself by the ordeal, the battle-trial or the labyrinth of glowing ploughshares. But the Empress was not permitted to justify herself; and she retired to the monastery of Andlau in Alsace, which she

had founded. Charles had other views. He doted on Bernard, his concubine's son, for whom he was most anxious to secure the throne. To promote this earnestly-desired object, Charles negotiated with Pope Hadrian. Rome and Rome's Bishop, and the Roman people, needed the Emperor's protection. The Pontiff was not unwilling to gratify the father's wishes. Hadrian undertook a journey to France for the purpose of sanctioning the proposed scheme of succession, giving such aid as Papal influence might bestow; but just as he had crossed the Po he died, to the extreme exultation of the Emperor's ill-wishers, particularly in Germany, the centre of disaffection.

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887 Charles labours to secure the succession to his illegitimate son Bernard.

He is disappointed by the death of Pope Hadrian III.

No human prudence could extricate Charles from his position of peril, the more distressingly painful because there were tantalizing possibilities that he might be rescued. He was sliding down a precipice seeming to offer some narrow ridge giving stayhold to his feet, or some branch which might furnish grasphold for his hands; but the chances kept escaping when he tried them. As far as birthright extended, the legal or constitutional claims of his own Bernard and the Carinthian Arnolph were equal. Ansgarda's infant, if he were the son of Louis-le-Bégue, had disappeared. Could public opinion be made to support Bernard, the youth might reign; but the tall, magnificent, winning, bold, skilful Arnolph,

887 Encreasing perils of the Empire.

862—888 Duke of Carinthia, securely defended in his castle of Mosaburch, was already considered by the Germans as their Sovereign. Hence their malevolent delight when the Pope's sudden death deprived the Emperor of his support, and frustrated those plans in which, not merely Bernard's elevation to the throne, but even the preservation of his own life, might be involved.

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Destruction of principle occasioned by the general conduct of the Carlovingians.

All the sins and errors of his ancestors and his own were accumulating upon Charles the Emperor. He had been inviting that retributive justice which imparts such awful unity to the tremendous epic of Carlovingian history. On whom, or upon what institution or upon what laws, human or divine, had any member of the Carlovingian family a right to depend? Their good was rendered reprobate by their evil. They had destroyed the very notion of truth and honour: they had shed blood like water: they had confounded the boundaries of temporal and spiritual authority: they had laid their hands upon the Ark: their empire was founded upon political and social treason. By their examples, their acts, their deeds, they had continually inculcated the lesson, that it was right for a servant to depose his master, a nephew to rise against an uncle, a son to dethrone a father,—for a kinsman to profit by any advantage he might gain over a kinsman by force or by fraud, by deceit or by violence—the adult over the child, the mighty over the feeble,

the cunning over the unwary, and, most odious of all, the sound and healthy over the sick and dying.—When the stalwart Carloman, nerveless, motionless, speechless, fell stricken by the palsy, Charles had gallopped away from his brother's bedside, and, seizing the kingdom of Italy, co-operated in excluding Arnolph:—his own turn had come now. 862—888 887

§ 31. The burthensome and loathsome inflation of his miserable body increased fearfully. So swollen that he could not move without assistance, they were forced to lift him in and out of his chair. Notwithstanding this enduring physical affliction, we have seen how he exerted himself in the functions of government and against the Northmen no slackness could be imputed to him, no neglect, no cowardice, a King in council, a King in the field; but his maladies were now gaining upon him so rapidly, that his mind seemed dulled by the oppression of his frame. Irksome to his subjects who were tired of him, those subjects recollecting nothing of the eagerness with which they had courted his authority, a silent but universal and irresistible conspiracy pullulated throughout the empire, for the purpose of anticipating his death. Because he so truly deserved compassion, the people scorned and despised him. 887. The people turn against the Emperor.

Arnolph of Carinthia advanced as the most exalted of the pretenders, yet scarcely yielding in eagerness to Eudes and Robert, the sons of

862—888 Robert-le-Fort. Treading close upon Eudes
887—888 and Robert was the energetic and expectant Berenger, Berenger elbowed by Guido Duke of Spoleto—Raoul of Burgundy and Boso of Provence and Rainulph of Aquitaine, bold, eager and designing, pressing onwards, and the Counts of Armorica and Sancho Mitarra Duke of the Gascons, planning to render themselves independent of the Carlovingian Crown, upon whomsoever it might devolve. The Emperor's manifested intention on behalf of the bastard Bernard, added more point and vigour to the encreasing discontent; and the Germans, the Saxons, the Thuringians, the Franconians, the Bavarians, the Lombards, the Romans, who had so enthusiastically invoked Kaiser Karl when prosperously floating on the top of the tide, were now most bitterly inimical in the day of misfortune.

887. Nov. Charles deposed by the Germans, and Arnolph accepted in his stead.

§ 32. All the Teutonic nations solicited Arnolph to assume the royal authority. Small exertion was required; and Charles accelerated the crisis by summoning a Diet at Tribur near Mayence, in order to promote the object so earnestly, dearly, anxiously sought, his son Bernard's enthronization. When the Diet was convened, Arnolph, triumphing in the ruddy bloom and brilliancy of health and youthful vigour, presented himself at the head of his army: he had sworn allegiance to his uncle, and if he believed in the doctrines of his age, he perilled his salvation by

the violation of his oath: what mattered? he was absolved by the legislature of the realm. Teutons and Sclavonians, Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Counts, Nobles, Knights, Priests and Laymen, vied with each other in hailing the Duke of Carinthia king of Germany. They thronged in to perform homage, a race who should be foremost:—the old story: as in the Colmar camp, so in the Tribur council-chamber, the treachery of the Luegenfeld acted over again. Ere three days had elapsed, all had deserted the bloated, helpless sufferer, not merely as a Sovereign, but as a fellow-creature. Not a human being was left to perform for Charles the slightest offices which suffering nature requires: he might have starved had not the Archbishop of Mayence, Liutbert, sent him meat and drink. These supplies were so scanty and irregular, that all the cares and anxieties of Charles were absorbed in the horrid dread lest he should die of hunger: he begged his victuals from day to day.

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Charles miserably abandoned.

§ 33. All the kingdoms, states, dominions, prelates and powers subjected to the Carlovingian domination, concurred in the sentence of deposition: Arnolph, inaugurated at Ratisbon, was solemnly acknowledged as king by all Baioaria and Suabia and Franconia and Thuringia: indeed by all the nations of the German tongue, and all the Sclavonian dependencies of the Carlovingian Crown.

Arnolph inaugurated at Ratisbon.

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Charles pitifully besought the new King of Germany to have mercy on him and on poor Bernard, imploring protection for the youth; and the more to move Arnolph, he sent to him the relic, the particle of the true Cross, upon which, as Duke of Carinthia, he had taken the oath of fealty. Arnolph shewed for his uncle some touch of compassion, which cost him nothing: a few inconsiderable demesnes were assigned to the heart-broken, fallen monarch for his sustenance. But when the bounty was granted, king Arnolph knew it could not be needed long: about two months afterwards Charles was dead, having earned great pity and respect by the contrition he evinced, and the patient bearing of his misfortunes. On the morrow, they buried the body at Reichenau: the monks of Saint Gall, of which House the Emperor Charles was also a benefactor, were accustomed to sing his obit on the day of his funeral, the ides of January. But other dates are given, and the proximate cause of his death is uncertain; whether disease killed him, or sorrow, or poison, or violence, no one can tell. It was believed in France that Charles was strangled by his attendants, tired of the profitless and disagreeable care which nursing the cumbered disgusting beggar required.

12 or 13 Jan. 888. Death of Charles-le-Gras. Cause of his death uncertain.

Many and excellent talents had been bestowed upon him, but he lost their fruits when living, and posterity has denied him the delusive honours

of posthumous renown. The French have erased him from the list of their monarchs: they do not reckon him in. Fame is very truly a breath. Charlemagne's world-wise praise has been permanently sustained by his popular denomination. He was a hero unquestionably; nevertheless "Carolus Magnus," "Karl der Grosse," "Charles-le-Grand," is pre-eminently indebted to his epithet for his vast celebrity. You cannot disconnect the idea from his name; but all the merits of his unfortunate descendant have been obscured by the associations involuntarily annexed to the designation derived from his clumsy corporeal disfigurement.—The world's commiserating contempt is poured out upon "Carolus Crassus," "Karl der Dicke," "Charles-le-Gras."

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Chapter V.

DISMEMBERMENT OF THE EMPIRE: EUDES AND CHARLES-LE-SIMPLE. ESTABLISHMENT OF ROLLO IN NORMANDY.

888—912.

888—912

Accumulation of misfortunes upon the Carlovingian race.

§ 1. With a Charles arose the second dynasty's glory: with a Charles that glory departed. It is a profitable aid to the memory in the teaching of history, when important events coincide with dates rendered distinguishable or remarkable, whether by regular or serial sequences, or by repetitions or by regular combinations of numerals; so that the chronological era assumes a species of concrete identity. Signally is this the case with the thrice-repeated eight, the eight hundred and eighty and eight, which dissolved the Carlovingian Empire.

The mouth speaks the fulness of the heart: hence the similarity of proverbs and proverbial phrases in all languages and at all times, sentiments echoed in various tones, but of one import, passages of one strain, because harmonized by common feelings and universal experience. Hence the deep instruction conveyed in that familiar aphorism often used with irreverent levity or discontent, "misfortunes never come single;" testifying the predetermined consilience of events, when chastisements are specially appointed in anger or in mercy. All things, and all the

relations of matter and spirit, are governed by laws; and human punishments, as well as human rewards, are produced by the convergence of lines whose first direction proceeds from all eternity: the arrows wing their flight against the flesh, where they are to stick fast. 888—912

History, private or public, everywhere abounds in such examples; and writers least willing to acknowledge the Invisible Presence ruling the affairs of man, are enforced to render the extorted acknowledgment, that the contingencies and calamities which destroyed the Carlovingian dynasty were beyond calculation. The Carlovingians were ruined by a glut of miseries. Within twenty years, Charlemagne's lineage had possessed fifteen Emperors, Kings and Princes, either ruling on the throne, or expectant and competent to assume supreme authority. In the year Eight hundred and eighty-eight, the old and the young, the ripe and the immature, were all swept away: some according to the ordinary course of human life, but many more by strange diseases, by mean, trivial, or household accidents, by unexpected, and as one might say, unreasonable contingencies. Their good angel had departed from them. One individual only who could colourably pretend to be a Carlovingian, now wore a Royal crown: one whom Charlemagne would have blushed to acknowledge, the half-caste Sclavonian bastard ARNOLPH, who had obtained the supremacy of

888—912 GERMANY and all the dominions speaking the German tongue, together with the Sclavonian
888—924 Marches and borders, where he was heartily acknowledged and obeyed, and seeking to extend his sway over the whole empire.

Revolutions of Italy. § 2. Not so in ITALY—here Arnolph was neglected or opposed; Apulia and Calabria would have scarcely cared had they passed under the Emir or the Soldan; and if the wreck of the old Longobard aristocracy desired a Christian king, they would prefer some sovereign more congenial to them than the semi-Sclavonian Arnolph. Rome, the Roman Senate, the Roman clergy, and the Roman people, exercised their suffrage for their own advantage, and according to their own pleasure. All the interest which Pope Stephen could exert was bestowed upon his adopted son, the bold, active and shrewd GUIDO Count of Spoleto. But in Lombardy and the North, the French interest fostered by the Court of Pavia was preponderating, and the Estates of the kingdom either invited or accepted the grandson of Louis-le-Débonnaire by his daughter Gisella, the "august BERENGER," worthy of the diadem he acquired.

888—924 Berengarius, King.

889—893 Guido, King.

Ere they contested Italy, these two illustrious princes had become good friends, and when the deposition of the unfortunate Charles-le-Gras was impending, they agreed to act in concord and share the spoil: Guido should take France,

and *il Rè Berengario*, the Transalpine Empire. 888—912
Guido entered France, but, as we shall soon see, 889—893
yielded to a more popular rival. Tempted by opportunity, he broke the compact he had made with Berenger. A series of adventurous and varied conflicts arose between the competitors for Rome and Italy, in which the skill and prowess of the Princes appear as remarkable as the sufferings inflicted upon the people during the lengthened frays. Guido assumed the royal title, whilst Berengarius received the iron crown in San Michele's Basilica. Great celebrity did *il Rè Berengario* earn in Italy, his long reign being full of dramatic vicissitudes. His recollections are still fresh in Lombardy—go to the Treasury of Monza: by the side of Queen Theodolinda's *Ciocca*, the strange plateau representing the motherly hen encircled by her nestling brood, you may yet see the Gospel-book deposited by Berengarius in the Sanctuary, when, after his Coronation, he restored the iron crown to the shrine. As Berengarius left that Gospel-book, so the Book remains, the crumbling leaves enclosed between the ivory tablets. These are quaintly carved and pierced, adorned by the interlacings termed runic knots, according to conventional archæological 891—893
phraseology; but no Scandinavian sculptured Guido Emperor.
their embossed and graceful foliage: they were worked by a Celtic hand.

Civil wars ensued, tediously and destructively

888—912 892—901 complicated. Pope Stephen, and Rome, and southern Italy supported GUIDO, and he obtained the imperial dignity. And having, in imitation of his antient predecessors, appointed his valorous son LAMBERT to be his colleague, the latter upon his father's decease received the Imperial name.

892—898 Lambert Emperor.

ARNOLPH arose as a powerful enemy, and repeatedly led his armies into Italy. The King of Germany acquired the Imperial diadem. He reigned with extraordinary splendour; but Lambert refused to resign the Imperial title, and retained a considerable portion of the territory.

896—898 Arnolph Emperor.

Arnolph survived his rival for a few months: a short interregnum ensued. LOUIS,—of whom more hereafter—the son of Hermengarda and Boso, king of Provence, then entered into the conflict, and triumphed for awhile, to his great misfortune. Much affinity subsisted between the Provençals and the more unmixed populations of Italy. In the Provincia Romana, the municipal succession of the cities was uninterrupted, the languages were kindred. Adalbert, the Marquis of Tuscany, suggested to Louis that Italy might be easily conquered. Hermengarda's child, not undegenerate, accepted the hazardous invitation; and from the Lombard Diet and the Roman electors, Louis received the royal and imperial dignities.

899 Louis of Provence invoked to Italy. (See p. 632.)

899—901 Louis King of Italy and Emperor.

Expelling the great Berengarius for a time, and crowned King and Emperor, LOUIS esta-

blished his court at Verona, where he was received with pretended cordiality and loyalty. Reigning in full confidence, he disbanded his troops; when the treacherous Lombards, apparently so contented, surrendered him to Berengarius, who avenged himself by inflicting blindness upon his competitor. The horrible operation was performed with unusual mildness. Either in consequence of the executioner's unskilfulness or mercy, the glowing bason did not entirely destroy the visual power, and some faint glimmering of light remained. Rabid dissensions endured seven and twenty years. At length Berenger obtained the pre-eminence—sole Emperor, and during the twenty-seven years, king, or claiming to be king. The Magyars overwhelmed Italy, and the country was reduced to the utmost misery. Berengarius dallied with Arpad's hordes for the purpose of protecting himself against the Burgundian Raoul, but uselessly and fatally, and he died by an assassin's hand. Every convulsion in Italy at this period is of vast historical importance; and the throbbings of her wounds were felt throughout Western Christendom.

888—912

905 Louis, blinded by Berengarius, returns to Provence.

915—924 Berengarius Emperor.

(See p. 635).

§ 3. Boso, king of Provence, detested by the Carlovingians as an usurper, died about the period when Charles the Emperor was deposed, leaving his young son, the before-mentioned Louis. The matron Hermengarda assumed the regency in behalf of her boy; but this fine

Provence. Boso dies about 887—8.

888—924 890

country was persecuted by the Saracens, whose colonizations were even more alarming than their ravages: the sons of Arabia dwelt even amongst the snows of the Mons Jovis, Saint Bernard's kindly Hospice, then a murderous fastness. The Northmen also penetrated into Provence; and during an unsettled period of about two or three years, the country was almost without regular government, until, thanks to Hermengarda's talent, activity and wisdom, —the Provençals delighting in their "glorious Queen" — Louis, or Louis-Boso, was acknowledged as king in the great Council of Valence. Louis commenced prosperously. He acquired great part of the modern *Langue d'Oc*, the counties and dioceses on the Western bank of the Rhone, which he united to his kingdom. He espoused an Eadgiva, daughter of Edward the Elder, king Alfred's grand-daughter; his alliance with a Princess from such a distant land testifies his influence and renown. Possibly Eadgiva was receiving her education at Chelles; and the sagacious Hermengarda may have resorted to the Monastery with which the Merovingian, Anglo-Saxon, and Carlovingian Queens and Princesses were so closely connected, when planning an advantageous marriage for her son. We have related the miserable result of his Italian expedition: Louis, thenceforth called *l'Aveugle*, returned to Vienne, where he reigned unmolested and

Louis son of Boso acknowledged as King of Provence in the Council of Valence.

(p. 631).

governed prudently. His counsellors and people, compassionating his misfortunes, continued faithful: he solaced himself by retaining the imperial title, and died in tolerable tranquillity, leaving one Son, CHARLES-CONSTANTINE, who lost all his father's honours and dominions excepting the county of Vienne, afterwards Dauphiné:—the kingdom of Provence passed into other lines.

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890
Louis l'Aveugle died about 928

§ 4. The name of BURGUNDY stands forth prominently in every era of French history. The more recent portions of the Burgundian annals, when her sovereigns became the premier Dukes of Christendom, have received every elucidation which historical talent can bestow; but the anterior periods have continued comparatively disregarded, and the evidences accumulated by Benedictine diligence are left to furnish occupation for equivalent labour. By inheritance or usage, by constitutional acts or usurpations, the antient kingdom of Burgundy was partitioned into several dominations, well-known in their general aspect, but whose territorial boundaries are vaguely defined: subjected to rulers whose contested or conflicting rights offer as many problems as the demarcations of their territories. To the historical difficulties hence arising, must be added the circumstance, which, perplexing to the enquirer in every era of Carlovingian history, becomes here particularly troublesome—the recurrence of the same Christian

Burgundy —partitions of the antient Kingdom.

862—888 names. All who ruled as Counts in any portion of antique Burgundia are indiscriminately called 879—880 "Counts of Burgundy;" and there are so many Raouls and Hughs galloping about the field in armour of uniform fashion, and bearing the same patterned coronal on their helmets, that their identification may baffle the most attentive observer. Or, if we think fit to place the question in another aspect, the confusions of the times are reflected in the confusions of the historians.

887—921 Richard-le-Justicier's country, afterwards the modern "Duchy of Burgundy."

The French Chancery had, during the reign of Charles-le-Chauve, designated the monarch as King of "France and Burgundy." Louis-le-Bégue assumed the same style; but his authority in and within Burgundy, was practically intercepted by those who enjoyed the usufruct of dominion. A considerable portion had been detached by Boso; and three Counties had been also erected within the antient kingdom. Richard-le-Justicier, son of the astute and intriguing Theodorick, and brother or half-brother of King Boso, governed the Autunais, the Dijonnais, the Châlonnais and the Auxois, the Avalonnois and some other Bailliages, nearly equivalent to the illustrious Duchy of modern times, Burgundy Proper—the Burgundy so resplendently glorious in the creative age of fantastic chivalry.

Richard-le-Justicier's eldest son, RODOLPH or RAOUL, reserved for a higher destiny, did not receive any appanage, whereas his brother Hugh-

le-Noir, in the father's lifetime, held that gay and fertile and varied territory, afterwards known as the Franche-Comté, the valleys and the lower ranges of the Jura hills. 888—912

888—912 Transjurane Burgundy erected into a Kingdom by Rodolph or Raoul the Guelph. (See p. 236).

Transjurane Burgundy, principally consisting of modern Helvetia on this side of the Reuss and the passes of the Mons Jovis or the Great Saint-Bernard, constituted the third Burgundian County now held by another RODOLPH or RAOUL,—Rodolph the Guelph, son of the younger Conrad, Count of Auxerre;—he, following Boso's example, assembled his prelates and nobles in the solemnly cheerful valley of Saint-Maurice, and, crowned in the yet existing Basilica, established a new kingdom. Arnolph endeavoured to subjugate this rival; but Raoul strenuously defended his narrow realm of Alps and glaciers, and won and maintained his independence, governing with remarkable wisdom and equity. Rodolph or Raoul the Second, his son, uniting transjurane Burgundy to Provence, founded the Arelatic kingdom.

These revolutions, descending from the Alps, dissevered a large proportion of countries speaking the Romane tongue from the Kingdom of France. The kingdom of Arles subsequently became united to the Empire. Rodolph of Hapsburg lost this kingdom, which insensibly passed under the French supremacy; nevertheless, according to the constitutional theory, the "Count

888—912 888—889 of Provence" was to be distinguished from the "king of France and Navarre," even until the Revolution.

888 Rainulph of Poitiers attempts to assume the Royal title in Aquitaine.

§ 5. RAINULPH the Second, son of the Marquis Bernard, flits before us as King of AQUITAINE, Septimania, and the Spanish marches. This Rainulph, Count of Poitiers and Abbot of Saint Hilary, was brother of Ebles Abbot of Saint Denis, the good marksman, and father of *Ebles the mamzer*, also Count of Poitiers; and Ebles the mamzer was father of *Guillaume Tête d'étoupe*, the Husband of Rollo's daughter. Rainulph soon abandoned his pretensions; and the Chroniclers touch so hastily upon Aquitanian events, that we know next to nothing of the transactions in which this powerful Suzerain was engaged.

888—889 Competitors for the crown of France, Arnolph, Guido and Eudes Capet.

§ 6. For FRANCE, or rather for so much of France as was not held by the King of France and the Kings or Counts of Provence, Burgundy, Aquitaine, Gascony or Armorica, three candidates appeared. ARNOLPH, who claimed an undefined supremacy over the whole Carlovingian Empire, GUIDO Count of Spoleto, and the Count of Paris, EUDES CAPET.

A fourth competitor, a nobleman, a statesman and a warrior, might have entered the arena with far higher pretensions than Arnolph or than Guido or than Eudes; for, at this period, a lineage combining the claims of legitimacy and seniority

had suddenly acquired extraordinary prosperity — the lineage descended from Charlemagne's loved son, Pepin king of Italy — noble, royal, imperial VERMANDOIS, Herbert the father now educating Herbert the son, and both successfully amplifying the dominions which they ruled with vigorous talent. 862—912 888—889 House of Vermandois, Herbert I. and Herbert II. (See pp. 355,356).

Peronne and the Abbey of Saint-Quintin composed the nucleus of their Principality; but, quietly and without contradiction, they had extended their sway over the heart of the kingdom of Soissons; and that antient Soissons, and the rock of Lâon, and Rheims, the prerogative city of the Gauls, were all within the geographical ambit of their territory. In such enclavures as we have named, Vermandois did not possess direct authority. Lâon, for example, had a Count and a Bishop, and was a royal domain.

Nevertheless the influence of the Vermandois potentates permeated these countries; and their hereditary right, their personal importance, and the possession of the localities rendered so venerable by historical and religious traditions,—all, it should seem, ought to have concurred in stimulating these lineal representatives of the Empire's founder to have asserted their claims; but they were matched in conflict by their compeers. "It has been the misfortune of France," observes the contemporary Regino, "that her princes are so equally balanced in wealth, power and ability,—none can obtain a permanent pre-

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eminence." Rival Burgundy and the rival Capets therefore restrained cautious Vermandois from contesting the throne. These families, including the antagonistic house of Flanders, had already become much allied by intermarriages, forming connections which created a unity of aristocratic feeling, without necessarily ensuring unity of interest. All were against the Carlovingians, though dissentient amongst themselves; and, until the establishment of the third dynasty, the history of France becomes virtually an intricate history of factions,—the Counts of Vermandois endeavouring to gain the ascendancy, but missing their aim, king-makers, king-unmakers, king-restorers, king-deposers, but not enabled to be kings themselves:—Burgundy partially succeeding: the Capets falling, rising, yet always advancing: Normandy following in the wake of the Capets, and ultimately obtaining a station which, though undecorated by the name of royalty, was invested with full royal power.

Great influence of the House of Vermandois in the subsequent revolutions of France.

§ 7. Three national parties were formed, each desiring to carry the question their own way. Fulco, Archbishop of Rheims, Hincmar's successor, represented and headed the Franks of the old stock, holding to the constitutional doctrine of Carlovingian legitimacy, but nevertheless considering that the extreme exigencies of the State enforced the postponement, if not the rejection, of the infant heir,—"Wo to the land whose king is a child,"—and Fulco therefore

deemed that the common weal imperatively dictated the selection of a mature and competent Sovereign. For this reason Fulco had concurred in the elevation of Charles-le-Gras, the late deposed Emperor. He now wavered between Guido and Arnolph: consanguinity might incline him to the first, but merit decided him in favour of the last. Theodorick of Autun, leader in every revolution since the death of Charles-le-Chauve, supported Eudes Capet. The Burgundians inclined to the Count of Spoleto; but the Northmen constituted a fourth party, whose presence at this time and turn brought on a speedy practical decision of the question. They encamped in great force at Chezy, threatening Paris, and ravaging various other parts of the country. Who could resist them but Eudes, the triumphant defender of that city which we may henceforth consider as the Capetian Capital?—and his partizans, hastily convening at Compiègne, caused the Count of Paris to be proclaimed and crowned, Walter, Archbishop of Sens, performing the ceremony.

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888 Mar.–Apr. Eudes Capet proclaimed and crowned at Compiègne.

Guido before he entered France numbered an influential party, but he disgusted the French by his Italian frugality. "That fellow is not fit to reign over us," said the Bishop of Metz, according to the current story, "who would be content to dine for ten farthings." However Guido was proclaimed, and crowned at Langres by Bishop

888 Mar.–Apr. Guido of Spoleto crowned at Langres, but abandons the contest.

888—912 / 888 Geilo. Had he persevered, he might perhaps have maintained himself as King of Burgundy, but disheartened by his unpopularity, Guido abandoned France and returned to Italy, where, in his first campaign, he defeated his late confederate, but now rival, Berenger.

Eudes Capet may be admired as the type of a *preud chevalier* when *preux chevaliers* were none, courteous, honourable and winning: kind, and merciful if he thought that kindness and gentleness would answer, but firm, even harsh, in dealing with his political opponents. Archbishop Fulco now strenuously endeavoured to aid Arnolph: so also Rodolph, Count-Abbot of Saint Vedast, and Baudouin-le-Chauve. Arnolph did not hasten to accept the invitation; but Eudes was willing to strengthen his own authority by acknowledging Arnolph's honorary suzerainty; and the King of Germany did not attempt any hostile operations against the Capet.

888 June 24. Battle of Montfaucon. Danes defeated by Eudes.

Eudes therefore was the more at liberty to do his duty in defending France against the Northmen. It was for this duty that he had been exalted to the throne. On Midsummer-day he encountered the Danes at Montfaucon-en-Argonne. Some suppose that Rollo engaged in this battle. The Franks reckoned the Capetian squadrons at one thousand, the Danish army at nineteen thousand. Such colloquial estimates must simply be accepted as rude approximations,

vaguely indicating the relative proportions of the hostile forces. Eudes, displaying great personal prowess, was nearly cut down by the battle-axe of a Dane with whom he engaged in single combat, but he triumphed equally as a Champion and as a General, and acquired great glory. Eudes put the Northmen to flight seven times, and defeated them nine,—thus was it said or sung:—the passage in the chronicle containing this commendation seems to be a quotation or fragment translated from some popular ballad. 888—912 888

Montfaucon-en-Argonne told much in favour of Eudes. Hitherto he had been but grudgingly acknowledged in Belgic Gaul, where the Vermandois interest prevailed, but now he greatly increased in power. He exercised his prerogatives boldly and broadly. If an Abbey became vacant, King Eudes conferred the preferment upon some tough worthy blade, or kept the good thing himself. Thus did he treat the first which fell in, the Abbey of Saint Denis; and he confiscated the "honours" of his gainsayers whenever he had the power. Baudouin-le-Chauve performed homage. Other Nobles, north of the Loire, tacitly submitted. Arnolph graciously sent Eudes a royal crown, with which on Saint Brice's day he was again solemnly inaugurated and proclaimed King. No consecration or further ecclesiastical confirmation seems to have been asked 888 13 Nov. Eudes again crowned at Rheims.

888—912 or required; and Eudes granted a general amnesty.

888—889 Rainulph of Poitiers submits to Eudes. Aquitaine, however, was still unsettled; and Eudes, the Christmas festivities being over, repaired thither with a small train of Frankish soldiers. Rainulph humbled himself, and resigned his transient crown; but that nominal crown was far less an object of suspicion than the child whom he had in charge—Charles, the infant son of Ansgarda. How this child of sorrow came under the guardianship of Count Rainulph, we know not, but there he was; and all who saw the boy were struck with his likeness to Louis-le-Bégue his father, that father who had never beheld the babe, destined to humiliation, contempt and misfortune. The little Charles was presented to Eudes, Eudes concealed his vexation; and Rainulph, clearing himself by oath of all accusations, professed himself a liege-man of the Capet.

Charles-le-Simple produced.

Neither the submission nor the oath of any of those who had become the homagers of Eudes amounted, however, to more than contrivances for saving appearances; and hardly so much. Amidst all changes, trials, triumphs, vicissitudes and misfortunes, the destructive spirit of untruth continued to possess the Carlovingian Empire with unabated pertinacity. Old England won her national character upon Runnymede; Lombard history dates from the field of Roncaglia; but

the Franks, high or low, clergy and laity, were all the representatives of the Luegen-feld. Archbishop Fulco and Baudouin-le-Chauve, and Herbert of Vermandois, and Pepin of Senlis, and the Burgundian Richard, and William of Auvergne, and Rainulph of Poitou, only endured the domination of Eudes till they could rid themselves of him. Some individuals might be friendly to Eudes if convenient, but every man considered it his paramount duty to consult his own interest by all means in his power: oaths, promises, and engagements disappeared whenever occasion required. 888—912 889

§ 8. We now revert to the Northmen, always keeping in mind the concurrent plague of the Magyars, their hordes rapidly approaching and bearing down against Germany and Italy, and the Saracens disporting in the Southern regions, occupying the Alpine passes, despoiling pilgrims on their way to Saint Peter's shrine. 889—891 The Danes resume their attacks.

Danish detachments continued about Paris, and they were numerous in the Seine-country, where Eudes was compelled to leave them undisturbed: the rayon of the Frankish operations was always very short: Eudes could only prosecute a confined and partial warfare. They spread themselves in all directions. Whilst Eudes was in Poitou, vast numbers ravaged other parts of the Loire-country, Burgundy also, and threatened Paris quite as formidably as before. In these incursions we vaguely discern the form of

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Rollo; but the narrative is perplexed, and the more difficult to unravel, because at this period there were besides him two or three Rollos afloat, a Rodo or Rollo also called Hunedeus, and a Rotland or Rollo, the son of Oskytel or Ketil: our hero however soon appears more distinctly, and Botho, his faithful friend and the friend of his yet unborn children, joins him. Méaux was besieged by Rollo. Count Theutbert and most of his soldiers, who defended the place valiantly, were slain by the Danish missiles. Upon Count Theutbert's death, Bishop Sigmund took the command. This bold Prelate walled up the gates, enclosing a worse enemy than the Danes—famine. The starved inhabitants surrendered, the Northmen promising to allow them to depart safely; but when they came forth, the Northmen seized them, and burned the city.

888—889 Méaux besieged and taken by the Danes.

889—890 Northmen again besiege Paris.

The battle of Montfaucon, instead of depressing the Danish audacity, stimulated them to further exertions. Again they presented themselves before Paris. They pitched their tents, and recommenced a regular siege. This may be called the second siege of Paris. But the genius of Charles-le-Chauve kept them off; they could not make way through walls and bridge and bastilles; and after spending their strength in vain, they retreated. So much the worse for the Marne country, Lorraine and Champagne: Troyes had to pay the reckoning for Paris. When they

890 The third Siege of Paris.

exhausted those fields, they tried their chance at Paris for the third time. Eudes immediately reoccupied his old position, of which the capabilities were so well known to him. But he was frustrated by the universal faithlessness. Eudes, bold and warlike as he was, could not help following the Danegeld precedents afforded by his predecessors. Provisions were scarce, defections were beginning amongst the Franks. If he continued long within the walls of Paris, his subjects without, would soon uncrown him. Eudes therefore offered money to the enemy, which they accepted: Rollo had his share, and, raising the siege, the Danes turned their forces towards the Armorican Marches.

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Eudes compromises by a subsidy.

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Armorican Marches invaded by the Danes.

Alan and Judicael, the two Breton Counts, were disputing desperately—all the better for the Northmen. It is very probable that the Channel-islands were occupied by them. Coutances, near the coast, had been dreadfully harassed by the Danes, and the Christian population of maritime Britanny, or the Côtentin, almost wholly scattered or extirpated. The "black book" of Coutances tells us that the desolation continued seventy years. Bishop Lista took refuge at Saint-Lo, on the other side of the river Vire; and, during centuries, though the Cathedral remained at Coutances, the Chair was removed. The Northmen besieged Saint-Lo. Want of water compelled the inhabitants to surrender: the Northmen pro-

The Côtentin ravaged, Saint-Lo destroyed.

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mising them their lives, broke the promise, Bishop and inhabitants were slaughtered, and Saint-Lo, then a fine city, levelled with the ground. One very remarkable fragment of a church, decorated with uncouth sculptures, however, still exists, apparently of such remote antiquity that French archæologists suppose *Sainte-Croix* to have been built anterior to this invasion.

Rollo besieges Bayeux. Grants a truce.

Rollo and Botho had previously attacked Bayeux. The exact date of this movement is uncertain; but it was evidently connected with the general plan of the Armorican campaign. The city made a stubborn defence. Botho was captured. Rollo, much regretting the loss of his fellow-warrior, proposed to grant a twelve month's truce if the citizens would release his companion. By the family historian he is called "Count Botho," and very probably was so denominated in the Northern camp, the Danes, like the Barbarians during the Lower Empire, having begun to adopt the phraseology of their adversaries. Rollo lost no advantage by this partial cessation of hostilities, he had full employment in devastating the Seine territories; and having joined in besieging Paris, he presented himself again before Bayeux when the truce had terminated,

Bayeux besieged again by Rollo, and taken.

and attacked the city a second time. Bayeux resisted bravely, but yielded to the Northern force. Stormed, plundered and burnt, hosts of captives were carried away by the victor, amongst

them the little damsel known only by the fondling appellation of "Popa," the *poupée* or *poppet*, whom he married according to the Danish usages, and who gave him a daughter, Gerloc, and his son and successor Guillaume-Longue-épée. Count Berenger, the *Poppet's* father, cannot be distinctly identified, but her brother or half-brother was Bernard-de-Senlis or Senlis-Vermandois. The union, however rudely commenced, proved a happy one. Bernard-de-Senlis took heartily to Rollo and his family: trusted, and worthy of trust, he protected not merely the authority of Rollo's children and grandchildren, but their lives. Guillaume-Longue-épée, when friends and advisers were failing him, turned in full confidence to this uncle: Bernard-de-Senlis sheltered the young Richard Sans-peur, the son of Guillaume-Longue-épée, from the power of the inimical Louis-d'Outremer and his more inimical Queen, the wily Gerberga.—Rollo's line would have failed but for the efficient and ready help given by Bernard-de-Senlis. 838—912 890—891

The Breton Counts, when the danger came upon them imminently, suspended their mutual hostilities, and turned their forces against the common enemy; yet they could not learn to act in concert. Judicael, without waiting for Alan, attacked the Danes and was killed: Alan rallied the Bretons, and after much hard fighting, compelled the Danish forces to retreat. The 890—891 Danes partially evacuate Armorica.

888—912 890—891 Bretons boasted that of fifteen thousand Danes who had entered the country, only four hundred re-embarked. The number so specified may be correct as to some particular detachment, but the Danes, who evacuated the country in three divisions, the first crossing the Seine, the second the Loire and the third sailing away to Lotharingia, were unsubdued; and large numbers remained in the Armorican Marches and their vicinities. When the "Terra Normannorum" began to settle into the character of "Normandy" under Guillaume-Longue-épée, there was no part of the country in which the Danish or Teutonic nationality still continued so decidedly marked as in the tract between the Saint-Lo river, the Vire, and the Olne, the Caen river. Here, more than in any other Norman district, do the names of places bear a Teutonic aspect and echo the Teutonic sound: Bayeux was ultimately the only city in Normandy where the Danish language lingered as a vernacular tongue.

Evreux taken by the Northmen.

§ 9. Victorious Rollo again conjoined the Danish squadrons before Paris, or resumed the siege on his own account. There was a constant flickering of warfare, ever ready to break out into a blaze. According to Rollo's desultory fashion, he marched towards Evreux, evidently contemplating the breaking down of all points of resistance in or surrounding the territory he afterwards ruled. Evreux, Saint Taurin's city, was still prosperous

and opulent; and the well-watered Pagus Ebroicacensis, afterwards the county of Evreux, still continuing to be the most fertile tract in Normandy. The province had been occasionally ravaged, but, as yet, the city remained untouched: possibly some lurking reverence rendered to the Sanctuaries may have deterred the invaders. But golden lamps and silver thuribles, shrines and decked altars, offered temptations which now overcame such imperfect veneration. 888—912 890—891

Rollo directed his forces against Evreux. Bishop Sebard, whose name, except on this occasion, appears but once in the fragmentary ecclesiastical annals of antient Neustria, held the command: the city was taken by storm, pillaged, and in great part destroyed. Some marvellous chance enabled Bishop Sebard to escape; and the monks of Saint-Ouen evaded with their treasures, relics of Saint-Ouen, and Saint-Leufroi, and Saint-Agofroy his brother, and Saint-Taurin, which the fugitives deposited in the Abbey of Saint Germain-des-près at Paris. The Abbey of Saint Taurin was completely subverted by the Northmen, and the Abbot of Saint-Germain-des-près kindly received the wanderers, relics and all. No Abbot could be a better protector, for the Abbot was sturdy Robert, Count of Paris. Capture of Evreux.

Dudon de Saint-Quentin relates these incidents *con amore*. Fastidious criticism blames such monastic loquacity;—yet this is one of the

888—912 890—891 numerous instances in which apparently trivial circumstances tighten the vagueness of chronicle history. Upon Count Robert's request, Charles-le-Simple united Evreux Abbey to Saint-Germain-des-près, in order that the latter establishment might furnish subsistence to the despoiled Evreux monks. Dudon's relation is confirmed by diplomatic testimony; and the Royal charter confutes the gainsayers of the family history. The intensity of the devastations committed at Evreux has been evidenced by the discovery of the fire-destroyed ruins of the antient Carlovingian castle. All the circumjacent country shared the fate of the Cathedral city, and Rollo again harassed Paris.—Many districts purchased forbearance by a Danegelt, yet whole populations, encouraged to resistance, refused their tribute, and Rollo cruized to England.

892—893 Danes penetrate into central France. Eudes carries on operations against them.

§ 10. Central France continued to attract the Danes. They repeatedly endeavoured to establish themselves in these provinces: had they succeeded, they might, like the Romans, have rendered this most defensible territory the nucleus of an Empire. Clermont is indicated as the scene of Rollo's exploits, without any particulars of date or time. If the Pagans failed to fortify themselves amidst Velay and Auvergne's volcanic fastnesses, or were prevented from establishing themselves permanently in the rich and teeming Limagne, this result was due to Eudes

Capet's valour and activity. Notwithstanding the troubles occasioned by disloyal adherents south and north of the Loire, he still held his judicial circuits in Burgundia and Aquitania with the regularity of a Carlovingian King. Périgord and Angoulême and Puy-en-Velay witnessed his *Grands-jours*, when Eudes administered justice in person according to the forms of antient royalty. 888—912 891—893

A soldier, raised to the throne by prowess, Eudes laboured to retain his well-deserved reputation. A favourite of the people in Aquitaine, most of the Aquitanian and southern chieftains, excepting the ambitious Count of Poitiers, again adhered to him, or refrained from opposing his authority. Troops joined King Eudes from Arles and from Orange, from Toulouse and from Nîmes. The Danes concentrated their forces in the river district of Auvergne, between Sioul and Allier. Eudes marshalled his troops at Brioude; invoking Saint Julian's protection, and laying his gifts upon the Altar, he marched onwards. The Danes were universally giving tokens of their intentions, seeking to convert their military occupancy into dominion, and, wherever they could, to establish a Danelaghe.

Consistently with this intent, they attempted to win the positions which would give them fast hold of the country; and the main body of their troops besieged Montpensier, so well known in The Danes besiege Montpensier. Battle of the Allier.

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history as the future Orleans-appanage. The castle of Montpensier, now wholly demolished, was situated upon a volcanic hill, and, therefore, from its situation between the rivers, the military key of the country. Here Eudes attacked the Pagans. The Capet encouraged his troops by his talent and valour: he reminded them how the Arverni of old had bravely defended their country against the Romans, earning the respect of their conquerors: why should not they equally signalize themselves against these foul and base barbarians? Such allusions were not displays of misplaced and paltry College erudition, prompted by frigid pedantry, but the utterances of real feeling. Rome lived around them; even now, the Auvergnat peasant points to the vast hill of Gergoye, and tells you how bravely the ramparts, lengthening along the sky-line, were defended against Cæsar.

Murder of Oskytel the Dane.

In the battle of the Allier the Danes were completely defeated, and Oskytel, their commander, the ravager of Croyland, captured.—Provided he would accept baptism, the victors promised to spare his life. Oskytel assented, but he was cruelly and basely slain by Ingo, the standard-bearer of King Eudes, whilst he was emerging from the baptistery. Eudes did not instigate this hideous crime, yet he became an accomplice after the fact, not only pardoning the perpetrator, but bestowing upon him munificent rewards. "It is

impossible to trust a Dane," replied Ingo, "and therefore I slew him for the good of the country;" a plea of which the validity was admitted by Ingo's royal master;—read *Saracen* for *Dane*, and the like would have been done by many a preud-chevalier. 888—912 891—893

§ 11. North of the Loire the indefatigable Danes were formidable to all parties: no matter against whom they combated, Eudes or Arnolph. Hastings cheated Rodolph, the Count-Abbot of Saint Vedast; and their cunning rendered them the more terrible. Very appropriate was their national ensign, the thievish, rapacious, artful raven. Lotharingia became the chief scene of the present campaign. Sigfried and Godfrey, reinforced by the detachments from Britanny, renewed their spirited warfare. A great battle ensued near Trèves. The Germans were discomfited, and the Archbishop of Mayence slain. Transactions in the north of the Gauls.

Arnolph hastened from Baioaria: the Danish kings entrenched themselves nigh Louvaine. Protected in the rear by the river Dyle, they selected this position as being best calculated for defence; but, contrary to their calculations, the defence proved their destruction. A marked improvement in the German tactics dates from Arnolph: he had raised an efficient body of heavy-armed cavalry, the first appearance of such a force in mediæval annals. The Northmen, borne down by the German squadrons, fled: more 891 Battle of Louvaine, Danes defeated by Arnolph.

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perished in the sluggish insidious stream than by spear or sword; and sixteen raven-banners were the victor's trophies. The slaughtered Pagans were reckoned by thousands, and the Germans reported that only one single Christian was killed. Arnolph, like an old Roman Emperor, held an allocution on the battle-field, solemn services were sung, and Arnolph acquired immense renown; yet there did not seem to be a Dane the less in the country. The Northmen occupied Louvaine as long as they thought fit, evacuated Lotharingia when it suited their convenience, and remained in great power about Amiens. All successes gained by the Franks or Germans were countervailed by the general unsteadiness, levity and faithlessness of chieftains and people. Eudes marched from Aquitaine to improve the advantages Arnolph gained; but the nobles of Belgic Gaul determined to desert him. Whilst in the Vermandois territory, Eudes was in peril of being surprised by the Danes: the Vermandois levies, on whom he relied unsuspiciously, either neglected their duty or betrayed him.

Baudouin-le-Chauve quarrels with Eudes.

A particular feud accelerated the impending Revolution. The great Abbeys were the capital prizes. Much difficulty attends the investigation of their history: the ecclesiastical historians, both antient and modern, ashamed of the abusive system which virtually rendered them lay-fees, try to conceal the transactions as far as possible.

Materials are scanty, and a judicious selection from the few known facts often leaves you in ignorance of the Abbot's secularity. Saint-Vedast, like Tynemouth, was a castle as well as an Abbey, the citadel in fact of Arras. Rodolph conducted himself valiantly, and greatly strengthened the fortifications; but at this critical period he died childless. The notion of property in the secularized Abbeys was becoming more settled and consistent; and examples can now be adduced of hereditary succession in such preferments. Upon the death of Rodolph, his kinsman, Baudouin-le-Chauve made suit to Eudes for Saint-Vedast as the heir. Eudes replied he would do what he pleased with his own.—Abbeys were peculiarly the King's own; but if Baudouin would repair to the King, the King would return a gracious answer. The Count of Flanders took offence, and rose in open hostility against the Capet. Archbishop Fulco, despite of his previous vacillations, which he would have justified as arising from a conscientious feeling of duty towards the kingdom, now became the loyal supporter of the Carlovingian line. The Vermandois party merely tolerated the Capet domination. 888—912 891—893

We last found Charles under the care of Rainulph: his friends then quietly and secretly sent him to England, where they kept him till the opportunity for investing the heir with his ancestorial rights should arrive. The young prince, Plans for the restoration of Charles.

888—912 891—893 active, intelligent, winning in manners, well-taught, and having profited by his tuition, liberally munificent, with a love of enterprize only restrained by his greater love of ease and pleasure, and endued with all the elements of popularity, was fully ready for action; and Archbishop Fulco and Herbert and Pepin, the Counts of Vermandois, diligently worked for the royal Heir.

July 892. Revolt against Eudes in the Vermandois.

§ 12. A new and zealous partizan made the first demonstration. Amongst the Franks, the saying, "blood is thicker than water," did not hold. Consanguinity rarely mitigated enmity or averted hostility. Count Walter, nephew of Eudes, drew his sword against Eudes in the great Council of Verberie, and having passed over to the Carlovingian party, surprised the rock of Lâon. Eudes besieged the fortress, compelled Walter to surrender, and then caused the assertor of legitimate royalty to be executed as a criminal. Walter was beheaded, and the Bishop of Lâon refused him Christian burial. Such summary judicial vengeance was rarely exercised. The severity practised by Eudes taught the Vermandois party the reward they might expect, and rendered them more cautious and also more pertinacious.

892 Death of Rainulph. Eudes repairs to the South of the Loire.

Eudes thus engaged in the North, Rainulph Count of Poitiers died. Rainulph was said to have leagued with Rollo. Eudes, according to

report, had him removed by poison. Whether the suspicion could be warranted or not, there was a general tendency to assume that persons of eminence met their death unfairly. Rainulph was succeeded, though not immediately, by "Ebles the *manzer*," whose illegitimacy became a part of his style.—*Abbot* Ebles, who had so strenuously assisted Eudes in defending Paris, possessed great power in Poitou, and, with other nobles, entertained inimical feelings against the Capet. The Vermandois party craftily contriving to draw King Eudes away from their part of the country, exaggerated this discontent, and made him believe that the Poitevins were plotting to deprive him of kingdom and life. Eudes and his brother Count Robert, immediately marched to Aquitaine, and the insurrection was suppressed. A stone cast from a balista killed the excellent marksman, Abbot Ebles; and the people said, that the soldier Prelate, so notoriously violating his vows and calling, well deserved his fate. 888—912 891—893

Eudes prevailed gloriously, unconscious that whilst thus triumphing, the son of Louis-le-Bégue had been conducted to the throne. The Vermandois Counts, Herbert and Pepin, and Fulco Archbishop of Rheims, were unquestionably the efficient organizers of the counter-revolution. During the time that the Capet was so busily employed in Aquitaine, the protectors of the Carlovingian Prince brought him over from England; and the Counter-revolution, restoration of Charles.

888—912 893 nobles of "France," together with Richard-le-Justicier Count of Burgundy, and Guillaume-le-Pieux Count of Aquitaine, proclaimed him King. The inauguration ceremonies were cautiously completed: invested with the purple, and consecrated on the Feast of Saint Agnes, observed thenceforth by Charles as a solemn anniversary, a pause ensued, probably occupied in discussing the arrangements needed by the new government; and, on the feast of the Purification he received the crown.

893 Jan. 28. Feb. 2. Charles consecrated and crowned.

The young competitor's elevation, though sudden, could not have been altogether a surprisal. Eudes and Robert crossed the Loire from Aquitaine into "France," not very hastily, but interposing a due interval, during which expectations could be encouraged, apprehensions excited, and private intimations conveyed. All those who had concurred in recognizing Charles, appeared to rally loyally and strenuously round their young Sovereign. About Easter, the rival Kings and their armies were in sight of each other, so near that a battle seemed imminent; but, at this juncture, hostilities were dexterously avoided. Eudes applied himself to Fulco and the Vermandois Counts, to Richard-le-Justicier and Guillaume-le-Pieux, and to all who were mustered under the Carlovingian eagle. He addressed them temperately yet boldly. Had they not committed a great wrong, deserting him, the king of their

893 April, May. Eudes gains over the adherents of Charles.

choice?—let them return to their willing obedience, and they should receive a gracious pardon. —So said, so done: a prompt and hearty response was made to the call. Few were the weeks which had elapsed since Archbishop Fulco, and Count Herbert, and Count Richard-le-Justicier, and Count Guillaume-le-Pieux, not coerced, but acting upon their sense of duty, had unanimously sworn allegiance to the son of Louis-le-Bégue; and now, as unanimously, they slipped out of their oaths and abandoned him. 888—912 893—895

Raised to the throne in early Spring, when Summer came, Charles was a dethroned fugitive; but trusting to the untrustworthiness of the Franks, and to the chances afforded by their marvellous versatility, he fled cheerily, and with good hope of regaining his ground. 894 July—Sept. Charles expelled, but re-enters the Kingdom.

Like the diligent husbandman, his preparations were rewarded in the Autumnal season: by that time he had gathered a large and imposing force, re-entered France, and, with so much power, that a compromise ensued, Capet and Carlovingian agreeing to divide the kingdom.—Eudes is to rule north of the Loire, Charles southward far as the Pyrenees, if he can command obedience;—but the agreement was not kept, and indeed not intended to be so. The treaty took no effect. Had Eudes and Charles been willing to abide by their convention, their nobles were not: a worrying civil war, interspersed with fraudulent truces, 894 Compromise between Eudes and Charles; Eudes to reign north of the Loire, Charles south.

888—912 894—895

occupied about three years:—no "great principles" were invoked, no "national interests" sought. Important as the results became in their ultimate consequences, the conflict between Eudes and Charles, when you approach the fray, dwindles into a complication of miserable feuds, destitute of sentiment or grandeur.

Charles receives investiture of France from Arnolph.

§ 13. The contest, though protracted, was unequal—the Capet King, an experienced and tried warrior, supported by his brother Robert: Charles, a boy, destitute of any coadjutor upon whom he could rely.—The skirmishes, scarcely to be called campaigns, were principally carried on within the Vermandois territory. Charles, driven into Rheims and besieged by Count Robert, saw his cause speedily abandoned by his men; they stole out of the city, but upon favourable terms granted by Robert. The latter did not seek to drive his adversaries to extremities. Charles himself was allowed by Robert to depart in safety, and he visited the Court of King Arnolph, whose assistance he implored. Arnolph welcomed the son of Louis-le-Bégue kindly, and Charles was willing to receive investiture of the kingdom from him; a great triumph for the Slavo-Teutonic Senior. Arnolph commanded the Lotharingians to assist the expelled sovereign; but Eudes, an able tactitian, prevented Arnolph's troops from entering the kingdom, and Charles retreated to Burgundy. Their barbarian enemies

were, as usual, profiting by the civil war:—Magyars pressing onwards, Northmen gnawing out the heart of the country. Arnolph, whose character displays much magnificence, was impatient to justify his ancestry—his aspirations were grand; he was seeking to be Emperor, a real Emperor;—he now attempted to exercise his authority for the commonweal, and, by producing concord to diminish the Empire's calamities. He summoned the two kings of France to appear before him. Eudes complied: Charles, according to his recent submission, was bound to obey the mandate; but he spurned the subjection he had sought. Arnolph's mediation therefore failed, and the contest was renewed with greater pertinacity.

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895—897 Eudes and Charles summoned by Arnolph to appear before him.

Herbert of Vermandois changed sides again, attaching himself to Charles; others followed his example. Eudes never faltered in demonstrating his royal rights. All the power belonging to the Sovereign by the Frankish constitution, over the possessions, beneficiary or otherwise, of his vassals, Eudes exercised to the fullest extent: adherence to Charles he treated as felony: the nobles composing the party which supported Charles, he dispersed; he picked them out one by one. Peronne was taken, Saint-Quentin taken, till at last the Carlists had lost the whole of their towns and lands. Rheims alone held out against Eudes, who elsewhere enforced universal submission, even from Count Herbert; and

896—897 Successes of Eudes—Charles takes refuge in Lotharingia.

888—912
896—897

Charles took refuge under the wing of King Arnolph in Lotharingia, where he was protected, though unsatisfactorily, by Arnolph's son, the turbulent King Zwentibold.

Vigorous conduct of Charles.

Despite of all troubles and traverses, the courage of Charles was unabated: a naturally vigorous character received an additional support from the buoyancy of youth; he was inventive and full of resource: and he determined upon a measure, hazardous, almost desperate, but which the pressure of his position might suggest or justify. The Northmen were habitually cruising in the Seine, and the chieftain now occupying the river was a certain Hunedeus. This name is of singular sound, it never occurs before—possibly the reading is corrupt,—but the sudden apparition of "Hunedeus" is rendered more remarkable from the circumstance that others call him Rodo, or even *Rollo*.

Destitute of any adviser whom he could love or trust, Charles could not fail to discern that the Frankish prelates and nobles constituting his party, acted, when they did give him their uncertain support, for their sakes, and not for his own; and he formed the scheme of strengthening himself upon the throne by an alliance with the Pagan Northmen. Could he induce the Danes to unite their interest to the interests of France, he would infuse new blood, and the kingdom would acquire new

Charles endeavours to support himself by gaining over the Northmen.

glory. The instinctive prescience, the shadow of events cast before, is, in history, the observation of the causes which conduce to the future event; and the policy now attempted by Charles was afterwards consummated by his compact at Saint Clair-sur-Epte. "Hunedeus," upon the request of Charles, was baptized; and the treaties thus commenced would, had they been perfected, have then created Normandy. But their operation was suspended. Archbishop Fulco impeded the transaction to the utmost of his power. The apparent conversion of the Northmen he counted for nought: Hunedeus, clad in the neophyte's white garment, would be as much a Heathen Viking as before: he upbraided Charles with seeking such detestable aid. If he joined himself to the Pagans, he would be no better than a Pagan himself—better not reign at all than reign *sub patrocinio diaboli*.—Had the Franks ever kept any oath which they swore on cross, relic, or shrine, the Archbishop's admonition would have been more cogent. Charles might have replied that Fulco's *own* oath-breakings excused *his* condonation of Danish unbelievers. 888—912 897—898

But, under existing circumstances, it was not practicable for Charles to work out any effectual or satisfactory results. The Danes spread themselves widely—more dissensions and troubles: a bitter feud raged between Raoul, Count of Cambrai, Baudouin-le-Chauve's brother, and Herbert 897 Charles unprosperous: intercessions made to Eudes on his behalf.

888—912 of Vermandois; Raoul was killed by Herbert when besieging Saint-Quentin; and the very few
897—899 partisans whom Charles could muster, seeing that the Carlist cause was desperate, repaired on his behalf to Eudes. They became petitioners on the desolate young king's behalf;—would not the Capet recollect that their Seigneur was son of the Capet's Seigneur?—and they besought that King Eudes would allow unto the young prince some portion of his paternal kingdom. This appeal to the conscience of Eudes was not unavailing. Eudes agreed to the proposed pacification. He received Charles kindly, granted certain appanages to him, promised more, and made friends with Herbert and Baudouin.

899 Jan. 1. Death of Eudes. Eudes, brave Eudes, during these transactions was preparing for death.—Scarcely exceeding forty years of age, exertions and anxieties had worn him out. He had long been exceedingly distressed by morbid sleeplessness: this affection caused occasional delirium, and he knew his case was hopeless. At La-Fère-sur-Oise the mortal attack came on. Languishing on his dying bed, he exhorted all who had access to him that they should observe and keep their faith to Charles. Eudes died on the feast of the Circumcision; and the first king of the third dynasty received an honourable sepulture, with his Merovingian and Carlovingian predecessors, in the royal Abbey of Saint-Denis.

§ 14. "Le roi est mort—vive le Roi!" Within three days after Eudes' death, and in that same Abbey of Saint-Denis, Charles was again proclaimed king; and he re-entered upon the full exercise of his royal authority, uncontested, unopposed, hailed by all parties. A joyous hearty constitutional accession:—strange, that whilst the royal authority was becoming weaker in the king's person, the doctrines of royal legitimacy were pronounced more distinctly. Charles now employed a double date in his charters. He reckoned his regnal years from his first coronation, and also from this restoration, or, as the event is sometimes termed in these documents, the *reintegration* of his royal power. Robert Capet, the brother of Eudes, after a short delay, performed a simulated homage to Charles, and accepted a grant, or re-grant of the Duchy of France and County of Paris. Baudouin-le-Chauve, Count Herbert, Richard-le-Justicier and Guillaume-le-Pieux, all acted in the same manner, and again became the king's lieges. The Danes invaded the Vimeux, where they were defeated by king Charles, and his victory was gained by a force comparatively small. They were also beaten in Burgundy by Richard-le-Justicier; and circumstances fully warranted the expectation of tranquillity.

888—912.

899 Jan. Restoration of Charles.

The successes of Charles.

But the nobles would not allow the mortar to set. Incessant and sanguinary feuds prevailed. Baudouin-le-Chauve continued embittered against

888—912 the Vermandois family, and he was also most intent upon the object of usurping the great Abbeys within or adjoining to his dominions.—These transactions, so often noticed, constitute a main feature throughout the Carlovingian era; but although constantly presented to us, we scarcely appreciate their full extent; the ecclesiastical annalists were grieved at these perversions and ashamed of them, and they conceal, as far as is practicable, the fact that so many of the Prelates who appear in their Fasti are lay-intruders.

898—900 Secularization of ecclesiastical endowments.

898—900 Disputes between Baudouin-le-Chauve and Abp. Fulco.

The habitations congregated round Sithiu, or Saint-Bertin, had now become the flourishing Burgh of Saint-Omer: Saint-Vedast's Abbey and the abbatial Castle-garth constituted the most important quarter of Arras—Arras was identified with Saint-Vedast. These two tempting Abbeys had long been coveted by Baudouin-le-Chauve. Many a time and oft were these pieces of preferment assaulted and won and lost. At the present juncture, Archbishop Fulco held both the Abbeys, which he administered conscientiously and worthily. At Sithiu he had been much aided by the moral influence and talent of holy Grimbald—the Grimbald to whom tradition ascribes the well-known crypt under Saint Peter's in Oxford; for he soon found a welcome in England, where we know him as Bishop of Winchester and King Alfred's Chancellor. Fulco afforded efficient aid to Alfred in the restoration of the Anglo-Saxon

Church; he was wise and pious, and the lamentable inconsistencies of his character must be ascribed to the political murrain which infected the whole State. Fulco's possession thwarted Baudouin-le-Chauve's views. Baudouin's vexation provoked him to the utmost against the clergy: he caused a priest to be publicly whipped, seized the churches, and rioted in anti-clerical disorder. Indeed the Church was in continual strife with the principalities and powers of the world: viewed historically, it seems truly marvellous that she did not succumb to her enemies. 888—912 / 898—900

The Marquisate of Flanders had been erected in favour of Baudouin-bras-de-fer, for the purpose of opposing a barrier against the Danes. Baudouin-le-Chauve, busy in his quarrel, could ill perform his duty as a Lord-Marcher; the Danes were swarming, the Magyars rapidly approaching, and the reports of their devastation filling France with terror and confusion.

900 Baudouin demands St. Vedast. Abp. Fulco murdered.

Charles assembled his army near the Oise, convening at the same time a great Council, for the purpose of considering how he could best deal with the Northmen. Baudouin-le-Chauve attended, but the defence of the country was the last thing in his mind. He pleaded before Charles for the restoration of Saint-Vedast; the King being considered as having the complete prerogative of dealing with these possessions according to his full will and pleasure. Archbishop

888—912 Fulco opposed the demand. Herbert of Vermandois supported Fulco, and Grimbald aided Fulco's
893—911 cause by his arguments. The dispute, so far as it was personal, between Archbishop Fulco and Baudouin-le-Chauve, received a speedy termination. The Archbishop went to and from the court as usual, unprotected and without suspicion. A band of ruffians, headed by Baudouin's vassals, Winemar and Wilfrid and Everard, surrounded the old man, and basely murdered him. Proof cannot be furnished that Baudouin suggested this assassination, but he did not evince any disapprobation of the deed. Much confusion ensued, yet the Council continued. It should seem that measures were under discussion for renewing negotiations with the Northmen. King Charles chiefly advised with Count Robert Capet, Herbert of Vermandois, Richard-le-Justicier, and

Quarrel in Council.

Manasses Count of Dijon. The counsellors were divided and factious. Count Manasses spoke disrespectfully of Robert Capet—some busy mischief-maker reported the words to Robert, who mounted his horse and rode off in anger, and

900—911 the Council broke up in confusion. The only

Singular chasm in the materials of French history.

Chronicle upon which we can depend, breaks off as abruptly as the Council, and a chasm of about ten years ensues, during which we scarcely possess any knowledge whatever of French history.

900—911 § 15. These ten years constituted a period of trouble and disorder, the Empire continuing to

be cruelly infested by the Northmen; we only guess at their devastations by the appearance of public affairs: some insulated facts scantily enabling us to feel our way until the voice of the witnesses is again heard. Charles had been living "gaily," according to the common phrase: "dissolutely" would be less euphemistic, but more true. A wife or concubine dead or discarded had not given him any male issue; Gisella is considered to have been her daughter. Upon the demand of his Proceres, anxious without doubt concerning the succession—for he was now (Vermandois being excluded) the only acknowledged throne-capable representative of Charlemagne—Charles therefore married: selecting for his consort the noble damsel Frederuna, sister of Boso, Bishop of Chalons.

888—912
900—911
907 Charles marries Frederuna.

The parentage, nay, even the existence of Gisella, the state-offering to Rollo, has been treated as an important problem by recent French historians: they question her identity, her existence, and we are therefore interested in Frederuna, whom some suppose to have been Gisella's mother; but hardly any memorials exist in which this lady is named excepting the recitals testified by Charles in the Charter under his hand and seal, whereby he bestows on his Queen a somewhat scanty dowry, and the notices contained in certain other charters relating to her pious foundations—authentic evidence unquestionably,

888—912 yet meagre and jejune.—Consecrated and crowned at Rheims, Frederuna died about ten years after
900—911 her marriage, and tradition pointed out her place of interment in the church of Saint-Remi, beneath the great corona-lucis, but undistinguished by any monument.

Herbert of Vermandois slain—succeeded by Herbert II. (See p. 356.)

Amongst the few reminiscences transmitted from this dim period, we learn the death of Herbert of Vermandois. In fair and open warfare had the Seigneur of Peronne and Saint-Quentin slain Raoul of Cambrai, Baudouin-le-Chauve's brother: but a bitter feud arose. Herbert sought peace, Adeliza his daughter was betrothed to Arnoul, Baudouin's son, after him Count of Flanders, historically designated as Arnoul-le-Vieux, and lamentably conspicuous in Norman history; but no reconciliation ensued: and Count Herbert was massacred at the instigation of Baudouin, implacably avenging his brother's blood.

Herbert the second of Vermandois, who succeeded his father, inherited and enlarged the dominions which imparted so much importance to the disinherited branch of the Carlovingian stem. Power, perverseness and activity, rendered this Herbert a participator in all political troubles so long as he lived. But the Capets were not to be stayed in their orbit; and Robert Duke of France, espousing Rothaida or Rothilda, dubiously connected with royalty, assumed a station in the realm inferior only to the king.

§ 16. Rollo returns from England, heading a gathering of warriors and soldiers, more ambitious, more strenuous, more determined than ever before.—Hitherto, renowned as Rollo had been, he did not appear predominant in the Danish host. Hitherto his fighting men had been accustomed to boast,—We are equal, we know no Seigneur;—but they now deferred the supreme authority to him, a king without a kingdom. Some of his squadron-crews were unquestionably Norskmen from Norway, others Anglo-Danes, Jutes, Englishmen:—whatever may have been the precise proportion of these national constituencies, the French were accustomed to call their language English; and it is remarkable, that the very scanty vestiges of their dialects preserved in local denominations, and in the single exclamatory phrase which we possess in Rollo's words, are rather Anglo-Teutonic in their sound.

888—912

911 Rollo returns to the Gauls.

The invaders extended themselves southward and northward. They plundered Aquitaine; the peasantry of the Gironde coast again pressed their grapes and filled their casks for the benefit of the guzzling Northmen. The Danish bands on the borders of the Loire received new accessions; but they prospered principally in the Seine territories, now so worn as to be in many parts completely waste and desolate, inviting a new population—Rouen, the ruined capital of a ruined country. Their occupation here was now rapidly

Encrease of the Danish settlements.

888—912 assuming the aspect of a permanent settlement; their dominion began to appear lawful. *It is nice to cut thongs out of other folks' hides.* The principles which, according to the ethics of civilization, justify or condemn the modes of exercising territorial acquisitiveness, are divided by boundary lines exquisitely fine, nay evanescent, when we attempt to discriminate between the moral right of the *squatter*, the *colonist*, and the *conqueror*.—The Northman was all three combined.

911

The Northmen and the Romane population.

Whatever violence, fraud or injustice, had enabled the Northmen to gain possession of the Frankish territory, many of their children, being born of Romane mothers, were naturalized in the country; and all, more or less, were conforming themselves to the nations amongst whom they were planted. Christianity made some progress amongst them, they affected the "civility" and the usages of the Romanized populations. Amidst the tumults of the times, the ecclesiastical magistracy exerted their powers to mitigate hostility. Fulco, the murdered bishop of Rheims, had been succeeded by Hervé, a royal clerk, a chaplain of the Palace, mild, pious, benign, laborious and learned, and, as Primate of the Gauls, took earnest thought concerning the spiritual welfare of the Northmen. Not less earnest in the good cause was Witto or Guido, Archbishop of Rouen, an individual otherwise

wholly unknown; the like being the case with the greater number of the Neustrian and Armorican prelates during this calamitous era. The student opens the conscientious "Gallia Christiana" for information; and he is answered by the Prelate's name, printed in capitals, margined by hypothetical dates, and followed by a line of modest conjecture. Almost all ecclesiastical documents perished during the invasions; and notwithstanding the labour bestowed by the indefatigable Benedictines in compiling their excellent and, as yet, unrivalled repertory, they are compelled to acknowledge that even the chronological succession of the ecclesiastical dignitaries cannot be determined with certainty.

888—912

900—909 Hervé, Archbishop of Rheims (900—921); and Witto, or Gnido, Archbishop of Rouen (892—909), labour for the conversion of the Northmen.

Idolatry—and ethnic usages—the sport or the festival, the funeral or the marriage, celebrated with antient rites, or contracted according to the antient dooms and laws of the Asi, which though not absolutely idolatrous, fostered idolatry—offered powerful obstacles to Christianity; but greater practically, were the difficulties occasioned by their adoption of an imperfect Christianity. Many of the Northmen, having been baptized and rebaptized, relapsed into their ancient superstitions: many of the Franks also, familiarized with the Danes, apostatized to their opinions and customs: cathedral chapters and monasteries had been in a great measure broken up or dispersed, and the priesthood driven away

888—912 or slain, save the few demoralized or degraded survivors.

900—909 These distressing perplexities were amongst the accustomed trials of the church. Analogous circumstances had produced analogous effects; they were no new things. Dismissing from consideration the apostolic era, the Church, acting through her organized hierarchy, had constantly and consistently striven against such evils, teaching as she had been taught, and thereby inured to the conflict. Each successive age enriched the treasury of experience: for in each successive age Councils, Popes and Fathers had adjudicated during similar exigencies; and the missionary saints, their lives and writings, afforded most instructive examples of the course to be pursued. From

900—905 Archbishop Hervé's pastoral monition. such materials, Archbishop Hervé, upon the request of Archbishop Guido, compiled a pastoral monition, containing twenty-three Chapters or heads of instruction, which he transmitted to the Prelate of Rouen for his guidance in labouring amongst the rude population of his diocese.

900 Pope John IX. his advice to Abp. Hervé. Be mild, be considerate, be sparing of our weaker brethren, had been the advice given by the Supreme Pontiff, whose affectionate counsel guided the archbishop:—no novelties are propounded, no striking facts disclosed, yet the homiletic epistle, by declaring the errors which the teachers had to combat, and the exigencies they were required to meet, conveys a clearer idea

of the Danish mind than the vague Chronicle language. 888—912

§ 17. The Church thus working to procure peace, Charles was encouraged to resume the policy, which, under another aspect, Fulco had so strenuously condemned The long-continued invasions had rendered the country extremely miserable: whole districts were thrown out of cultivation; and the complaints of the people excited the King to attempt a remedy for the prevailing evils. 911

Charles concludes a truce with Rollo,—discontent of the Counts of Burgundy and Poitou, who attack Rollo when the truce expires.

Rollo ruled in Rouen. Franco, who became Archbishop after Guido, acknowledged the Dane as Senior or Lord, and Charles, the Archbishop mediating, concluded a three months' truce with Rollo, contemplating, (as evinced by subsequent events,) a cession of Neustrian territory. Among the Magnates of the Franks, there were, however, those who considered such pacific overtures as a national degradation: national pride was provoked by national weakness; and, the truce having expired, Richard-le-Justicier, Count or Duke of Burgundy, and Ebles the Mamzer, Count of Poitou, assembling their forces, attacked the Dane.

Rollo's aggressive campaign.

Rollo was exceedingly angered. Did the Frenchmen hold him cheap? he would make them feel his power,—challenged, he accepted the challenge: he determined to punish the country, and an exterminating war was renewed.

888—912 Rollo marched into Burgundy and plundered beyond Sens; his barges also entering the Seine
911—912 from the Yonne, and combining with his land-forces, spread up the country, which they burnt and ravaged as far as Clermont in the Beauvoisis. Dudon relates the campaign's details with singular precision. They must have been well recollected in Rollo's family, for we can trace his route upon the map by and through the towns and rivers which Dudo enumerates. The desolating host visited Fleury on the Loire, the monastery so venerated in the Anglo-Saxon Church, bearing Saint Benedict's name, and honoured by his mortal remains translated from distant Monte-Cassino: but a compunctious feeling induced Rollo to spare the Sanctuary. These slight touches enable us to estimate his character;—good temper, humanity, and perhaps Christian instruction already slightly received, or some fear of supernatural vengeance, contending against the interests and passions fostered by the vocation of the conquering pirate.

The Danes then occupied the opposite bank of the Seine, pillaged Etampes, an ancient and splendid palace—thence to Villemeux near Dreux, and threatened Paris.

Chartres, supported by the Frankish commanders, prepares for defence.

Rendered desperate by their sufferings, the peasantry assembled tumultuously against the Danes. Rollo's light cavalry massacred the churls, and he then occupied the Dunois and the Pays-

Chartrain.—Chartres, impoverished and wasted by the Danish hordes, was governed by bishop Walthelm, the city well fortified, and the inhabitants stoutly determined upon resistance. The cathedral contained and yet contains a remarkable relic, a delicate silken web of Byzantine or oriental manufacture, fondly supposed to be the Holy Virgin's garment. The people confiding in her protection, prepared themselves for the peril, whilst Robert duke of France, Richard of Burgundy, and Ebles the Mamzer, the three great Frankish commanders, had, upon the approach of the Danes, mustered before the walls. A portion of Rollo's forces encamped upon a hill, the Mont-Levis, north of the city. The remainder of the Danish troops continued stationed in the plain. 888—912 911

On Saturday the twentieth day of July, a day celebrated at Chartres even until the Revolution, the combined Frankish and Burgundian forces gave battle to the Northmen; the townsmen at the same time sallying forth, bearing the relic as their banner. Rollo and his forces were shamefully routed, smitten, as the legend tells, with corporeal blindness. A panic fear assuredly fell upon the heroic commander, a species of mental infirmity discernible in his descendants: the contagious terror unnerved the host. Unpursued, they dispersed and fled without resistance. Six thousand eight hundred Danish corpses were counted on the field, and the name of the *Pré* 20 July, 911. Battle of Chartres. Panic of Rollo and the Northmen.

888—912
911—912

des Reculés,—just without the *Porte Drouaise*, the gate leading to Dreux,—commemorates the raising of the siege and the delivery of Chartres.

The Danes recover from their panic, and storm the French camp.

Thanks to the imprudence of their enemies, the Danes immediately regained the superiority which they had lost without a cause: the Count of Poitou, Ebles the Mamzer, lagging behind, had not arrived opportunely to take his due share in the conflict. The Franks and Burgundians, glorying in their successes, mocked Ebles and his Poitevins: a foolish quarrel and foolish boastings ensued, and the Poitevins were scornfully told by their rivals in their own camp, that there were Danes enough remaining upon the Mont-Levis to try their metal—they might redeem their honour if they chose. Ebles accepted the challenge; but the Danes, advantaged by their position, repelled the Poitevins with great loss. In the dark of the night, the Northmen, sounding their horns and making a terrible clamour, rushed down the mount and stormed the Frankish camp. Ebles ran away and concealed himself in a fuller's workshop,—his recreancy was derided in popular ballads, which continued current (as it should seem) till the Plantagenet age:

> "*Vers en firent e estraboz*
> *U out assez de vileins moz.*"

and the Danes, the Frankish army being dispersed, rejoined Rollo.

The defeat of the Danes before Chartres, though

worthily deemed a local triumph, was an incident without any importance in the general fortunes of the campaign, except that, on the whole, the outburst of the Mont-Levis encouraged the Northmen. The Danes pursued their warfare with systematic pertinacity, the French were pressed harder than ever; all now agreed in the necessity of a pacification: and a negotiation was opened on the part of King Charles, mainly conducted by Robert Capet.—Duke Robert was indeed the principal in these transactions. Any cession made to the Danes in Neustria would be at his expence, for he asserted a superiority, positive, though undefined, over all the dominions between Seine and Loire, and unless Duke Robert assented, no compact could be concluded. Many *pour-parlers* and propositions took place and were exchanged. On and off, Rollo had been in France during the greater part of his active life, fighting, negotiating, receiving French money: he knew the country and people well, the terms he should demand and the propositions he should reject; and he was resolved to secure a settlement in a territory where he might establish his future power.

888—912

911—912

Charles determines to negotiate with Rollo.

§ 18. At length the conference took place on the left or eastern bank of the shallow gliding Epte, Charles occupying the little town of Saint-Clair. On the right or western bank stood Rollo, assisted and advised by Franco, Archbishop of Rouen,—he whom the Norman reminiscences

911. The conference of St. Clair-sur-Epte.

888—912
911—912

confused with Franco Bishop of Liege, the counsellor of Charles-le-Chauve,—and surrounding and supporting Rollo were the eagerly expectant groups, chieftains and soldiers, old men, young men and growing boys, amongst whom the fragments of historical traditions enable us to discern some few ancestors of Normandy's stalwart aristocracy, the Danish men who had accompanied the prosperous warrior, sharing his fortunes or his dangers.

The followers of Rollo.

Numerous were Rollo's kith and kin. The names of two may be recalled,—*Gerlo*, who held the County of Blois, and *Huldrich* or *Malahulc*, the uncle of Rollo.—This Malahulc was the ancestor of a widely-spread noble sept, chief amongst whom were the renowned Houses of Conches and Toeny.

Botho, the well-trusted veteran, founded the opulent family of Tesson. According to popular etymology, a natural amusement of the human mind, the Tessons obtained their surname, "the badger," from their peculiar talent of burrowing or fixing their claws wherever they could gain possession: a significant if not a noble epithet. —"La-Roche-Tesson,"—it was also a common saying,—"holds one-third of broad Normandy: one-third of Normandy belongs to La-Roche-Tesson."

Near to Botho stands *Bernard the Dane:* supported by his son *Torf;* and eight or more

seignorial towns tell by their present names that Torf was their former Lord. Lofty were the banners raised by the Dane Bernard's progeny amongst the baronial blazonry of Normandy and of England;—the Harcourts displaying their cheering motto, *Le bon temps viendra;*—and Beaumont Earl of Mellent and Beaumont Earl of Warwic, Beaumont Earl of Leicester and Beaumont Earl of Bedford, and Tancreville, and Gournay, Aumalle, Elbeuf, and Eu, and more than we have room to reckon, all claim Bernard as their ancestor. 888—911 911—91 Bernard the Dane and his descendants.

Oslac or *Auslac*, his name misread or euphonized into the form of "Lancelot," consorts with Bernard.—Oslac's son *Thurstan* assumed the territorial denomination of "Tourstain de Bastenbourg." From Thurstan came the Seigneurs of Briquebec, or Birkbeck, and the Counts of Montfort-sur-Rille.

Osfrid was the ancestor of Hugh Lupus, Earl of Chester. *Riulph*, rich and powerful in Evreux, became also Count of the Côtentin; and one more may be recognized, *Osmund*, from whom descended the family of Osmond-de-Centvilles; they who give the bearing also appertaining to the illustrious Seymours,—the *Vol*,—the wings displayed, the hieroglyphic significantly recalling the achievement which, preserving the liberty or life of Rollo's grandchild, has entitled Osmund to so conspicuous a station in Norman history.

888—912
911—912

§ 19. The transactions ensuing are usually quoted as constituting the treaty of Saint Clair-sur-Epte, a designation somewhat inappropriate, inasmuch as the term "treaty" conveys the idea of a diplomatic instrument, to which the parties could appeal with certainty. This, however, was not the case. It is the cardinal fact in Norman history, that the Normans, during the period comprehended in the reigns of the first two Dukes or *Seniors*, never employed the art of writing in their political or legal transactions—the State was, in practice, absolutely illiterate—and the particulars of this celebrated compact can only be collected from oral traditions, not reduced into writing until Dudon de Saint-Quentin, the first historian of Normandy, took up the pen, and inscribed the first pages of her history.

911. "Treaty" of Saint Clair-sur-Epte.

The Franks urgent for peace.

When Charles concluded his three months' truce with Rollo, we have seen that the Franks were indignant at the compromise; but their pride was brought low, and they thronged upon their monarch to conciliate the dreaded Dane. Archbishop Franco, again mediating between the parties, but more immediately concerned for Rollo, employed all his influence. State-marriages had been long considered as a legitimate mode of advancing the royal interest; and the advisers of Charles urged him to give a daughter in marriage to the Dane, the damsel Gisella. Charles assented, but Rollo did not glow towards the

Princess; he had his own bonne-amie, he cared nothing for Gisella. The old Soldier held out with obstinate tranquillity against the praises bestowed by Archbishop Franco upon Gisella's beauty and procerity, accompanied by a full exposition of the advantages he would derive from the alliance; but the Frankish counsellors insisted: the Danish chieftains also strongly supported the proposition:—would not Rollo, through Gisella, become the father of a right royal progeny?—Thus courted and exhorted, Rollo agreed to accept the damsel's hand: his coy assent to the alliance being accompanied by a demand for a competent dowry. 888—912 911—912 Gisella given in marriage to Rollo.

Such a request had, of course, been anticipated, yet considerable difficulties arose. When Charles was required to define and complete the covenant which should establish the Dane in Gaul, imparting a legal title to the acquisitions the Northmen had made upon the banks of the Seine, and settling them in the heart of the Frankish kingdom, he became jealous for his own dignity, and would fain have avoided fulfilling his own designs. He therefore endeavoured to restrict the donation to the narrowest bounds, and to part with no more than what he had already lost. Rouen, or the heap of ruins which constituted Rouen, could not be taken from Rollo: who could unlock his grasp? Osker had discovered the city for the Danes, and their suc- Offer made by the French.

888—912 cessive occupations and invasions had kept up their continual claim: the treaty with Charles-
911—912 le-Chauve recognized their domination; Charles his grandson was willing to declare that the desolated tracts about the ruined Rouen, unstocked by the herdsmen, untilled by the plough, might belong to Rollo.

But even the French King's counsellors supported Rollo in rejecting this insufficient and almost affronting offer. Rollo must have wherewithal he and his men can live—if Rollo and his men do not receive their needs, they must help themselves, of necessity, by robbing and reiving. The demand propounded by Rollo was large and ambiguous: from the banks of the Epte, whereon they stood, even until the sea.—To that demand an ample concession was reluctantly yielded, a territory including those districts of the Duchy afterwards known as *la haute Normandie*, to wit, the territory of the antient Caleti, the *Pays de Caux*, together with the *Comté d'Eu* and the *Pays de Brai*, between the Brêle and the Seine—the *Roumois*, or Pagus Rothomagensis, whose boundaries are the Andelle and the Rille,—and the *Vexin Normand*, or so much of the Pagus Veliocassinus as is included between that same Andelle and the Epte, which, rising near Bolbec, runs by Gisors, and falls into the Seine between Mantes and Vernon. There are few countries in which the

Cession made to Rollo comprehending the district known as "Haute Normandie."

artificial or political demarcations are so neatly marked out by rivers and rivulets as Normandy; the streams forming convenient natural divisions, which, guiding the aboriginal inhabitants in their settlements, were permanently adopted in the civil and ecclesiastical repartitions of the country. The remainder of the Pagus Veliocassinus, retained by Charles, acquired the name of the *Vexin Français*, and became a source of much trouble between France and Normandy. In the contest to gain or regain this border-land, William the Conqueror received the injury which brought him to the grave. 888–912 / 911–912

But the terms of Rollo's asking, from the Epte to the sea, warranted the extension of the Danish dominion to the Atlantic. Charles would have preferred to send Rollo in the opposite direction, and offered him Flanders,—*ut ex ea viveret*—he would provide occupation for his son-in-law as far away as he could. Flanders proper, as we know, was now held by her own sturdy Count, Baudouin-le-Chauve, and Flanders was not the King's to give;—but probably under this familiar and colloquial term, Friezland was the country intended. Discussions concerning the cession of territory.

The acute Rollo declined the proposition. Why should he resume his fight against the Frisons to win their swamps and marshes? Frisia was an ill-fated country for the Northmen: none had prospered there. Charles was contented to com- Britanny granted to Rollo.

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promise by conferring another dominion upon Rollo, which the Crown of France had virtually abandoned, Armorica, and whatever other territories such a royal grant might include, or enable Rollo to acquire. The Armorican Marches were already largely in the possession of the Northmen, and whether these Northmen would obey Rollo or not, he was well satisfied to accept whatever authority the grant might convey.

Rollo performs homage to King Charles.

§ 20. The dominion thus determined, Rollo, obeying the directions given by the Frankish counsellors, placed his hands betweeen the hands of the king, and became the King's man; such an act as never had been performed by Rollo's father, or Rollo's grandfather, or Rollo's great-grandfather before him. Therefore from the king he received his investiture—the appointed land to be held *in alodo et in fundo*, and all Britanny: the land from the Epte to the sea. A custom subsisted in the Carlovingian court, that whoever asked or received any boon from royalty, kissed the sovereign's knee or buskin, in token of grateful humility. This mode of obeisance had no relation to "feudalism."—*La bouche et les mains* sufficed; merely as "Senior," the king could require no more; but the ceremony of *adoration* was a very ancient and universal mode of testifying subjection, and was rendered without difficulty by any suppliant for grace and favour. The incident would scarcely require much notice,

were it not for the dogged illiberality which has converted the usage into an accusation against the Bishops, who are charged with having introduced the practice for the purpose of humiliating the temporal nobility. 888—912 911—912

The demand, however, though accustomed, affronted Rollo, who indignantly refused—*ne si by Got*,—was his exclamation. The Franks insisting upon conformity, Rollo surlily consented that his proxy should render the worship claimed for the King, and Charles, as is well known, was rudely thrown backwards by the Danish soldier. Norman arrogance,—such as was displayed when Rollo's descendant, Robert-le-Diable, the conqueror's father, bullied the throne of the Eastern Emperor,—may perhaps be considered as confirming the story; and if it be not true, the family were proud of an insult fabled to have been offered to the French sovereign, which amounts to nearly the same thing. Rollo refuses to kiss the King's foot.

A remarkable assurance given by Charles and his legislature to Rollo, (almost unnoticed by historians,) completed the cession.—King Charles and Duke Robert, and the Counts and the Proceres, the Bishops and the Abbots, promised to be faithful to the Patrician Rollo in life and limb, and the honour of the realm; and that the territory, as he held and possessed the same, should pass to his heirs and descendants from generation to generation for ever; The assurance given to Rollo by King Charles, Duke Robert, &c.

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and, the transactions concluded, Charles returned home, and Duke Robert and Archbishop Franco remained with Rollo.

Uncertainty as to the extent of the Feudal Suzerainty of the Crown of France.

§ 21. Thus was the Dane installed in the "Terra Northmannorum."—What are the evidences declaring the relations subsisting between the Frankish Sovereign and the Norman chief? Over-loyal jurists have dreamed of letters patent issued by Charles-le-Simple, his great seal pendent *semé de fleurs de lis sans nombre*. Others assert that Rollo accepted the country as a fief, recognizing the sovereignty of the Carlovingian Crown.—When our first Edward proceeded to claim the rights which, as he alleged, resulted from the Scottish subjection, he produced some muniments from his treasury; but the proofs of the superiority of the English Crown, could not from their nature, be perfected otherwise than by connecting them with the testimony afforded by the chronicles of past times. These were not preserved amongst the records of the realm, and could only be found in ecclesiastical libraries. The English Sovereign therefore addressed his writs to the cathedrals and principal monasteries throughout England, commanding each Dean and chapter, Abbot, Prior and convent, to make search amongst their archives for all matters relating to Scotland, and to transmit the same to the king under their common seals; and the certificates transmitted accordingly, are still extant. Truth

was asked, truth was told, and due diligence employed by the plaintiff in the great Scottish cause. 888—912 912

Philippe-Auguste, asserting his "feudal-rights" over Normandy, and pronouncing sentence of forfeiture against John Lackland, did not direct any such search to be instituted; but we in a manner have done so; and in other portions of this work the reader will find extracted every existing text bearing upon the Norman question, by which his judgment may be guided. In the present instance, it is sufficient to state that Charles construed the cession to "Rollo" and his Counts, the "Northmen of the Seine," as having been made *pro tutela regni*, whereas the same body of Norman Counts, in the time of Rollo's grandson, Richard Sans-peur, boldly told the Carlovingian Monarch, "Duke Richard governs the Norman region as a king: he serves neither king nor duke, and owns no superior under Heaven." Or, adopting the phraseology which gives such poetic force to the traditionary jurisprudence of the Teutonic races, they asserted that he held Normandy as a *Sonnen-Lehn*—"from God and the Sun." Denial of the supremacy of France by the Normans.

§ 22. A confused, but very remarkable narration, compiled soon after the accession of Hugh Capet, would lead us to suppose that, hostilities having recommenced between Rollo and the Franks, the Northmen refused to accept Christianity until their conversion was enforced by Robert Capet's prowess. It is quite impracticable

888—912 to marshal the evidence satisfactorily. Nor can we dismiss an awkward suspicion, suggested by the Frankish chronicles, that Rollo, when he treated at Saint-Clair-sur-Epte, was well known to Charles as a relapsed Pagan. Dudon de Saint-Quentin gives us no such hint: but we may excuse Rollo's descendants if they forgot any circumstances derogatory to the reputation of their great ancestor. His history is perplexing from beginning to end; the fragmentary and often contradictory statements which furnish much matter for critical—(and perhaps tediously unprofitable)—discussion, cannot by any means be all included in one consistent or coherent narrative. Any how the formal reception of Christianity by Rollo was retarded until the subsequent year. Robert Duke of France appeared as his

912 Rollo baptized at Rouen.

912 sponsor, and, at the font, the name of Robert was given to the Dane. Dudon de Saint-Quentin denominates the hero by his baptismal appellation; and such may have been the courtly style; but the old Norsk name, the name which had honoured him in youth and in age, was alone recognized by the world; the world will ever know him as Rollo.

Rollo signalized his baptism by donations to the Church; the Archbishop directed his bounty; and each of the seven days which elapsed whilst Rollo-Robert wore the white chrismal vestment (perhaps not for the first time) the catechumen

displayed some token of his liberality. On the first day, Notre-Dame of Rouen was compensated for the territories which the See had lost.— Saint-Exupere, of Bayeux, smarting under the wounds the Dane had inflicted, was aided on the second.—Dilapidated Saint-Taurin, at Evreux, on the third.—On the fourth, the Celtic Cell, the rock-sanctuary of Saint Michael, well denominated *in periculo maris*, received a grant, and the Archangel was adopted as the tutelary patron of the Northmen.—On the fifth, Saint-Ouen, then without the city boundary.—On the sixth, Jumièges, where the scared monks crouched in huts and hovels amidst the walls of the fire-scathed fabric.—Lastly, on the seventh, royal Saint-Denis obtained Brenneval, whose field was destined to become so mournfully memorable in the pages of Norman history.

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912 Rollo's donations to the Norman church.

§ 23. A formal repartition of the ceded territory ensued, chieftains and soldiery taking or retaining their shares. The Carlovingian title of *Count* was adopted by the Leaders according to the natural course of events; for, without any effort, Rollo and the Romanized Danes conformed to the ethos of the Carlovingian monarchy. Listening to tradition, and repeating the only words we can use in the total absence of any deed or of any coeval testimony, the lands were divided by the *rope*, or according to measurement. Rollo's grandchildren were thus accustomed to describe the

Repartition of the Terra Normannorum.

888—912 act of their ancestor, "Illam terram suis fidelibus funiculos divisit."—The *reebning*, or mensuration by the rope or line, supplied the technical term of *hrepp* to the glossary of Scandinavian legislation: archæologists have therefore pronounced an opinion that the *Rapes* of Sussex, the divisions ranging from the Channel shore to the *Suthrige* border, were, according to Norwegian fashion, thus plotted out by the Conqueror.

912 Norman measurements.

We also find in England, more certainly borrowed from Normandy, the *leucata*, or *lowy*, a circuit averaging a custumary league in diameter, surrounding certain castles or towns, marking out the extent of jurisdiction.—In these examples, the *line* was unquestionably employed; yet the ancient landmarks, such as existed in the Gallo-Roman period, seem to have been rarely disturbed. The Pagus became a Bailliage, or a County, and the ambit of a Villa, a township or a seignory. Except during the heat and fury of conquest, the peasantry, the descendants of the ancient *coloni*, were not evicted by the Danes, but continued to dwell on the land they tilled, as is fully evinced by the preponderance of the Romane dialect.—The conquerors however gave the widest construction to the law of property: air, water and earth, were all to be theirs, fowl, fish, and beast of chase, where the arrow could fly, the dog could draw, or the net could fall—sportsmen, huntsmen, the Danish lords appro-

Peasantry, not evicted by the Danes.

priated to themselves all woodland and water, copse and grove, river, marsh and mere. Their usurpation of the rights previously enjoyed in common occasioned in the days of Rollo's great-grandson a fearful rebellion; and the spirit of the forest-laws, the pregnant source of misery to Old England, has perhaps acquired additional bitterness in our present age; we retain the evil, whilst our pariahs have lost the compensations which mitigated mediæval tyranny. 888—912 912

Rollo is said to have introduced an harmonious and perfect system of *feudality*, methodizing the laws and usages of tenure as they prevailed elsewhere, and profiting by all the improvements which experience had suggested.—His legislative talent (it is thus supposed) gave one origin to all rights of property, imparting to feudality a regularity hitherto unknown; and this Province, the most modern in Gaul, became a model for all others.— "Feudal system" supposedby Sismondi, &c. to have been introduced by Rollo—doubts as to this opinion.

Such are the observations entitled to respect on account of the authority whence they proceed; and the theory thus enounced is incorporated, so to speak, in the textus receptus of Norman history; but, however recommended by simplicity, and conformable to our general prepossessions, the support of any evidence whatever is absolutely wanting. Not a single Norman deed or muniment, grant or charter, signed or unsigned, sealed or unsealed, can be found until

888—912 the reign of Richard Sans-peur; and then very
912 rarely—a dearth contrasting singularly with the diplomatic opulence of Anglo-Saxon England. The lieger-books of the Norman monasteries, anterior to the reign of William the Bastard, scarcely contain a document of importance: and, whilst we possess full information concerning the Anglo-Saxon tenures of land previous to Duke William's conquest of our country, we know absolutely nothing concerning the parallel circumstances of his own Normandy. The legitimate boundaries of historical doubt are therefore not over-stepped, if we consider the invention of the full "*feudal system*" by Rollo exercising the plenitude of his power, as a legal fiction in the most extensive sense of the term. Nay, it remains to be proved whether any system of Norman tenure had been matured into consistency by fiscal talent until after the seventh Duke of Normandy won the Anglo-Saxon Crown.

Was the system of tenures in Normandy older than the Conqueror?

§ 24. Rollo assimilated himself to the Romane modes of thought, art, and action, in all the concerns of human life or society. He caused the dilapidated towns and cities to be rebuilt: Rouen and her Cathedral demanded his primary care. Zealous antiquarians, kneeling on the pavement, and closely examining the basement courses of the northernmost tower, the *Tour de Saint-Romain*, decide that the masonry belonged to the original structure. There is a crypt, possibly of

the Roman Christian period, beneath the Church of Saint-Gervais; and Saint-Ouen displays, as it is thought, a portion of the Merovingian choir. With some such few exceptions, all the sacred edifices were reconstructed by or under the influence of Rollo. 888—912 Rouen: Rollo's enlargement of the City and other works therein.

Ancient Rothomagus was refounded by the city's Danish Lord. Embankments and trenches restrained or absorbed the idle waste of waters: where Rollo found islands he left dry land, the channels were obliterated; and the rocks, at whose foot, when he first entered Rouen, he staid his vessel's course, buried in the causeway. The *terres-neuves*, the land regained by the works which Rollo executed, doubled the size of the renovated metropolis. The whole was re-fortified, and the great castle, afterwards called the Vieux Palais, erected by Rollo. Every vestige of this building has perished; and our curiosity is vainly excited by the notice that an *Alfred*, whoever he may have been, gave his name to one of the towers. Henceforward Rouen grew from age to age: successive sovereigns—Richard-sans-peur, Philippe-Auguste, Saint-Louis and Philippe-de-Valois,—enlarged the circuit. Suburbs and outlying villages were embraced by the expanding walls and ramparts; and, counting Rollo's as the second, six new and concentric enceintes during the *ancien regime* encreased the flourishing city; the area which they enclosed being now quadrupled within the boundary of the existing Octroi. The Vieux Palais, *Alfred's* tower.

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The three Legends of Rollo the lawgiver.

§ 25. The reputation of Rollo the legislator vied with the reputation of Rollo the conqueror; and in the old time, three popular legends peculiarly commemorated his love of justice.

It was a "wise custom" in Normandy, established by Rollo's decree, that whoever sustained or feared to sustain any damage of goods or chattels, life or limb, was entitled to raise the country by the cry of *haro*, or *harou*, upon which cry all the lieges were bound to join in pursuit of the offender, *Harou! Ha Raoul!*—justice invoked in Duke Rollo's name. Whoever failed to aid, made fine to the Sovereign; whilst a heavier mulct was consistently inflicted upon the mocker who raised the *clameur de haro* without due and sufficient cause, a disturber of the commonwealth's tranquillity.

Legend I, the *Clameur de Haro.*

Strict and severe, yet mild and equitable, was Rollo in the punishment of violence or wrong. In his time, the rivulet of Bapaume which falls into the Seine nearly opposite to Queville, expanded into a Lake or Mere in the centre of a pleasant forest; but Mere and forest have long since vanished amidst the fabrics which cover the country about the prosperous city, or have yielded to the spread of cultivation. Here Rollo was accustomed to take his pleasure, and it chanced that one day, after his sport, he and his companions having sat down to their banquet, the cloth spread upon the grass, the thought came across Rollo's mind that he would

Legend II, the *Roumare.*

measure the effect of his ordinances by exposing his people to temptation. Therefore, unclasping his bracelets, the well-known signs of his dignity, he suspended the golden circles to the branch of a tree, to be guarded only by the terror of his name.—When he returned, three years afterwards, there were the bracelets still pendant, untouched, unharmed, glittering in the sun; and thenceforth was the Mere called the *Roumare*, the Mere of *Rou* or Rollo. 888—912

Rollo peculiarly sought to protect the husbandman. In the open field, by night or by day, plough and oxen, fork and harrow, stock and gear, were watched by the law; if loss were sustained, the Sovereign, taking the neglect upon himself, would indemnify the loser. Now there was a certain rustic in the village of Long-paon, who had an ill-conditioned wife, and he knew it, who, secreting harness and ploughshare for the purpose in the first instance of teasing her husband, enabled him to receive compensation for the damage he had not sustained.—Wife and husband were hanged; but, excusing the reader the details of an uncouth story, Rollo's stern decision savours more of harshness than of equity. Legend III, the rustic of *Long-paon*.

§ 26. As cumulative proofs that the ancient legislation of the Terra Normannorum was purely oral and traditional, these three legends have their value: they display in some degree the practice, and in a greater degree the spirit of the Northman's law; but their verity would scarcely Examination of the three legal legends.

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The *clameur de Haro*, the English hue and cry.

deserve examination had they not been accepted as portions of Rollo's historical character.—The *clameur de Haro* is the English system of hue and cry. The old English exclamation *Harrow!*—our national vernacular *Hurrah!* being only a variation thereof—is identical with the supposed invocation of the Norman chieftain; and the usage, suggested by common sense, prevailed under various modifications throughout the greater part of the *Pays Coutumier* of France.

The legend of the *Roumare*, common to many countries.

With respect to the suspended bracelets, Benoit de Saint-More, the Anglo-Norman Trouveur who versified the Latin chronicle, records, though he rejects, the more vulgar notion, that the *Roumare*, the "*Red Mere*," was so called from the good red-wine which sportive Rollo's revelling bravery poured into the blushing waters. But the truth of the anecdote, if any argument were needed, is destroyed by its universality. Travelling from Rouen to Caen, the pilgrim would meet another *Mare-des-anneaux*, and a third at Caen, near the site where Queen Matilda founded her abbey. The tale is echoed in England, Ireland, Denmark, and Lombardy. Alfred, Brian-Boroimhe, Frotho, and Theodoric the Ostrogoth, are all respectively commemorated as having tried the efficacy of their social policy by the same test; the myth being the symbol in which the people embodied their recollections of the confidence reposed in the administration of the laws.

The rustic tragedy of Long-paon has more

individuality. The general principle upon which the case is grounded conforms to the jurisprudence of the Scandinavians, amongst whom the members of the community were knitted together by the closest social bonds. The husbandman, if his own hinds failed him, could demand the gratuitous assistance of his fellow-yeomen in gathering his harvest: and with solemn earnestness the law proclaimed that the crop open to the trespasser and unwatched by the master, was under God's lock, heaven for the roof, though but the hedge for the wall. The pilferer who plucked the growing ears from the stalk incurred a grievous penalty; whilst the rapacious thief who stole the ripe corn out of the field, binding his burthen and bearing it into his own barn, forfeited his life and all his fee: and the hard if not unmerciful judgment of Rollo, is susceptible of numerous parallels. But it is a dream to accept the assertion that Rollo instituted a regular code. —The *Grand Coutumier* is comparatively of recent date. The customs of Normandy were not reduced into writing until after the Duchy was lost to Rollo's progeny.

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The *Longpaon* legend—its conformity to Scandinavian jurisprudence.

§ 27. The Pictish language has scarcely disappeared more thoroughly from Scotland, than the Danish from the Terra Normannorum. What was the speech of the pirates and the pagans?— Rollo is speaking English, said the courtiers of king Charles, when he astounded them by

Extinction of the Danish language in Normandy.

888—912 refusing to perform the Court ceremony: but this term might be applied to any Anglo-Danish dialect of Northumbria or East-Anglia, or any other German-sounding language.

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Of the Northman's speech we possess no example excepting the exclamation of Rollo—no rhyme, no proverb, no legal formula, no magical charm. Let the lexicographer search for any trace of Dansk or Norsk in the Norman French, and how will his search be rewarded? The "Norman of the Normans," Montgomery, could not have quoted a Dansk word: the Norman Jurist can find none in his *Sages Coûtumes*. But language adheres to the soil when the lips which spake are resolved in the dust. Mountains repeat and rivers murmur the voices of nations denationalized or extirpated in their own land. Norman topography, local or provincial, therefore, becomes our only resource: the map discloses the tokens, if tokens they be, of Scandinavianism, wholly absent from the Glossary.—The *Holegate*, or *Houlgat*, at Hermoustier and Granville and Cormelles, and most particularly at Caen, where the road so called passed between the excavated rock;—the *Dêrnethal* and the *Depedal*,—may respectively be construed into the *Hoehlegasse*, the *Hollowgate*, the *Derndale* and the *Deepdale*, without any difficulty. Places in whose denomination the syllable *del*, *dale* or *thal* is found to enter, abound in Normandy. There

Vestiges of the Danish language in Norman topography.

are fifty or more *dells, dals* or *tals*, in the Bessin. 888—912 912

The term so familiar as an affix, the well-known Danish "*Bye*," a dwelling, an abiding place, a word which in other northern forms, or in Norsk, is spelt *boe, böjgd*, or *bygd*, occurs, though variously disguised, in a large proportion of Norman names—*Elbœuf* and *Belbœuf* and *Marbœuf*, and *Bourguebuf*, and *Carquebuf*, and *Tournebue*, are examples.

Names denoting the running water, the *beck, bek* or *bach*, are scattered in good number all over Normandy.—*Beaubec*, and *Briquebec*, and *Caldebec*, and *Foulbec*, and *Houlbec*, the pleasant brook or the birch-fringed brook, or the cool rivulet, or the mud-stained rivulet, or the streamlet in the hollow channel.—*Fisigard* and *Auppegard* and *Epegard*, the Fishyard, and the Applegarth or Appleyard, hardly need a translation.—*Toft*, somewhat varied into *tot*, is tolerably common: the kingdom of *Yvetot*, Yvo's toft, is an illustrious example; and *bosc* or *busk*, the bush or the wood, abounds.

All these, with many others, are claimed as vestiges of the Northmen's occupancy, plausibly and possibly, yet not certainly—they may be no such. In the detritus of languages, covering the Northern Gauls, the crystals are so rounded and smoothed, that it is very difficult to pronounce with absolute precision on their primitive form;

888—912 and we believe that amongst the Teutonic vocables which may be adduced, the greater majority possess an even chance of belonging to any of the Frankish, Alemannic, Belgic, Anglian or Saxon dialects. At all events, we may expect a due proportion of the latter, seeing that the Saxons of the Bessin, the *Otlingua-Saxonica*, had been established on the channel-coast centuries before the arrival of Rollo. But, in point of fact, the Danish language was never prevalent or strong in Normandy. The Northmen had long been talking themselves into Frenchmen; and in the second generation, the half-caste Northmen, the sons of French wives and French concubines, spoke the Romane-French as their mothers' tongue.

Danish language extinguished by the preponderant influence of the Romane-French language.

Norman chorography, to which we have appealed as the record of Northmanism, displays convincingly the general acceptance of the Romane-French by the Danish settlers. In England, where the Danes did unquestionably retain their language for a lengthened period, they generally compounded their local denominations out of a Danish proper name and a Danish or Anglo-Saxon noun. The *lurdanes* prided themselves in giving their names to their possessions. Asker called his Township *Askarby*, Ketil, *Kettleby;* and Clapa's heim, or *Clapham*, Osgod Clapa's home, is a very familiar example of the practice; but in Normandy, the Danes very often took the opposite

Romano-Danish names of places.

direction, compounding their local denominations out of a Danish proper name and a Romane noun. —*Gremonville, Tourville, Toufreville, Tancarville, Haqueville, Toustainville,* prove incontestably that *Gormund* and *Torf* and *Thorolf* and *Tancred* and *Haco* and *Thurstan* settled themselves as French nobles in the country.—The gallicized appellations thus bestowed upon their Seigneuries rendered them more kindly; the adoption of the French language conciliating the unpleasant foreign aspect of the Lords, and giving them more gentility. In the cities, Bayeux only excepted, hardly any language but French was spoken. Forty years after Rollo's establishment, the Danish language struggled for existence. It was in Normandy that the *Langue d'oil* acquired its greatest polish and regularity. The earliest specimens of the French language, in the proper sense of the term, are now surrendered by the French philologists to the Normans. The phenomenon of the organs of speech yielding to social or moral influences, and losing the power of repeating certain sounds, was prominently observable amongst the Normans. No modern French gazette writer could disfigure English names more whimsically than the Domesday Commissioners.—To the last, the Normans never could learn to say "*Lincoln*"—they never could get nearer than "*Nincol*" or "*Nicole.*"

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Romane-French attains its greatest perfection in Normandy.

§ 28. The Normans dismissed all practical

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The Normans, as a community, repudiate their Scandinavian character.

recollection in their families of their original Scandinavian ancestry.—Not one of their nobles ever thought of deducing his lineage from the Hersers or Jarls or Vikings who occupy so conspicuous a place in Norwegian history, not even through the medium of any traditional fable. Roger de Montgomery designated himself, as "Northmannus Northmannorum;" but, for all practical purposes, Roger was a Frenchman of the Frenchmen, though he might not like to own it. This ancestorial reminiscence must have resulted from some peculiar fancy: no Montgomery possessed or transmitted any memorial of his Norman progenitors. The very name of Rollo's father, "*Senex quidam in partibus Daciæ*," was unknown to Rollo's grandchildren, and if not known, worse than unknown, neglected.

Foreign talent encouraged by the Normans.

§ 29. When treating of the "Normans," we must always consider the appellation as descriptive rather than ethnographical, indicative of political relations rather than of race. Like William the Conqueror's army, the hosts of Rollo were augmented by adventurers from all countries. Rollo exhibited a remarkable flexibility of character; he encouraged settlers from all parts of France and the Gauls and England, and his successors systematically obeyed the precedent.

Inclination, policy, interest, strengthened the impulse given by the diffusion of the Romane speech. Liberality was the Norman virtue. "Nor-

man talent," or "Norman taste," or Norman art, 888—912
are expressions intelligible and definite, conveying 912—927
clear ideas, substantially true and yet substantially inaccurate. What, for example, do we intend when we speak of Norman architecture?—Who taught the Norman architect? Ask, when you contemplate the structures raised by Lanfranc or Anselm—will not the reply conduct you beyond the Alps, and lead you to Pavia or Aosta? the cities where these fathers of the Anglo-Norman Church were nurtured, their learning acquired or their taste informed. Amongst the eminent men who gloriously adorn the Anglo-Norman annals, perhaps the smallest number derive their origin from Normandy. Discernment in the choice of talent, and munificence in rewarding ability, may be truly ascribed to Rollo's successors: openhanded, openhearted, not indifferent to birth or lineage, but never allowing station or origin, nation or language, to obstruct the elevation of those whose talent, learning, knowledge or aptitude, gave them their patent of nobility.

§ 30. Rollo's marriage, so anxiously promoted, produced those disappointments which any except statesmen could have foreseen, or which statesmen do foresee and do not regard. Grim wrinkled Rollo—three-score and upwards when he married her—never lived as a husband with blooming Gisella; and yet the unjoyful bond was

Rollo's separation from Gisella.

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attended with all the discomforts of love and jealousy. Two Knights were despatched by king Charles to his daughter. The Frenchmen gave no notice to the "venerable Patrician" of their arrival, and lodged themselves in Rouen, neglecting or avoiding all opportunities of coming before him. Information was brought to Rollo concerning these questionable emissaries; and the news was so conveyed as to encrease any suspicions which might naturally arise. The knights concealed themselves in Gisella's mansion, were searched for, found, and by Rollo's orders beheaded in the market-place:—and this, except a parenthetical notice of her death, is the last we hear about Gisella.

Rollo's children: careful training of his son, Guillaume Longue-épée.

No children of Rollo are known, excepting those two whom he had by the Vermandois damsel,—a son, Guillaume, and Gerloc, otherwise the Adela, a daughter.—He returned to his bonne-amie, some say he married her according to the rites of the Church, when delivered from Gisella. Rollo's inclination and policy equally concurred in inducing him to rear his boy in such a manner, as to render the future Duke of Normandy a fit companion for the Princes of the Carlovingian Empire. Wise and faithful Botho, now one of the Counts of the Palace, was appointed the child's governor; but he equally continued under his mother's care: he was taught to pride himself upon her illustrious

French descent. The clergy trained him in sound learning: the boy loved their society, their teaching, their life; his earliest, childish wish, was to enter a monastery, and he yearned for the solitude of Jumièges, the cell amidst the ruins. Gay, cheerful and generous, the personal performance of the works of mercy always constituted the relaxations of Guillaume Longue-épée. 888—912 912—927

Bright and varied natural gifts were inherited by Rollo's descendants, adaptability, vigour, cleverness in every sense, conspicuous even amongst those who tarnished their character by vice and profligacy. They flourished during an era when the mental cultivation of the superior classes of society was sedulously pursued: the best got the best, and they profited thereby. Noble and Royal families carefully kept themselves up to the highest standard. Had Rollo chosen to despise the *clergie* of his age, and to bring up Guillaume as a mere rough soldier, a half-tamed Berserker, Guillaume's sons and sons' sons might have grown up untaught. But the need of a sound education was transmitted to the Dukes of Normandy and Kings of England as a family doctrine: so long as Rollo's race subsisted, so long may we discern their inherent as well as their acquired talents, conflicting with their vices and failings, and obeying or surmounting the temptations to which royalty and power are exposed. Talent inherited by the race of Rollo.

888—912

887—899 Arnolph King of Germany and Emperor. (See p. 630.)

§ 31. In the year when the compact of Saint Clair-sur-Epte was concluded with Rollo, a great revolution was consummated in Germany. The institutions of Charlemagne were completely subverted, and political changes ensued which had an important influence upon the fortunes of France as well as of the "*terra Normannorum*," soon to become Normandy, an integral portion of the French monarchy, and yet a rival. After the battle of Louvaine, Arnolph continued to advance in renown and power, the talent of the statesman being supported by the military organization which the extensive employment of heavy cavalry afforded. Arnolph destroyed the preponderance of the Moravian Slavi, and checked the progress of the Magyars. Some accuse him of having invited them, but at all events his force or policy rescued his dominions from their inroads.

The German nations persevered in their willing allegiance, but Arnolph's dominion was incomplete and unsatisfactory unless he could reign in the capital of Christendom. Two successive expeditions crossed the Alps, the first directed against Guido, Berengarius aiding Arnolph. The German king treated the Italians as rebels; and Count Ambrosio, who had stoutly defended the lofty rock of Bergamo, the Insubrian Pergamum, being taken, was hanged before the walls of the city. Such an execution of a Noble was unparalleled. The second expedition was directed against

Berengarius, his late ally.—All yielded to Arnolph: the conqueror entered Rome in triumph. The Roman Senate and Clergy came forth to meet him with standard and banner. The Pontiff Formosus received him on the gradins of St. Peter's Basilica. The imperial consecration was bestowed *more majorum*, Arnolph was hailed as Cæsar and Augustus, and the Roman people took the oath of fealty to their Sovereign. But after Arnolph had quitted Italy, threatening insurrections arose. Arnolph was troubled on every side. His Consort Uta was accused of adultery. She cleared herself by compurgation. Seventy-two witnesses swore to her innocence; but Arnolph's spirit was entirely broken. He died strangely: witchcraft and poison, are said to have been employed against him. 888—912 892

Painful mystery attends his end. The miserable death of Charles-le-Gros was avenged upon his perjured betrayer; and men scarcely dared to whisper that Arnolph sunk under the most horrible bodily affliction with which our nature can be visited—tormented and exhausted by swarming vermin. Arnolph left two children, the illegitimate Zwentibold, who became king of Lotharingia, and *Ludwig das Kind*. Hardly anything is known concerning the events which occurred during the "child's" nominal reign, excepting the dreadful invasion of the Magyars and the bloody Babbenberg feud; alone sufficient to have 899. Arnolph's strange death—his son "Ludwig-das-Kind" succeeds him. 911. Extinction of the Carlovingian line in Germany in the person of "Ludwig-das-Kind."

882–912 brought the Empire to destruction. Germany
912–919 reappears as an imperfect federation, composed of five predominant States, Duchies or Nations: Frankenland, obeying the wise and venerable Conrad—The Saxons, proud of their individuality, under Otho, the illustrious Otho, magnanimous and wise—The Bavarians had their Duke Arnolph—The Suabians their Duke Burchard—and lastly Lotharingia, the border-land, where Duke Rainer had acquired a paramount authority. CONRAD THE FRANCONIAN, acknowledged by all the nations except Lotharingia, acquired Germany. Upon his death, the Germans elected

919. Henry the Fowler. HENRY THE FOWLER, the Saxon, son of Otho the Illustrious, and father of Otho the Great: and the race most hated by Charlemagne completed the exclusion of his descendants from Germany and the Empire.

NOTES.

NOTES.

For the purpose of facilitating references to the original authorities, I have adopted a plan (partially suggested by Luden's practice, in his excellent History of Germany) which, I believe, will render their consultation easy and interesting, should any of my readers wish to compare the work with the texts upon which it is founded. At the head of each chapter, or at the head of each series of sections, as the case may require, I enumerate, and usually describe, the principal chroniclers, or historians, whom I have adopted for the general substratum of the text: and the dates in the margin of that text will guide the inquirer to the corresponding portion of the chronicles. But he must keep in mind, that I have not always adhered precisely to the arrangement of matter exhibited by the original writers, if the clearness or credibility of the narrative has required otherwise. When special authorities (*i. e.* authorities not employed for the substratum of the text) supply facts not contained in the principal authorities, or corroborate or impugn them, or when it is needful to direct the attention of the reader to any particular passage in the principal authorities, a reference is given, or the passage is quoted at full length. With respect to matters of historical or literary notoriety subsidiary to the main narrative, or introduced as incidental illustrations, I have not thought it needful to increase the bulk of the work by references or quotations.

INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

THE FOURTH MONARCHY.

Devolution of Authority from Rome, p. 3.

In the History of the Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth, Chapters x., xi., xvii., xviii., xix., I have fully discussed this subject in all its bearings, except only those specially relating to the German Empire, therein narrating, rather than establishing by argument (for the facts prove themselves), the Roman origination of mediæval royalty, mediæval institutions, and, very particularly, mediæval feudality. The last branch of enquiry, however, can only be imperfectly examined, in consequence of the absence of information concerning the territorial institutions of

the Byzantine Empire. Possibly, documentary evidence may yet exist in the secret archives of some Greek monastery.

My authorities are fully adduced in the work to which I have referred: Allen employed many of them in his Essay upon the Royal Prerogative; we worked in the same field, concurrently, but without mutual communication, and Hallam adds others, [4, *Theory of Dubos*, Supplemental Notes], corroborating, as I submit, the views I entertain. But I would observe, that the term "theory" cannot be properly applied, as in the heading of his note, to doctrines subsisting both in principle and practice, from the very commencement of every sovereignty constituting the European Commonwealth.

Sismondi incidentally, and Guizot substantially, accept the Romanization of the barbarian sovereigns as an incontestable fact.—"Clovis, Childebert, Gontram, Chilpéric, Clotaire travaillent incessamment à se parer des noms, à exercer les droits de l'empire. Ils voudraient distribuer leurs Ducs, leurs Comtes, comme les Empereurs distribuaient leurs consulaires, leurs correcteurs, leurs présidents: ils essaient de rétablir tout ce systeme d'impôts, de recrutement d'administration qui tombe en ruine." (Guizot, 8eme leçon, p. 316).

Allen says that the "fiction of a King ruling by Roman rights is not peculiar to England: it is to be found in all the monarchies of Europe, established on the subversion of the Roman Empire. However different in other respects, all the governments agree in recognising, as a fundamental principle of their Constitution, that the sovereign power of the Commonwealth resides in the King."

This "phantom," Allen supposes to have been evoked by those powerful necromancers, the clergy and the jurists, to whom he ascribes the enthralment of mediæval society. Sismondi attributes the same potency to them, speaking with even greater acerbity, nor does Guizot entirely discourage the opinion. But at no period of Church-history have the priesthood been so little liable to the degrading imputation of sycophancy as during the dark and middle ages: they were bold almost to a fault; and the very writers who inveigh most against the servility of the clergy, equally reprehend them for their resistance against the Crown. Such doctrines as the clergy held regarding the reverence due to royal authority, were fairly and sincerely deduced from Holy Scripture.

Hallam has an excellent note [196, *Prerogative of English Kings*] upon the confused ratiocination of Allen, concerning the personal king and the ideal king. But, admitting to the fullest extent the influence of the clergy and jurists in strengthening the Roman prerogatives possessed by the mediæval sovereigns, and transmitted by them to the existing governments, the argument deduced from their co-operation is only a mode of stating the fact, that the two most intellectual and influential classes of society supported the authority with which the Sovereign was

invested. The Roman law subsisted traditionally, after the barbarian conquests, throughout the larger portion of the Western Empire. When the erudition and talent of the jurists gave fresh vigour to the civil law, they did not introduce any novelties: they only imparted more method and learning to a living system. With regard to the Germano-Roman Empire, properly so called, whether the actual power of the Emperor was greater or less, whether he were a Frederick the First or a Francis the Last, no one ever doubted but that his authority was, in the strictest sense, a perpetuation of the imperial authority. The supremacy of Cæsar was the first article of the Ghibelline political creed. Dante's profound treatise *de Monarchia* is an admirable exposition of the aspect under which the question was viewed during the great contests between the Tiara and the Crown.

Rome never conquered by the Barbarians, p. 18.

"Il y a, Messieurs, quand au dévélopement de la Papauté en Europe, un fait primitif, *dont on n'a jamais, je crois, tenu assez de compte.* Non seulement Rome était toujours la ville la plus importante de l'Occident... mais Rome eut en Occident un avantage particulier: ce fut de ne jamais demeurer entre les mains des Barbares, Hérûles, Gots, Vandales, ou autres. Ils la prirent et la pillèrent plusieurs fois; ils n'en retinrent jamais long-temps la possession, seule entre toutes les grandes cités occidentales; et, soit comme liée encore à l'Empire de l'Orient, soit comme indépendante, elle ne passa point définitivement sous le joug Germanique, seule elle resta Romaine après la ruine de l'Empire Romain." (*Hist. de la Civilisation en France*, 27eme leçon, p. 63).

Degradation of Rome, p. 19.

These verses are quoted from Hildebert of Mans, and may be found in the topographical description of Rome given by William of Malmesbury, now best to be consulted in Mr Hardy's convenient and excellent edition (Lib. IV. § 351, p. 537).

Adherence to Roman architecture and insignia, p. 21.

Of these feelings, a remarkable instance is afforded by Crescentius, (A.D. 998, 999), whom Gibbon (Chap. XLIX.) calls the Brutus of the mediæval Republic. Previous to his elevation he is styled Senator. He not merely rose to the command of the city, but assumed the imperial authority, and, for some brief season, enjoyed the imperial name. (*Ademari Cabanensis Hist.* Pertz. T. VI. p. 130). In this capacity Crescentius issued a remarkable medallion, preserved in the Museo Maffei at Verona, and figured by the owner; (*Verona Illustrata*, P. III. c. 7). Crescentius upon this medallion takes the titles of "Imperator," "Cæsar," "Augustus," and "Pater patriæ;" but the reverse is even more remarkable. Crescentius is represented on horseback, holding a military allocution, exactly as the same ceremonial is shewn upon the medals of Hadrian and his successors.

The medallion is not inelegant. "*Si può conoscere,*" says Maffei, "*ancora da questo metallo come le belle arti in Italia non mancarono mai del tutto, mentre fin dal Secolo del novo cento, veggiamo qui un lavoro il cui disegno e maniera non si può dire dispregevole.*"—The circumstance that the medallion is a copy from an ancient medal, shews the earnest endeavour to cling to the ancient imperial type. The continued use of the Roman military ensigns, just as they appear on the Trajan and Antonine columns and other ancient monuments, is testified by the procession accompanying the memorable reception of the Emperor Henry IV. by Pope Pascal, A.D. 1111, as the account is given in the Chronicle of Monte Casino, Lib. IV. c. 38. Muratori, *S. S. R. R. Italicarum*, T. IV. p. 515.

I have elsewhere spoken upon this subject as connected with the cultivation of Art: (*The Fine Arts in Florence. Quarterly Review*, Vol. LXVI. pp. 336, 337.)

Municipality of Rome, p. 22.

Gibbon's very interesting chapter (XLIX.) on this subject, is grounded upon the erroneous assumption that the Roman Senate or Roman Community was *restored* in the twelfth century. It is certain, however, that the Roman Senate and the Roman people retained their unbroken national existence, their degradation contrasting strangely with the lofty pretensions which they made. An able account of the Roman municipal constitution has been recently given by Hegel, (*Geschichte der Städteverfassung von Italien*. Leipsic, 1847). A good deal to the purpose has also been previously collected by Von Raumer (*Geschichte der Hohenstauffen*, Vol. V. 214).

Classical Romances, p. 34.

A full, though not by any means complete enumeration of mediæval classical romances is given by Grässe: (*Die grossen Sagenkreise des Mittelalters*. Dresden, 1842).

The fondness for these themes has been noticed by Warton and others, and indeed the taste is so prominent that no writer on the History of mediæval poetry could neglect the observation. But it has been thought that the selection of such subjects was extraneous to the mediæval ethos, whereas, in fact, they were essential elements thereof.

CHAPTER II.

THE ROMAN LANGUAGE.

This chapter has been principally gleaned from the Essays and Dissertations of Muratori and Bonamy, the works of Raynouard, and an excellent note and chapter of Hallam's; (*Middle Ages*, chap. IX. pt. 1). But for the most complete, accurate and satisfactory investigation, we are

indebted to Mr. Cornewall Lewis: (*Essay on the Origin and Formation of the Romance Languages*). I have availed myself of his assistance as far as was consistent with my plan.

Bodenkos, p. 40.

Arnold, however, (*Rom. Hist.* I. 525,) seems rather to have put the question as if he expected it would be answered in the negative. If no Celtic root be found, to what language can we resort but to the Teutonic?

Isarnodor, p. 41.

See the life of Saint Eugendus or Saint Oyan, who was born there. "Ortus nempe est haud longè a vico, cui vetusta paganitas ob celebritatem clausuramque fortissimam superstitiosissimi templi Gallicâ linguâ *Isarnodori*, id est *ferrei ostii*, indidit nomen." (*Acta S.S. Ord. S. Benedicti*, T. I. p. 570). The temple was situated in the Jura. It afterwards became the Monastery of *Condate*.

The Suffetes, p. 43.

An account of these Judges, as well as the Hebrew etymology of their name, will be found in Arnold; (*Rom. Hist.* II. 548). The existence of their office is evidenced in two very remarkable missives, (Maffei, *Istoria Diplomatica*, p. 78), whereby the cities of Themetria and Thimelgia severally accept Caius Silius Ariola as their Patron. The names subscribed are very remarkable, as shewing the thorough reception in these cities of the antient Punic nationality, notwithstanding the retention of the Latin in public affairs. Did any nation of true Semitic race, except the Jews compelled by their captivity, ever adopt a Japhetian tongue? The Semitic power of resistance to foreign influence has been remarkably exemplified by the Maltese.

Latinitas, p. 45.

See Du Cange. Thus Ordericus Vitalis, p. 777, speaks of Pope Urban having promulgated his anathema *in omni Latinitate*.

Romana Rustica, p. 46.

On this subject, see Niebuhr's *Lectures*, Lect. XIX. Vol. II.

Saint Jerome's scheme of education, p. 50.

Discat Græcorum versuum numerum. Sequatur statim et Latina eruditio; quæ si non ab initio os tenerum composuerit, in peregrinum sonum lingua corrumpitur, et externis vitiis sermo patrius sordidatur. (*Ep. ad Lætam*). But these instructions are only incidental in Saint Jerome's scheme, of which the main purport was to keep the child out of the way of all intercourse with those by whom her manners or morals might be injured.

Proscription of heathen literature, p. 57.

The Apostolical Constitutions, a miscellaneous collection methodized in the third century, and faithful expositors of traditions descending from the Apostolic age, leave no doubt of this principle. The Scripture warranties for the prohibitory Canon are sufficiently obvious, none more cogent than the words of St Paul. Can we imagine that the writer of the first chapter of Romans and the last of Philippians would recommend Ovid's *Metamorphoses* as a profitable study to Hermas, or present Clement with a copy of Aristophanes?

Τῶν ἐθνικῶν βιβλίων πάντων ἀπέχου. Τί γάρ σοι καὶ ἀλλοτρίοις λόγοις, ἢ νόμοις, ἢ ψευδοπροφήταις, ἃ δὴ καὶ παρατρέπει τῆς πίστεως τοὺς ἔλαφρούς; τί γάρ σοι καὶ λείπει· ἐν τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἵνα ἐπ' ἐκεῖνα τὰ ἐθνόμυθα ὁρμήσεις; εἴτε γὰρ ἱστορικὰ θέλεις διέρχεσθαι, ἔχεις τὰς βασιλείους, εἴτε σοφιστικὰ καὶ ποιητικά, ἔχεις τοὺς προφήτας, τὸν Ἰὼβ, τὸν παροιμιαστήν, ἐν οἷς πάσης ποιήσεως καὶ σοφιστείας πλείονα ἀγχίνοιαν εὑρήσεις, ὅτι Κυρίου τοῦ μόνου σοφοῦ Θεοῦ φθογγαί εἰσιν· εἴτε ᾀσματικῶν ὀρέγῃ, ἔχεις τοὺς ψαλμούς· εἴτε ἀρχαιογονίας, ἔχεις τὴν γένεσιν· εἴτε νομίμων καὶ παραγγελιῶν, τὸν ἔνδοξον Κυρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ νόμον. Πάντων οὖν τῶν ἀλλοτρίων καὶ διαβολικῶν ἰσχυρῶς ἀπόσχου. (Lib. I. Cap. 6.)

Classical Latin inadequate to Christian literature, p. 58.

St Augustine not only exemplifies the imperfection of Classical Latin for Christian instruction, but insists upon the necessity of abandoning classical elegance or correctness: see his treatise *de Doctrina Christiana*, II. 11, 16, 19, 20. IX. 24. The influence of Christianity upon the Teutonic languages has been investigated by Rudolf von Raumer; (*Die Einwerkung des Christenthums auf die althochdeutsche sprache.* Stuttgart. 1845).

Fordun's classification of the Latin Dialects, p. 63.

It will be found in his curious disquisitions upon the laws of King Gaythelos, (*Scotichronicon*, Lib. I. c. 19. Ed. Hearne, p. 34). The digressive excursions of Fordun and his amplificator Bowyer, are instructive portions of these valuable, but neglected writers.

The Oaths of Strasburg, p. 66.

Of the transactions of Verdun and Strasburg I speak fully hereafter, p. 341. I add the oath, in *Roman*—"Pro Deo amur, et pro Christian poblo, et nostro commun salvament, dist di in avant, in quant Deus savir et podir me dunat, si salvrae io cist meon fradre Karlo, et in adiudha, et in cadhuna cosa, si com om per dreit son fradre salvar dist in o quid il mi altresi fazet, et ab Ludher nul plaid nunquam prindrai qui, meon vol, cist meon fradre Karle in damno sit."

Diffusion of the French language, p. 72.

Besides the instructions given in the *Speculum Regale*, or *Kongs-Skugg-Sio*, p. 23 (Soroe, 1763), composed in Norway somewhat later than 1250, the extraordinary number of romance poems, including the lays of Marie de France, translated into Norsk, and assuming the national denomination of *Sagas*, affords a most cogent proof of the cultivation of the language. When the famous, or infamous Bishop of Ely, Longchamp, was labouring to acquire popularity with the English public, he hired French ministrels "ut de illo canerent in plateis." (*Benedictus Abbas*, p. 702.) Upon the complete extinction of the Gothic language by the *Romance* I have observed elsewhere (*The Gothic Laws of Spain. Ed. Rev.* xxx. p. 113).

Latin Language retained in peculiar localities, p. 75.

For the hymn sung round the walls of Modena during the Hungarian invasions, see p. 414. It was first published by Muratori, *Ant. H. Diss.* 40. Another strangely uncouth specimen is the ballad commemorating the liberation of the Emperor Louis II. p. 372. From its tenor, one would suppose that it was not composed at Benevento, though probably in some neighbouring locality. With respect to the Lament of Fontenay, which I have inserted in my text, p. 331, the song may be considered as a proof of the continued use of the Latin language amongst the cultivated ranks of society.

July and August, p. 78.

Charlemagne invented the mariner's card. When he came to the throne, the Germanic nomenclature was limited to the four winds, or four quarters of the heavens. He added eight more, adopting the familiar modes of combination, *e.g.* Ost-Suudroni, Suud-ostroni, which have been encreased, till, with the original four, they give us the thirty-two points of the compass, and have thus been perpetuated, to the exclusion, in England and in some parts of France, of any Latinized names. The Franks had partially adopted Latin names for the months of the year, some had Latin names, some Barbaric. Charlemagne's Roman ethos did not diminish his personal nationality, nor his affection for the traditions of his forefathers; and he therefore sought to complete the *Teutonization* of the Calendar. *Wintermanoth, Horning, Lenzenmanoth, Ostarmanoth, Wunnemanoth, Brachmanoth, Heuuemanoth, Aranmanoth, Uuintumanoth, Windumanoth, Herbistmanoth, Heilagmanoth.* The denominations he bestowed were well chosen, significant and poetical; but, as Luden truly observes, the Roman Calendar gained the victory. Even an Emperor cannot command language,—his names were rejected in common speech. The attempts made by modern purists to revive their usage never succeeded. Luden records, and regrets the failure (*Geschichte des Teutschen Volkes*, Vol. v. p. 210.)

CHAPTER III.

Anglo-Saxon origin claimed for the Norman laws, p. 109.

So affirmed by Rouille, the Coke of Normandy, in his comment upon the Grand-Coutumier (*Coutumier General*, Paris, 1724, Vol. IV. p. 1). A copy of Magna Charta, adapted to Normandy, was certainly current in the Duchy. This document, printed by Dachery, does not appear to have been noticed by any of the Norman writers. The Church of Normandy is substituted for the Church of England, and the city of Rouen for the city of London. I am unable to explain this species of phenomenon, which may in some degree be paralleled by the extraordinary manner in which the French employed the Coronation-oath, especially intended for our Anglo-Saxon kings. (*Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth*, Vol. I. p. 344.)

Formation of Chronicles, p. 117.

For the parchment and the plummet see the Monk of Worcester, (*Anglia Sacra*, I. p. 469). An extract from the Chronicle of Weissemburg (Pertz, T. v. p. 53) exhibits such memoranda in their genuine form.

DCCCCVI. Ungarii vastaverunt Saxoniam.
DCCCCVII. Adelbertus comes decollatus est, iubente Ludovico Rege.
DCCCCVIII. Liutboldus dux occisus est ab Ungariis.
DCCCCVIIII. Burghardus dux Thuringorum occisus est ab Ungariis.
DCCCCX. Ludovicus Rex pugnavit cum Ungariis.
DCCCCXI. Ungarii vastaverunt Franciam.
DCCCCXII. Ludovicus rex obiit, cui Conradus successit.
DCCCCXIII.
DCCCCXIIII. Otto Saxonicus dux obiit.
DCCCCXV. Ungarii vastando venerunt usque Fuldam.
DCCCCXVI.
DCCCCXVII.
DCCCCXVIII.
DCCCCXVIIII. Cuonradus Rex obiit, cui Heinricus successit.

The following is equally curious as a specimen of the dateless chronographies:

Annus. Riderch filius Caradauc obiit.
Annus. Bellum Guinnetal inter filios Caddugan Goronin et Lewelin et Resum filium Owini et ab eo victi sunt.
Annus. Bellum Pullgudir in quo Trahern rex Norwallie victor fuit. Resus et Hoelus frater ejus a Trahairn filio Caraduc occisus est.
Annus. Filius Teudur Resus regnare inchoavit.
Annus. Menevia a gentilibus vastata est.

The Chronicle from which this extract is made, is annexed, together with other curious miscellaneous matter relating to Wales and the

Marches, to an abridgement of Domesday, amongst the records of the antient receipt of the Exchequer, now in the Public Record Office. The handwriting is of the reign of Edward I. After the Norman Conquest the Chronicle acquires more amplitude, and becomes very valuable for the later history of Wales, a history which, in all its branches, has been so apathetically neglected.

BOOK I.

CARLOVINGIAN NORMANDY.

CHAPTER I.

LOUIS-LE-DEBONNAIRE, HIS PREDECESSORS AND SUCCESSORS.

A.D. 741—824.

PRINCIPAL AUTHORITIES.

(I.) Eginhardt's well-known life of Charlemagne. (II.) The Chronicles respectively known by the names of the *Annales Laurissenses*, and the *Annales Einhardi*. Both commence A.D. 741; but A.D. 801, the first falls into the second, which concludes A.D. 829. This latter chronicle is an enlarged and continued edition of the first; both very sincere, and evidently grounded upon coæval information. This Einhardt, otherwise Eginhart or Aginhardt, has been conjectured, and not without probability, to be Charlemagne's son-in-law. (III.) *Annales Mettenses*, A.D. 687—930. Originating in the pre-eminently Carlovingian monastery of Saint Arnolph, at Metz. (IV.) *Chronicon Moissiacense*, A.D. 500—840. The Chronicle of the great Abbey of Moisiac in the Toulousain, rich in facts, not found elsewhere.

(V.) The Chronicle usually quoted as the *Annales Fuldenses*, but the production of *five* several writers, as follows: (1.) Enhardus, probably a monk in the Abbey of St. Boniface at Fulda, is the author of the *first* section. Commencing with brief historical notes of the reign of Charlemagne, the annals expand in matter, and terminate A.D. 838. The marginal note marking where Enhardus desisted from his task, "*Huc usque Enhardus*," was added by his illustrious continuator, Rudolph of Fulda. (2.) No chasm ensues. Rudolph begins the *second* portion by completing the imperfect narrative of the year 838. Rudolph was distinguished in every branch of learning. He is very remarkable as being the only mediæval writer to whom Tacitus was known at first hand.

There is every reason to suppose that the Fulda manuscript of Tacitus was then the only subsisting copy, and that it is the codex in Lombard characters now in the Laurentian library. Rudolph rather alludes to Tacitus than quotes him: the passage has occasioned much discussion; Ritter treats upon the subject in the preface to his recent edition of Tacitus. Rudolph was much in the confidence of Louis-le-Germanique, before whom he was accustomed to preach, being the royal chaplain and confessor. He was Master of the Schools of Fulda. His portion ends A.D. 863; and in the margin of the year, the formula which Rudolph employed to indicate the conclusion of his predecessor's labours, is adopted by his successor, "*huc usque Rudolphus.*" Infirmity probably compelled him to desist, for he died in 865, as recorded by his continuator, who adds the following remarkable encomium: "Rudolphus, Fuldensis cœnobii presbyter et monachus, qui apud tocius pene Germaniæ partes doctor egregius floruit hystoriographus et poeta, atque omnium artium nobilissimus auctor habebatur, VIII. id. Martii diem ultimum feliciter clausit." (3.) According to the most probable opinion, Meginhardus, Rudolph's disciple, continuing his teacher's work, is the author of the *third* portion, ending A.D. 882. (4.) From 882 the work was carried on by two writers whose names cannot be ascertained.—A monk of Fulda gives us the *fourth* portion, ending 887: the confusions of the times probably interrupted him. (5.) The *fifth* portion, also terminating abruptly, and, as we conjecture, for the same reason, A.D. 901, bears internal evidence that the writer lived in Bavaria. He is supposed to have been a monk of Ratisbon. These annals are extremely important, as presenting the German version of Carlovingian affairs, and they were very largely employed by subsequent mediæval chroniclers. By Adam of Bremen they are quoted as the "Annales Francorum." Pertz (Vol. I.) has published the *Annales Fuldenses* completely and continuously, distinguishing the several portions. The unfortunate plan adopted by Dom Bouquet, who distributes his excerpts in five volumes, II. 1739, V. 1744, VI. 1749, VII. 1749, and VIII. 1752, quite destroys the character of the annals; and, whilst his volumes were appearing, must have rendered them nearly useless. Dubos, *e.g.* employed upon the History of France, in the year 1739, would have to provide himself with a Duchesne, or to wait thirteen years for a chronicle which would form an octavo of about 250 pages.

The before-mentioned Chronicles ascend and descend; but the materials for the particular history of Louis-le-Débonnaire are remarkably authentic and interesting.

(VI.) We possess a complete biography of this Sovereign, composed by the anonymous historian, who is commonly quoted by the description of the "Astronomer." The writer notices his conferences with Louis upon the subject of astronomical, or, as we should now term them, astrological phænomena, whence he is supposed to have been versed in the science.

He held, as he informs us in his Preface, an office in the Imperial Palace, and having entered into the service of Louis upon his accession to the Empire, continued with him till his death. The "Astronomer" stood by the King's bedside when he expired. He commences his biography from the birth of Louis at Casseneuil. The events, anterior to his personal knowledge of Louis, he received from Adhemar, *nobilissimus et devotissimus monachus*, who was the same age as the King, and brought up with him.—The remainder he tells from his own knowledge.

(VII.) Another biography of Louis-le-Débonnaire, by Theganus, is, so far as it extends, no less important. Theganus or Thegambert, born of a noble family, and distinguished by great talent, was Bishop-coadjutor, or Chorepiscopus, of Trèves. Intimately acquainted with Louis, and sincerely attached to him, Theganus appears to have written the history mainly for the purpose of testifying against the faithlessness of those who persecuted and abandoned the monarch. Theganus carries on the narrative until A.D. 835, and concludes with the following prayer: "Iste est annus vicesimus secundus regni domni Hludowici piissimi imperatoris, quem conservare et protègere diu in hoc sæculo dignetur feliciter commorantem, et post hæc discurrentia tempora perducere concedat ad societatem omnium sanctorum ejus, ille, qui est benedictus in sæcula sæculorum. Amen." Theganus evidently had completed the biography according to his intentions, for he is known to have been living in 844. The work was published after his death by Walafrid Strabo, who divided it into chapters, and prefixed a preface, apologising for the zeal which, as Walafrid hints, had seduced the author into some degree of unfairness.

Throughout this work I have derived much assistance from the historians of the French provinces.—Languedoc, and the South of France, (*Histoire Générale de Languedoc*, par Dom Vic et Dom Vaissette, *deux Religieux Bénédictins de la Congregation de Saint Maur*, 5 vols. folio, Paris, 1730—1745).—Britanny, two extensive works, (*Histoire de Bretagne*, par Dom Lobineau, 2 vols. folio, Paris, 1707), and (*Histoire Ecclésiastique et Civile de Bretagne*, par Dom Morice et Dom Talandres, et *Mémoires pour servir de Preuves*, 5 vols. folio, Paris, 1742—1756); improved amplifications of Lobineau, yet not superseding him (see p. 754).—Lorraine, (*Histoire Ecclésiastique et Civile de Lorraine*, par Dom Augustin Calmet, 5 vols. folio, Nancy).—Burgundy, (*Histoire Générale et Particulière de Bourgogne*, par Dom Plancher, 3 vols. folio, Dijon, 1739—1746).—Provence, (*Chorographie de Provence*, par Honoré Bouche, Aix, 1644); and occasionally from Muratori in his *Annali d'Italia*.

An Austin Friar, Père Anselme, emulating Benedictine diligence, laid the foundation of a work of the highest importance in the study of French history—I mean the *Histoire Généalogique et Chronologique de la Maison royale de France, des Pairs, Grands Officiers de la Couronne et de*

la Maison du Roi, et des anciens Barons du Royaume. The third edition, due to the care of Père Ange and Père Simplicien (9 vols. folio, Paris, 1727), has been a constant aid to me in deducing the various lineages and successions: so also the *Art de Vérifier les Dates.* Yet in all cases it has been needful to examine their statements, and occasionally to depart from them.

Marriage and Concubinage, p. 144.

The Teutonic learning upon this subject will be found in Grimm's *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, (Göttingen, 1828) under the head *Ehe.*

Carlovingian Genealogies, p. 148.

These may be seen in greater length, with more details as to females and their descendants, and somewhat differently arranged, in Père Anselme's *Histoire.*

The Charta Divisionis, p. 151.

The existing text of the Charta Divisionis, *Recueil des Hist.* T. v. p. 771, is undated; the concurrent testimony however of all the chroniclers leaves no doubt but that the document is the record of the proceedings at Thionville. It is divided into twenty chapters: the eighteenth contains the memorable clause, prohibiting the enforcement of monastic vows upon members of the royal family. See p. 198.

Pepin, King of Italy, p. 156.

The Frankish historians are silent upon the subject of Pepin's defeat, which constitutes a conspicuous incident in Andrea Dandolo's Chronicle, (Muratori, T. XII.), as well as in the general recollections of Venetian history. See also Daru's *Histoire de Venise*, I. c. 23. Pepin rebuilt the magnificent Basilica of San' Zeno at Verona, near which he is buried. His sepulchre, without the walls of the Church, shews how carefully the Lombards still avoided the custom of interment within the sacred edifice.

Charlemagne's Entombment, p. 158.

The particulars of this strange and solemn deposition are given in a life of the Monarch, compiled by a monk of Angoulême (*Rec. des Hist.* T. v. p. 186). According to the *Deutsche Sagen* (II. p. 173), the tomb was opened by the Emperor Otho III. when the corpse was beheld as described: the nails of the fingers had grown through the leathern gloves. The tomb was reverently closed; but in the course of the night, Charlemagne appeared in a dream to Otho, and foretold him that he would die childless and prematurely. The shrines and reliquaries of the Cathedral preserve many of the Babylonian gems which had belonged to the great Emperor.

Wetinus, the monk of Reichenau, pp. 162, 165, 166.

The prose narrative by Bishop Heitto, and the versification by Walafrid Strabo, are both given by Mabillon (*Acta SS. Ord. S. Benedicti*, v. pp. 265, 283).

For the constitution of the sodality between Saint Gall and Reichenau, A.D. 850, and the renovation thereof, A.D. 945, see Mabillon (*Ann. O. S. Ben.* XXVI. § 101, and XLIV. § 87). The further history of the Festival is told by Fleury, *Hist. Ecc.* LIX. c. 5.

The visions of Fursæus and Drithelm—Feast of All Souls, pp. 163—165.

Both are given by Venerable Bede, whose ecclesiastical history has, thanks to Dr Giles, been rendered a popular volume. An account of Fursæus may be found in Alban Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, a work which should always lie on the desk of the historical student, being the most honest and convenient hagiography which has yet appeared. An Anglo-Saxon version of the legend has, by Mr Wright's laudable exertions, been published from a manuscript in the Bodleian Library, (*Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, Vol. I. p. 266). Tracing the course of thought upwards, through the visions of *Alberic* and *Owain Miles*, and the other compositions of a like nature, we have no difficulty in deducing the poetic genealogy of the *Inferno* and the *Purgatorio* to the Milesian Fursæus. For the recently-discovered East-Anglian frescoes, representing the probation or punishment of the departed, consult the transactions of the Norfolk Archæological Society.—The *Paradiso* is derived from other sources. A highly poetical outline of a similar cosmology is found in Salomo ben Gabirol's noble hymn, the *Kether Malcuth* (see Sachs, *die Religiöse Poesie der Juden in Spanien*, Berlin, 1845).

Adelhard and Wala, p. 168. *Libel Literature*, p. 275—277.

The history of Adelhard and Wala is preserved in the very remarkable compositions of Paschasius Radbertus, which are only found entire in Mabillon's Collection (*Acta S.S. Ord. S. Ben. T.* v. pp. 306, 444, 453, 521).

To the life of Wala, Radbertus has given the singular, but not unexampled title (St Jerome having done the like) of *Epitaphium*, and Wala being designated throughout by the name of Arsenius, the work acquires the title of *Epitaphium Arsenii*. It is written dramatically: a conversation between various interlocutors, of whom Paschasius is one. All the characters are designated by fictitious names. The style is tedious and diffuse, but so very characteristic a memorial of the spirit of the times, that, to the historian, no part can be said to be superfluous. The Eclogue, the dialogue between the two Monasteries, is appended to the life of Adelhard.—Wala's name is sometimes written Walah, or Wallach.

Desiderata, p. 171.

The circumstances attending her marriage, and the share taken by Bertha in forwarding the match, are found, with more or less particularity, in all the Chronicles; but one only, the monk of St Gall (Lib. II. c. 26), says, that Desiderata was *clinica*, and childless. It is the general opinion of Italian topographers, adopted by Mr Hope, that the huge Visconti palace stands on the site of the palace of the Lombard kings.

"*Ludovicus Pius*," p. 181.

The coin upon which he assumes this title is engraved by Père Daniel, (*Hist. de France*, Paris, 1729, T. II. p. 283), and he is so styled by Theganus, writing in his life-time.—This is never the case with the mere familiar or historical epithets, such as *Martel*, *Balbus*, &c.

Varied talents of Louis-le-Débonnaire. Version of the Scriptures, pp. 179—188.

Theganus, c. ix., has given an ample account of the King's talents, and their cultivation, his affection for learning, and his diligence. Some passages, relating to his astrological knowledge, are found in his Life by the Astronomer. His *Conquestio*, his "Complaint" (p. 730), in which he relates the treatment he received from his children, is eloquently touching and impassioned. I have, following other guides, adopted the opinion, that the Cottonian MS. (Caligula A. 7) contains a portion of the metrical version to which the Latin preface (*Rec. des Hist.* T. VI. p. 256) belongs.

Imperial Signet, p. 194.

It is figured by Mabillon, *De re Diplomatica*, Tab. XXVIII.

Roman de la Rose, p. 201.

The whole passage (v. 9628—9695) contains a spirited view of the progress of society. I quote from Méon's Edition, T. II. p. 250. I have rather modernized the orthography.

Volcanic energies, p. 220.

Very recently, the waters which fill the crater of Laach were disturbed, and the fish killed.

Golden globes, p. 221.

I ought to have said golden eagles.

Charta Divisionis, p. 226.

See *Recueil des Historiens*, T. VI. 405—7.

Trial and condemnation of King Bernard, p. 230.

For Hermengarda's responsibility in this transaction, see the Chronicle of Andrea the Priest (*Rec. des Hist.* T. VII. p. 680).

Guelphic Dynasties, p. 234.

These Guelphic genealogies are taken principally from the *Origines Guelficæ*, the result of the continued and successive labours of Leibnitz, Eccard, Gruber, and Scheidius, (Hanover, 1750) T. II. Præf. pp. 2—5; and chapters ii. iii. v. vi.

Bera and Sanila, p. 240.

The circumstances of their combat are minutely described by Ermoldus Nigellus, Lib. III. vv. 550—638.

Bernard of Septimania, p. 242.

See De la Marca, *Histoire de Béarn.*

Expeditions against the Bretons, p. 254.

See Morice, *Hist. de la Bretagne.*

Harold, King of Jutland, p. 256.

In this, as well as in other circumstances relating to the Danes, and particularly as to the identification of the Danish chieftains, I have usually followed Suhm, whose indexes to the first and second volumes of his *Historie af Danmark* (Copenhagen, 1784), afford a sufficient reference with respect to any particular individual. The ceremonies of Harold's investiture are related minutely in Ermoldus Nigellus.

"*Ego Ludovicus*," p. 262.

The Imperial Constitution, edited from a collation of the four Vatican exemplars, will be found in Baronius, an. 817.

Sismondi, in his chapter upon the relations between the Popes and the Emperors (*Républiques Italiennes*, I. c. iii.) does not even notice the document.

CHAPTER II.

LOUIS-LE-DEBONNAIRE AND HIS SUCCESSORS, TO THE FINAL DETHRONEMENT OF THE CARLOVINGIAN DYNASTY.

CONCLUSION OF THE REIGN OF LOUIS-LE-DEBONNAIRE.

A. D. 824—840.

§§ 1—17, pp. 264—309.

PRINCIPAL AUTHORITIES.

(I.) The *Annales Einhardi*, (II.) *Annales Mettenses*, (III.) *The Chronicon Moissiacense*, (IV.) Enhardus, and (V.) Rudolph of Fulda (*i.e.* the *Annales Fuldenses*), and (VI.) Theganus, continue as authorities in their several proportions. (VII.) The Astronomer, connecting all the other

authorities, accompanies us to the end of Louis-le-Débonnaire's life and reign.—But we receive a great accession from the Chronicle quoted as the *Annales Bertiniani*, a misleading designation, inasmuch as the work has no other connexion with St Bertin except through the accident that the manuscript was discovered in the Abbey Library, whereas the whole contexture points at other local origins.

The so-called *Annales Bertiniani* (VIII.) consist of *three* separate but consecutive works. (1.) The name of the author of the *first* portion, A.D. 830—835, is unknown; but the writer is supposed to have lived somewhere in the Ardennes. (2.) The *second*, 835—861, is ascertained, both by external and internal evidence, to be the composition of the celebrated Prudentius, Bishop of Troyes. A Spaniard, his original name being Galindo, he is considered to have belonged to the family of the Counts of Arragon. Brought to France at an early age, and educated in the royal palace, his disputations with Erigena have gained for Prudentius a high station amongst theological writers. But in opposing Gottescalk's doctrines he incurred the charge of great error, or rather heresy. He composed his Chronicle in the reign, and under the patronage, of Charles-le-Chauve. (3.) The monarch lent his own copy to Archbishop Hincmar, who, in his turn, began the *third* and last portion, A.D. 861, which he opens by recording the death of his predecessor, who was cut short whilst relating the annals of the year. And in the same manner as Prudentius was stopped in his task by death, so was Hincmar, A.D. 882. Driven from Rheims by the Northmen (see p. 585), Hincmar died during his flight, some attending priest or chaplain having probably completed the last paragraphs. The several portions are properly and critically entitled and distinguished by Pertz, but not by Dom Bouquet, who breaks them up according to his fashion.

(IX.) Towards the conclusion of the reign, we enter upon the interesting Memoirs of Count Nithardus, undertaken by him, according to the suggestion of Charles-le-Chauve (pp. 335, 336), amidst the troubles and wars in which he was engaged, and which he describes with remarkable fidelity and accuracy. His history is comprised in four Books, the last of which ends abruptly, in consequence of his being called off into actual service and killed by the Danes. (X.) The life of Wala is also an authority of peculiar importance, not only for the facts, but the spirit of the age.

Political application of French History, p. 264.

I allude to Thierry's *Considérations sur l'Histoire de France*, an Essay affording a rapid and lively review of the French constitutional writers, by whom, as he says, the national memorials have been continually misapplied, for the purpose of truckling to political party. Yet Thierry is unfair to himself, as well as to his compeers. The various historico-political theories to which Thierry alludes, and which he ex-

amines, criticises, opposes, or refutes, always with great talent, and often with success, constitute an instructive commentary upon the exertions made by the French to promote the study of their national history. It is the exposition, the doctrinal elucidation of an historical text, which makes it tell: the value thus bestowed is as appreciable by those who oppose the historian's opinions, as by those who adopt them. (See *Progress of Historical Enquiry in France, Edin. Review,* April, 1841.)

The young Charles-le-Chauve, p. 270.

See the Poem of Ermoldus Nigellus, Lib. IV. vv. 419—424.

Veni Creator, p. 273.

This hymn is ascribed to Charlemagne. (See Daniel, *Thesaurus Hymnologicus,* Vol. I. p. 213.)

Charles-le-Chauve's literary cultivation, p. 273.

No monarch ever deserved the title of a protector of literature more truly; and no protector of literature ever pursued literature with a more earnest enjoyment of the studies which he encouraged and practised. Charles-le-Chauve peculiarly delighted in history: we have seen how Nithard was excited to his work by the King's special direction. At his instigation, Lupus Servatus, generally known as Loup-de-Ferrières, composed a history of the Roman Emperors. The composition is lost, but the epistolary dedication exists, in which the author exhorts the monarch to imitate the glorious examples of Trajan and Theodosius. Encouraged by Charles-le-Chauve, Usuardus compiled his martyrology, the foundation of all subsequent works of the same class. Not being satisfied with the existing version of Dionysius the Areopagite, Charles caused another to be made by Erigena. Almost every theological work appearing during his reign was dedicated to him. His classical taste is peculiarly displayed in the classical name which he proposed to bestow upon Compiègne. As in the architecture of his Basilica, so in the denomination which Charles gave to his palatial city, did he adopt the ethos of Imperial Rome. "Carolus postquam Imperator effectus est, Ecclesias plures ædificavit in villa Compendio, quam de suo nomine *Carlopolim* appellavit. Nam ibi maximam civitatem ædificare proposuit: Ecclesiam sanctorum Cornelii et Cypriani construxit, et in eadem villa in suo Palatio Ecclesiam sanctæ Dei genitricis, quam pretiosissimis reliquiis adornavit. Ibidem etiam obtulit corpus S. Cornelii atque S. Cypriani, in quorum adventu composuit Responsorium, *Cives Apostolorum.*" (Yperius, *Rec. des Hist.* T. VII. p. 270).

Wala taking the lead against Louis-le-Débonnaire, pp. 276, 277.

Wala's vehement conduct as leader of the opposition appears very fully in the Second Book of the *Epitaphium,* chapters I.—VI.

Expedition against the Bretons. Nominoë, p. 278.

This expedition constitutes the first incident in the *Annales Bertiniani*. For Nominoë, see Morice, *Hist. de Bretagne.*

Paris, p. 279—282.

The materials shewing the early condition of Paris are diligently collected and elucidated by the Benedictines (*Histoire de la Ville de Paris par les PP. Felibien et Lobineau.* Paris, 1724, 5 vols. folio). The island unquestionably enjoyed a considerable degree of municipal and mercantile importance; and Bonamy, with his usual acuteness, clearness and knowledge, has made the most of his case, in his *Récherches sur la célébrité et l'étendue de la Ville de Paris avant les ravages des Normands* (Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscrip. Vol. xv.) Nevertheless the whole tenor of French history, anterior to the Capets, displays the secondary rank which Paris then held.

The Luegen-feld, p. 290.

See Luden, v. p. 357. The Siegburg was also called the Siegwaldburg. The antient names are emphatically commemorated by Nithard.

The Complaint of Louis-le-Débonnaire, p. 293.

This curious, but almost forgotten document, has been published by Duchesne, T. II. p. 336, from the transcript furnished by Petavius,—it bears the following title, *Conquestio Domni Chludowici, Imp. et Aug. piissimi, de crudelitate et defectione et fideiruptione militum suorum, et horrendo scelere filiorum suorum in sui dejectione et depositione patrato.* It is inserted in the history of the translation of the relics of St Sebastian and St George, by Odilo, the monk of St Médard, printed completely by Mabillon (*Acta S. S. Ord. S. Ben.* VI. p. 387), and partly by Dom Bouquet (*Rec. des Hist.* T. VI. p. 323.) The basement story of the tower containing the cell in which Louis was imprisoned is still standing. Near the loop-hole window there is an inscription in French verse, in "gothic" characters of the sixteenth century, commemorating his misfortunes, which I believe has been quoted or published as having been inscribed by the royal captive.

Deposition of Louis-le-Débonnaire, p. 295.

This is one of the portions of French history which have not been sufficiently investigated. The conduct of the parties concerned should be considered calmly, and without invective. The proceedings were completely revolutionary in the modern sense, grounded upon the assumption that public safety required the deposition of the king. The Articles of the Acta Exauctorationis constitute a formal impeachment. All the

documents are collected by Dom Bouquet, T. VI. pp. 243—251. Agobard's manifesto, or address to the people, is peculiarly remarkable. The limits of this work have prevented me from exhibiting the history of parties under Louis-le-Débonnaire to the full extent. Archbishop Ebbo behaved with shameful ingratitude, and was subsequently deposed.

The seventh partition of the Empire, p. 298.

The Præceptum, or Charter of Division, is only preserved in a fragmentary state, wanting the conclusion (*Rec. des Hist.* T. VII. p. 411). Baronius refers the document to A.D. 837; but I have adopted the opinion of Luden.

Pepin of Aquitaine, p. 303.

See the Benedictine history of Languedoc, Vol. I.

The thatched Lodge on the Pfaltz island, p. 309.

The directions given by Louis for the construction of the Lodge, his dying bed, are related by his biographer, the Astronomer. (*Rec. des Hist.* T. VI. p. 124).

Epitaph of Louis-le Débonnaire, p. 309.

See *Rec. des Hist.* T. VI. p. 267.

EVENTS FROM THE ACCESSION OF CHARLES-LE-CHAUVE TO THE TREATY OF MERSEN. A.D. 840—847.

§§ 18—32, pp. 309—346.

PRINCIPAL AUTHORITIES.

The events comprehended in this division of the chapter include the first five years of the reign of Charles-le-Chauve. Nithard, the warrior and historian, furnishes the main foundation for the narrative. The other sources have been already indicated.

Alterations in the course of rivers, &c. p. 321.

See Depping (*Hist. des Expéditions maritimes des Normands.* Paris, 1844, pp. 148, 417).

The Eager of the Seine, p. 323.

The Monk of Fontenelle (or Saint Wandregisil), delineating the site of the monastery, introduces a forcible description of this phenomenon. Du Cange supposes, and probably correctly, that the name *Géon* is given

to the Seine in allusion to the river Gihon in Eden, see also his glossary for *Malinea*. I insert the entire passage as affording a view of the Norman landscape in the tenth century. Dudon de Saint-Quentin also mentions the *Eager*, in a passage which will be subsequently quoted (p. 740).

"Situs quippe ejusdem Cœnobii hujusmodi fertur esse. A tribus enim plagis, id est a Septentrionali, Occiduâ, atque Australi, montibus arduis ac frugiferis, Bacchique fertilissimis, silvisque est obsitum consitis densis. Ab Oriente item habet fontem uberrimum, qui ab ortu suæ emanationis per spacia passuum plus minusve mille trecentorum manat: sicque cursu suo expleto, in alveum Sequanam influit ad meridianam ejusdem Cœnobii plagam. Ab Occidente item ibi fluvius est mirabilis, in Aquilonari ejusdem Cœnobii plagâ ab imo progrediens, atque in meridiana Geon prædicti alvei profunda se demergens. Inter hæc duo mirabilia flumina, prata ejusdem Cœnobii sunt amœna atque irrigua. Quia admirabilis Wandregisili atque Venerandi Patroni nostri solertiâ inutilia quæque ablata vireta, militumque Christi ejusdem Fontinellensis Cœnobii degentium sudore solo coæquata, eorumdem necessitatibus aptissima sunt reddita. Ab Austro item maximus fluviorum Geon, qui et Sequana, commerciis navium gloriosus, abundantiâ piscium præstantissimus, distans ab eodem Cœnobio passus octingentos. In quo scilicet fluvio ex infinito Oceano sive mari Britannico bini æstus diurno nocturnove tempore sibimet invicem compugnantes occurrunt: ut versâ vice alveus potius retrorsum converti quam ad ima videatur fluere. Talique cum impetu tempore malineæ accedunt, ut super millia quinque aut eo amplius et sonitus murmuris ejus humanas repercutiat aures, et aspectibus intuentium ceu farus altissimè lympham ejusdem penetret alvei. Talique impetu per meatus prædictorum duorum fluminum, perque prata illis contigua ceu Nilus Ægyptiacus per spatia passuum plus minusve octingentorum ad murum ejusdem accedunt Cœnobii, finitoque conflictu in Oceanum infusi unde venerant revertuntur." (*Spicilegium Dacherii*, 1659, T. III. p. 190).

Insular Rouen, p. 323.

Upon this subject see Licquet, *Hist. de la Normandie*, T. I. p. 104, Rouen, 1835, and Pluquet in his note upon the *Roman du Rou*, I. p. 58. Other information bearing upon the subject is afforded in the *Description Géographique et Historique de la Haute Normandie*, Paris, 1740; a very useful work, of which I have much availed myself.

Notker, p. 325.

Cum adhuc juvenculus essem, et melodiæ longissimæ sæpius memoriæ commendatæ instabile corculum aufugerent, cœpi tacitus mecum volvere quonam modo eas potuerim colligare. Interim vero contigit, ut presbyter quidam de Gemidia, nuper a Nordmannis vastata, veniret ad

nos, Antiphonarium suum secum deferens, in quo aliqui versus ad sequentias erant modulati.....ad imitationem tamen eorundem cœpi scribere.....(Notkeri præfatio in librum sequentiarum. Pezii, *Thesaurus Anecdotorum Novissimus*, T. I. p. 17.)

Battle of Fontenay, p. 328.

The locality where this great battle was fought has been diligently investigated by the Abbé le Bœuf, who appears to have accurately ascertained the position of the armies. Fontenay is now called Fontenailles; but I preserve an appellation which has become historical. All the early French or German historians record this mighty conflict, which decided the fortunes of Charlemagne's Empire. Angelbert's rhythm or lament was discovered by the indefatigable Le Bœuf, in a manuscript of nearly coæval date (*Rec. des Hist.* T. VII. p. 304). With respect to the custom of Champagne, jurists may have entertained doubts respecting the existence of the privilege, but the legal doubt does not diminish the historical value of the tradition.

Lotharingian Architecture, p. 344.

This is not the place to discuss the age of the buildings in question, nor the origin of their peculiar conformation (see *Ecclesiastical Architecture, Quarterly Rev.* Vol. LXXV. p. 389); but the uniformity of style prevailing in Lothair's share of the Empire is apparent to the eye of every traveller who, steaming up the Rhine, and crossing the Saint-Gothard, reaches Rome by Pavia. Much remains to be done for the architectural investigation of the Alpine countries and passes. The stone towers of the churches in those regions are probably coæval with the first establishment of Christianity. The churches themselves are, with very few exceptions, modern: affording a presumption that they were constructed of timber. The towers have many features in common with those in England, which antiquaries now suppose to belong to the Anglo-Saxon æra. The finest Campanile is that belonging to the Basilica of Saint-Maurice in the Valais.

Treaty of Mersen, p. 346.

The Capitular or Treaty of Mersen is given by Dom Bouquet, *Rec. des Hist.* T. VII. p. 603. The quotation is from Chap. IX. The tenth and eleventh Chapters direct that negotiations should be opened with the Armoricans for the preservation of peace, and the like with the Northmen—"ut similiter ad Regem Nordmannorum, legati mittantur, qui eum contestentur quod aut pacem servare studebit, aut communiter eos infensos habebit." Then follow the rescripts made or issued by the three sovereigns, Lothair, Louis and Charles, to their subjects. In the rescript issued by Louis, he again notices, with some variation of expression, the proposed negotiations with the Armoricans and the Northmen.

SUMMARY OF CARLOVINGIAN HISTORY. A. D. 840—927.

§§ 32—59, pp. 346—408.

The authorities for this synopsis will be found generally in the preceding and subsequent chapters.

House of Vermandois, p. 355.

For the genealogy and history of this family, I have, besides the general genealogical works, consulted Collette's special history, (*Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de la Province du Vermandois*, 3 vols. 4to. Cambrai, 1777), an ill-digested work, but containing much unused information.

Rollo's Bonne-amie, p. 356.

This celebrated damsel's relationship to Bernard de Senlis is unquestionably proved by Dudon de Saint-Quentin, see p. 571.

Partition of Lotharingia, p. 370.

This document has been commented on and explained with great diligence by Dom Calmet (*Hist. de Lorraine*, Vol. I.). Yet much as he has effected, Calmet has only prepared the way for the future historian of Lotharingia, should such an one ever appear. The despair of the antient French compiler of the venerable but historically worthless *Chronique de Saint-Denis*, when he gives up the rendering of the German names into any decent shape as an utter impossibility, is amusing, (*Rec. des Hist.* T. VII. p. 134).

Louis II. Emperor and King of Italy, p. 371.

A very accurate account of this important reign, wholly passed over by Gibbon as well as by Sismondi, will be found in Muratori's *Annali d'Italia*. In his *Antichità d'Italia, Diss.* 40, he has given the Benevento ballad as a specimen of colloquial Latinity.

Death and Funeral of Louis, p. 375.

See extracts from Andrea the Presbyter (*Rec. des Hist.* Vol. VI. p. 206).

Alexander the Great's Charter, p. 379.

This tradition certainly existed in various versions at a very early period: a certified copy of the Macedonian Charter, made A.D. 1289, exists in the Venetian archives. (Gallucioli, *Memorie Venete*, Venice, 1795, I. p. 173).

Robert-le-Fort, p. 407.

All that we know with any certainty concerning Robert-le-Fort's ancestry is contained in Richerius (Lib. I. c. 5), who, describing the eleva-

tion of Eudes, proceeds to state—"*hic patrem habuit ex Equestri ordine, Rothbertum; avum verò paternum Witikinum advenam Germanum.*" The several theories relating to the origin of Robert-le-Fort have been repeatedly discussed in the *Art de Vérifier les Dates*,—in the preface to the tenth volume of the *Recueil des Historiens*,—and more recently by Thierry, Guizot, and Michelet. In the coæval chronicles, Hincmar's brief notice of Robert's joining the Armorican confederacy A.D. 859 (see p. 469) is the first announcement of the great Chieftain in history. The expression employed by Richerius, "ex equestri ordine," must not in any wise be taken as implying nobility of blood: the description simply designates the position which he held. We have not any proof that the early Capets endeavoured to exalt their ancestry, or thought about it: they were well or better content to be included in the ranks of the *new men* who acquired their rank for themselves. The faint voice of tradition always pointed out an ignoble origin; and Dante has only diffused throughout the world the ideas which from the old time had been current in France. Villon's ballad has been long known. Michel, *Chroniques des Ducs de Normandie, par Benoit*, Vol. II. p. 84, has given an extract of the Chanson de Geste, of which "*Huez Capez qu'on apelle bouchier*" is the hero; and, from a German romance which Michel quotes, it is evident that the history existed in a more complete form.

CHAPTER III.

THE NORTHMEN DURING THE TIMES OF CHARLES-LE-CHAUVE AND ROBERT-LE-FORT TO THE END OF THE REIGN.

A. D. 840—877.

PRINCIPAL AUTHORITIES.

(I.) Prudentius of Troyes continues with us until A.D. 861, when he died, worn out by exertion and anxiety, his labours and his life ending together: "vivendi et scribendi finem fecit," says Hincmar, as he takes up the pen to complete the narrative of the transactions of the year. (II.) Thus commencing, the Archbishop accompanies us to and beyond the conclusion of Charles-le-Chauve's reign. Hincmar always works with an object, directing his labours for the benefit of the State, as we find when we arrive at the troublous times which ensued upon the death of Charles. Hincmar inserts many state-documents; writing as one well acquainted with men and motives: and his work must be reckoned as the firmest foundation of French history during the era which it includes. (III.) The *Annales Mettenses* do not, during this chapter, furnish much in addition to the

other chroniclers. (IV.) Rudolph of Fulda becomes very interesting, on account of the decided German feeling which he exhibits, evidencing the antagonism between the French and German nations, and the bitter enmity between the French and German Houses. And from A.D. 863 (V.) Meginhardus, the disciple of Rudolph, continues the work in the spirit of his master.

On the German side of the question we receive a valuable accession in a Chronicler, who now appears to us for the first time, (VI.) Regino, somewhile Abbot of Pruhm. Regino grafts his work upon universal history, commencing with the Incarnation. A brief but respectable summary of Roman history introduces the Carlovingian annals, until the death of the great Emperor. This Carlovingian segment Regino compiled, as he states, from a book in plebeian and rustic Latin, which he reduced into grammatical language. Whether this work was in the *Romana Rustica* or not, we cannot judge. Probably, however, it only exhibited the colloquial or vulgar inaccuracies characterising the original manuscripts of Gregory of Tours, and effaced by the affectionate but injudicious care of modern editors.

The second book of Regino's Chronicle, commencing with the death of Charlemagne, includes, in the earlier periods, much which he learned from tradition. Regino was a diligent collector and a still more diligent observer, noting events as they arose, and telling the reader, as he proceeds, that he bears testimony to the events of his own time;—one of the many who, at that æra, were writers of memoirs as well as Chroniclers. Regino completed his work A.D. 809, when he published it, with a prefatory dedication to Adalbero, Bishop of Augsburg, stating the intent with which he had undertaken his labours, and entreating that this Preface may be in nowise omitted by any transcriber whom his work may please. —What Hincmar is for France, Regino is for Germany; and although a primary authority for French affairs in all transactions in Lotharingia or Germany which concern France, his Chronicle is omitted by Dom Bouquet. Pertz reprints it with a carefully corrected text.

(VII.) So far as the breadth of the work extends, the History of the Counts of Anjou, or *Gesta Consulum Andegavensium*, composed by a Monk of Marmoutier, is singularly useful and interesting. Addressed by the author to Henry II., under whose patronage he wrote, the writer deduces the history of the family from Torquatus the Forester, to the time of Geoffrey Plantagenet, embodying all the traditions of the dynasty. This work, of great authenticity and value, is to be found only in Dachery's *Spicilegium*, T. X. A few scraps are given by Dom Bouquet.

(VIII.) Towards the conclusion of this chapter, we begin to avail ourselves of Dudon de Saint-Quentin, *De Moribus et Actis Normannorum*, who, when we contemplate Normandy from within, must be reckoned as the principal source of Norman history during the reigns of Rollo,

Guillaume-Longue-épée, and Richard-Sans-peur (see pp. 99, 100, and p. 515). When employing Dudon, I concurrently consult the metrical translation made by Benoit de Saint-Maur, the Norman Trouveur who flourished in the reign of Henry II., which constitutes the first portion of his *Chronique des Ducs de Normandie*, edited by M. Michel from the unique MS. in the British Museum, (Paris, 1836), and included in the magnificent series of historical publications, commenced under Guizot's direction and patronage. Benoit's translation is usually faithful; and when he adds further facts, or traditions, they are always clearly distinguished from his original authority.—The *Roman du Rou*, the composition of Robert Wace, the clerk of Caen (edited by Pluquet, Rouen, 1828), departs more widely from the original, but is richer in traditionary history. Dudon, only found in Duchesne's *Normannorum Scriptores Antiqui* (Paris, 1619), has been entirely neglected for his abbreviator, Guillaume de Jumièges, who omits matters of primary importance.

(IX.) Langebec and Suhm, in their great collection, *Scriptores rerum Danicarum medii Ævi*, Copenhagen, 1783, T. I. pp. 496—561, and T. V. pp. 1—232, have excerpted all the passages contained in the Anglo-Saxon, as well as in the French, German, and other Continental historians relating to the conquests and expeditions of the Danes, constituting the whole of their external history to the conclusion of the ninth century. But, as I before observed, the history of the Danes is lame and incomplete, unless taken in connexion with the histories of the countries which they ravaged, or where they settled. Therefore I have in no case considered myself as dispensed from the constant employment of the writers from whom Langebec and Suhm have made their extracts. Very elaborate and judicious notes are added by these Editors, together with genealogical Tables. The work is as nearly perfect as possible, and yet it is incomplete, being maimed in its due proportions by the usual bane of such collections, the exaggerated scrupulosity of the learned Editors. They had a predecessor in the person of Eric Pontoppidan (*Gesta et Vestigia Danorum extra Daniam*, Leipsic, 1740), whose collections became the foundations of theirs. Amongst the extracts from the early historians, Pontoppidan has intercalated many of later date, inscriptions also, and fragments of antient ballads, exceedingly useful, from the collateral information which they afford. These are omitted by Langebec and Suhm, though they might without difficulty have been inserted in the notes;—and consequently Pontoppidan's work continues to be as needful as before for the Danish historical library.—Suhm's Danish history is a trustworthy digest of all the materials which he and his predecessor assembled.

Zernebog, p. 409.

The deities of Walhalla are well known, the Sclavonian Pantheon is perhaps less familiar. Sir Walter Scott has committed a curious, or

perhaps an intentional mistake, by introducing Zernebog as a Teutonic deity. Zernebog was purely Sclavonian. The Sclavonian mythology has been developed by Mone (*Geschichte des Heidenthums in Nordlichem Europa.* Leipsic, 1822).

"*Landking wilful,*" p. 410.

There are various redactions of these verses—one has been published by Hickes; see also *Reliquiæ Antiquæ,* by Wright and Halliwell, Vol. I. p. 316; Vol. II. p. 15. The text I have employed (modernising the orthography) is the most ample. It is contained in a Spelman MS. now belonging to Hudson Gurney, Esq.

The Magyars, pp. 383—410.

The slight notices of this valiant and unfortunate nation are gathered from the only authentic sources of their primæval history, the *Historia Ducum Hungariæ* of King Bela's Notary or Chancellor, and Johannes de Thurocz, who lived in the time of Matthias Corvinus; both given by Schwandtner (*SS. Rerum Hungaricarum,* Vienna, 1746, Vol. I.). The Chancellor addresses his work to his anonymous "Magister," for the purpose of answering, amongst other questions, "quare populus de terra Scythica egressus, per idioma alienigenarum, *Hungarii,* et in sua lingua propria, *Mogerii,* vocantur?"—Thurocz spells the name with an *o.*—The hymn is from Muratori.

Saracen Invasions and Settlements, p. 416.

Bouche, in his *Histoire de Provence,* Vol. I. furnishes us with an interesting, though perhaps somewhat uncritical, account of these settlements in the South of France and the Hautes Alpes.

Alterations in the bed and level of the Seine, p. 436.

The great inundation of 1740 suggested to Bonamy an historical dissertation on this subject, which he illustrates by a map (*Mém. de l'Académie des Inscrip.* T. XVII.). The general street-level of extra-insular Paris has, since the thirteenth century, been raised from four to six feet. The map shewing the extent flooded in 1740, affords some notion of the spread of the river in the Carlovingian era. The earliest recorded inundation took place A.D. 583; and it appears from Gregory of Tours, that, in his time, a navigable *Broad* was formed between the city and the church of St Laurent.

Oscelles, p. 450.

Many learned men, besides those whom I have named, were involved in this discussion, affording matter for two *Mémoires* by Bonamy, and one by the Abbé le Bœuf (*Mém. de l'Académie des Inscrip.* T. XX.). Such is the cleverness and learning of these writers, that the investigation is interesting.

Charles jealous over his Game, p. 453.

The qualified sporting license to which I allude, is contained in the thirty-second chapter of the Capitular of Kiersy, (see p. 519) by which Louis-le-Bégue was appointed Regent, during his father's absence in Italy. It is the only direct restriction upon his authority.

The Litany of Ste Généviève, p. 460.

For the continuance of this prayer, see Michel's *Benoit*, Vol. I. p. 35. Till the demolition of the Abbey, the inscription was one of the curiosities shewn to visitors.

Fortifications erected by Charles-le-Chauve, p. 463.

For these, see p. 605, and note.

Brise-Sarthe, p. 491.

The church is near the high road leading from Sablé to Angers. The account of Robert-le-Fort's death appears to have been derived from an eyewitness.

Armorica, pp. 490—500.

Consulting the great *Histoire de Bretagne*, I have condensed these passages from the original authorities. Much of Solomon's history is derived from the Chronicle of Nantes, included by Morice amongst the *Preuves*. Dom Bouquet gives only fragments.

The "New men," p. 501. *The Plantagenets*, p. 503.

The Monk of Marmoutier exemplifies the policy thus adopted, by the biography of the founder of the Plantagenets.

"Iste autem Torquatius sive Tortulfus genuit Tertullum, qui primus ex progenie Andegavensium Comitum per antiquos genealogiæ illorum relatores computatus est: tempore enim Caroli Calvi complures novi atque innobiles, bono et honesto nobilibus potiores, clari et magni effecti sunt. Quos enim appetentes gloriæ militaris conspiciebat, periculis objectare, et per eos fortunam temperare non dubitabat. Erant enim illis diebus homines veteris prosapiæ, multarumque imaginum, qui acta majorum suorum non sua ostentabant: qui cum ad aliquod grave officium mittebantur, aliquem e populo monitorem sui officii sumebant, quibus cum Rex aliis imperare jussisset, ipsi sibi alium Imperatorem poscebant. Ideò ex illo globo paucos secum Rex Carolus habebat: novis militaria dona et hæreditates pluribus laboribus et periculis adquisitas benigné præbebat. Ex quo genere fuit iste Tertullus, a quo Andegavorum Consulum progenies sumpsit exordium, vir doctus hostem ferire, humi requiescere, inopiam et laborem tolerare, hiemem et æstatem juxta pati, nihil præter turpem famam metuere. Hoc profecto constat, quod Tertullus

quidem acer ingenio, fortunam suam et rerum tenuitatem, animi amplitudine supervadens, majora se cupere et aggredi ausus sit. Hæc ergo et similia faciendo nobilitatem sibi et suo generi peperisse refertur." (*Dacherii Spicilegium*, T. x. p. 408.)

Gerlo, p. 504.

See *Art de Vérifier les Dates*. There are difficulties in chronology concerning these Danish Counts of Blois; but not affecting the main facts.

Imperial Coronation of Charles-le-Chauve, p. 507.

Meginhard (*Rec. des Hist.* T. VII. p. 181), relating this transaction, equally displays his classical knowledge and his enmity:—"Quo inde discedente et promissionibus illius credente, ille quæcumque pollicitus est, mentitur, et quanta potuit velocitate Romam profectus est, omnemque Senatum populi Romani more Jugurthino corrupit, sibique sociavit; ita ut etiam Johannes Papa votis ejus annuens, corona capiti ejus imposita, eum Imperatorem et Augustum appellare præcepisset." Qualiter autem regnum illud postea cum suis disposuerit, qualiterve cum thesauris quos tulerat in regnum suum redierit, quantasque cædes et incendia in itinere exercuerit, quia certum non habui latorem, scribere nolui. Melius est enim tacere quam falsa loqui."

Duke Boso, p. 507.

A. D. 876. "Nonis Januarii Româ exiens, Papiam redit, ubi et placitum suum habuit: et Bosone uxoris suæ fratre Duce ipsius terræ constituto, et corona Ducali ornato, &c." (Hincmar, *Rec. des Hist.* T. VII. p. 119).

Battle of Andernach, p. 510.

It is important to compare the accounts of this battle as given by Archbishop Hincmar, and the monk of Fulda. Hincmar implies that the conduct of Charles-le-Chauve was unduly inimical, whilst the German glories in the defeat of "Sennacherib."

Rollo, p. 513.

A. D. 876.—"Nortmanni cum centum circiter navibus magnis, quas nostrates *bargas* vocant, XVI Kalendas Octobris Sequanam introierunt." (Hincmar, *Rec. des Hist.* VII. 121.)

Dudon de Saint-Quentin, in the passage quoted below, (and which affords a curious notice of the *eager*) dates Rollo's first landing in Normandy in this year. So also the Chronicles of Nantes, A. D. 876, "Rollo Dux Normannorum in Gallias appulit" (*Rec. des Hist.* T. VII. p. 222, and Asser in his *Life of Alfred.*) All the antient, though subsequent writers, concur. Modern French historians have doubted the fact, principally for the reason that in 876 Franco was not Archbishop of Rouen. Hincmar, the contemporary, received his intelligence from the disturbed country, troubled by the invaders: Dudon de Saint-Quentin

obtained his intelligence traditionally, and after three generations had elapsed, yet both concur in the main. We find Franco, the Archbishop of Tongres, so constantly about Charles-le-Chauve at this period, and so trusted, that no reasonable doubt can subsist but that he was one of the Primores who had been despatched to the Northmen. The French verses are those of Master Wace, partly modernized in orthography.

"Anno igitur octingentesimo septuagesimo sexto ab Incarnatione Domini, nobilis Rollo consultu fidelium suorum libravit vela ventis navigeris, fluminis Scaldi alveum deserens, atque permenso ponto qua Sequana cæruleo gurgite perspicuisque cursibus fluens, oderiferasque excellentium riparum herbas lambens, *fluctuque inflatiore maris sæpe reverberata secundum discrimina lunæ inundantis maris pelago se immitit,* aggrediens navibus Gimeias venit.....Audientes igitur pauperes homines, inopesque mercatores Rotomo commorantes illiusque regiones habitatores copiosam multitudinem Normannorum adesse Gimegias, venerunt unanimes ad Franconem Episcopum Rothomagensem consulturi quid agerent." (*Dudo de Moribus,* p. 75.)

Rollo's landing at Rouen, p. 517.

See Dudon de Saint-Quentin, p. 76, and the *Roman du Rou*, p. 58.

Capitulars of Kiersy, p. 519.

Upon the construction of the ninth chapter of this Capitular, (*Rec. des Hist.* T. VII. p. 698), supposed, but erroneously, to have established the hereditary transmission of Fiefs, see *Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth,* Vol. I. p. 514, Vol. II. p. cccxcii. The Regency is appointed by the fifteenth chapter.

Assessment of the Danegeld. Rollo's Subsidy, p. 519.

Two documents are extant directing the levying of this Danegeld, for the benefit of the Northmen *qui erant in Sequana* (*Rec. des Hist.* T. VII. p. 697). The first is undated: the second has special reference to the year of Rollo's invasion.

CHAPTER IV.

FLANDERS, FRANCE, AND THE NORTHMEN, TO THE DETHRONEMENT AND DEATH OF CHARLES-LE-GRAS, AND THE FINAL DISMEMBERMENT OF THE CARLOVINGIAN EMPIRE.

A. D. 862—919. (*Flanders*).
A. D. 862—888. (*France*).

PRINCIPAL AUTHORITIES.

(I.) Hincmar's Chronicle, increasing in interest as he proceeds, extends to Carloman's accession as sole King of France; but shortly after-

wards, A.D. 882, the work is abruptly stayed by the flight and death of the venerable Archbishop (see p. 585).—(II.) The *Annales Mettenses* continue, becoming more useful by supplying facts relating to Germany not found elsewhere,—valuable also with respect to the northern invasions.—(III.) *Regino of Pruhm* we also retain, his chronicle being the chief source of information for Germany generally, and for France also in connexion with Germany. Regino's local position at Pruhm in Lotharingia, between France and Germany, gave him opportunities, of which he fully availed himself, for obtaining intelligence concerning both countries; and he seems to have been much in the confidence of Charles-le-Gros.—(IV.) *Meginhardus*, the intelligent continuator of Rodolph of Fulda, lasts us till A.D. 882; and (V.) and (VI.), his two anonymous continuators (all quoted as the *Annales Fuldenses*) are full of information, though their attention is principally directed to Germany.

New authorities of great value arise, and aid us in telling the story. (VII.) Abbo's poem, abounding in incidents (p. 608), was commenced immediately after the raising of the first siege of Paris, January, 887. The first Book, in which the siege is described, was published about 889. We ascertain this fact from the circumstance, that, towards the conclusion of the Book, as well as in the preface or dedication to his friend, teacher and fellow-monk, Gosceline (not the Bishop), he speaks of Eudes Capet as king.

The research of Duchesne and his predecessors and contemporaries, whether in France or Germany, brought out nearly the whole stock of French and German Chroniclers; yet some escaped their diligence. A Chronicle of great value continued concealed in the Abbey of St. Bertin, till recovered for the world by the unwearied Abbé Le Bœuf.—(VIII.) The original manuscript of this Chronicle is considered by the Abbé as belonging to the tenth century: no title is prefixed, nor is there any external evidence enabling us to identify the author; but, inasmuch as the events concerning the Abbey of St Vedast are rather prominent, the Abbé Le Bœuf conjectured that the composition had originated there, and he has entitled it *Annales Vedastini*, accordingly. The Abbé Le Bœuf contributed an excellent analysis of the work to the Académie des Inscriptions (T. XXIV. 1756), and having liberally communicated his transcript to Dom Bouquet, the latter published it in the *Recueil* (T. VIII. pp. 79—94). Pertz has repeated the text with corrections.

Commencing 877, these Annals constitute a new vein of information. They amplify Hincmar where the works are concurrent, and as well during that period as afterwards, supply information which we do not obtain from other authorities. The Annalist is peculiarly ample with respect to the troubles which ensued upon Louis-le-Bégue's accession. The Danish transactions of the æra, from Louis-le-Bégue onwards, especially those occurring in the Seine country, are principally known through the Vedas-

tine annals. Rollo is nowhere mentioned by name; nevertheless great light is thereby thrown upon his history; and by annexing a precise date to a particular incident, *i. e.* the death of Ragnald, Duke of Maine (see p. 746), unnoticed in any other Carlovingian Chronicle, we are enabled, as it were, to haul up Rollo's history into its right place. Details are given of the siege of Paris corresponding closely with Abbo's poetical narrative, yet neither writer copies the other: they write independently: therefore the Annalist and Abbo were both present in or near Paris during the siege, both decidedly espoused the cause of Eudes, both are Capetians. These are the circumstances which induce me to ascribe the composition to an inmate of S. Germain-des-Prés; and it would not be an unauthorized conjecture to suppose that the Annalist was Abbo's friend and teacher, Gosceline.

(IX.) For Normandy we continue, as before, to be guided by Dudon, correcting his statements and supplying his deficiencies by comparison with the Frankish Chroniclers, and particularly, as last mentioned, by the *Annales Vedastini;* and for Flanders, we have, besides the general authorities, (X.) the Chronicle of Yperius, (the real Chronicle of Saint Bertin) (Martene *Thesaurus Anecdotorum*, T. III.), from which Bouquet has given a few extracts, and the writers mentioned in the note below.

Judith Countess of Flanders—her Marriages, p. 528.

Her English marriages belong to English history. For the marriage-ritual, as well as the proceedings against Baldwin and Judith, see Dom Bouquet (T. VII. pp. 621, 650). The aid given to the lovers by Louis-le-Bégue is spoken of plainly by Archbishop Hincmar, and in still plainer terms by Yperius, the Chronicler of Saint Bertin (*Rec. des Hist.* T. VII. p. 268). St Gregory's decision is accepted as a portion of the antient Canon-law intended for the regulation or restraint of second marriages.

The Foresters of Flanders, p. 530.

For these legends, and several facts connected with Baldwin and Judith, I am indebted to Peter van Oudegherst, as edited by Lesbroussart (Ghent, 1789), and also to the *Chronyke van Vlaenderen* (Bruges, 1727). The description of the country I have endeavoured to extract from Lesbroussart's notes, and from Gheldolf's translation of *Warnkönig* (*Histoire de la Flandres*, Brussels, 1835). There are variations in the lists of the ten Flemish Counties (p. 538); but it is not needful for our present purpose to enter into minute inquiries.

Coronation of Louis-le-Bégue, p. 543.

The Fealties of the Bishops, Lieges, and the "Professio" or Covenant of Louis-le-Bégue, are inserted textually in Hincmar's Chronicle. It is very possible that the instruments were drawn by him (*Rec. des Hist.* T. VIII. p. 27).

Judith, Queen of Louis-le-Bégue, p. 545.

She is supposed to have been the sister of Wilfred, Abbot of Flavigni, in Burgundy. Historians denominate her by her epithet of *Adela*, or *Adeliza*, but that her real name was Judith, appears from a charter which she granted to the Abbey of Saint Sixtus at Placentia. Her genealogy is deduced from Alpaida, great grandmother of Louis-le-Débonnaire (see Père Labbe, *Tab. Gen.* p. 577, and Père Anselme, T. I p. 35). The noble Abbey of Chelles or Cala, on the Marne, is about six miles from Paris. The house was founded by Clotilda, and re-endowed by Bathilda (*Gall. Christ.* T. VII. p. 558). For the abduction of the Adeliza from the monastery, see the Chronicle of Richard of Poitou (*Rec. des Hist.* T. IX. p. 21,) and the continuator of Aimoinus, (T. IX. p. 137).

Parties or factions supporting or opposing the children of Louis-le-Bégue, p. 554.

The following passage shews how strongly the opinion of the illegitimacy of Ansgarda's children (see p. 548) prevailed :—

"A. D. 880. Rex Francorum Ludovicus Balbus moritur, uxorem suam ex se gravidam relinquens. De regno ejus Francis variè sentientibus: aliis illud Ludovico et Carlomanno filiis Ludovici Balbi ex concubina debere judicantibus; aliis Bosoni Provinciæ Regulo ad illud injustè invadendum adsentientibus ; *aliis verò illud regno Germaniæ resociare volentibus ;* nascitur interim ex legitima uxore Ludovici Balbi filius, qui ex nomine avi Karoli, *Karolus* nominatus est. Filii tamen Ludovici Balbi ex concubina, Ludovicus et Carlomannus dicti, interim regnum Francorum inter se dividentes, regnant annis quatuor, et Bosonem semper persecuti sunt." (Sigeberti Gemblacensis Chron. *Rec. des Hist.* T. VIII. p. 308.)

Regrets occasioned by the division of the Empire, p. 555.

For a strong expression of these feelings, as they arose upon the division of the Empire, and which after the death of Louis-le-Débonnaire unquestionably greatly assisted in facilitating the election of Charles-le-Gros, see the complaints of Florus the Deacon (*Rec. des Hist.* T. VII p. 315). They are also testified in the above-quoted passage of Sigebertus.

King Boso, p. 560.

The documents relating to King Boso's election are given by Bouche (*Hist. Gén. de Provence*, Tom. I. p. 758—769). His ample history of King Boso is one of the best portions of the work. See also the *Histoire de Languedoc.* Bouche preserves the remarkable portrait of King Boso. In Boso's capital all his monuments and memorials have been destroyed. After a careful search in the fine cathedral of Vienne, I could find no trace of his epitaph, said to have existed till within the last thirty years. The antient fortifications, however, so valiantly de-

fended by Hermengarda, on behalf of her husband, are very perfect. The noble Roman remains which still adorn Vienne, shew how thoroughly the city bore a Roman aspect.

Caroletto, p. 566.

This affectionate name was given to him when he first appeared in Italy, A.D. 875. "Ludovicus misit filium suum, quem homines cœperunt *Caroletum* nominare"—(Andreæ Presbyteri Chron. *Rec. des Hist.* T. VII. p. 206).

Death of Louis the Saxon's child, p. 571.

"(Annales Mettenses, 882.) Puerulus de fenestra cecidit, et confractis cervicibus statim exspiravit. Quæ non tantum immatura, quantum inhonesta mors non solum regi et reginæ, verum etiam omni domo regiæ maximum luctum ingessit." It is somewhat difficult to assign a precise meaning to the epithet *inhonesta*.—A friend, to whom I owe many obligations, observes:—"inhonesta seems to me to mean, *a death not fit for a gentleman*, a phrase conceived in the same feeling that made Achilles chafe at the thought of being drowned by the combined efforts of the Xanthus and Simois, and Æneas weep in the near prospect of shipwreck."

Battle of Saulcourt, p. 575.

Isembard, the traitor, was Patron of Centulla, or Saint-Riquier, *Advocatus* or *Defensor*, in the old phraseology. Hence the battle of Saulcourt constitutes an important event in the history of the Abbey. Popular songs in the Romance language, sung about the streets, commemorated Isembard's treachery. It is evidently to such ballads, and not to the Teutonic rhythm, that Hariulphus refers in his Chronicle (see *Rec. des Hist.* T. VII. p. 275; also *Hist. Ancienne et Moderne d'Abbeville*, par Louandre, Abbeville, 1834, and Depping). The *Ludwigs-Lied* was first discovered by Mabillon in the Abbey of St Amand, and constitutes an important monument in the history of German poetry, as well as of the German language. (See *Antient German and Northern Poetry, Edinburgh Review*, Vol. XXVI. 1816.) When I wrote that Essay, I could only use the imperfect text in Schilther's *Thesaurus*; but the original MS. has since been recovered, and the text given with accuracy. (*Elnonensia, Monumens des Langues Romane et Tudesque*, par Fallersleben et Willelms. Gand. 1837, and, from this publication, by Depping.) The lay is spirited and bold; and the dialect evidently shews that it was composed in the countries on the Eastern side of the Rhine.

The Roman Camp of Estreuns, p. 577.

The Camp at Etrun is described by the Abbé de Fontenu, who contributed to the *Académie des Inscriptions* (Tom. x.) a very curious series

of memoirs upon the so-called Camps of Cæsar, the generic name given in France to every antient entrenchment. This denomination affords a remarkable proof of the preponderance which the Romans obtained over the national mind: very few are the local traditions in the Gauls which do not speak of Rome. This Camp of Etrun is in Artois: there is another Etrun, also with a Roman camp, in Hainault, at the confluence of the Scheldt and the Sansat. It is a curious coincidence, or rather a further proof of Roman military skill in the choice of their positions, that, during the march, when Marshal Villars occupied the Roman Camp upon the Scarpe, the Duke of Marlborough also encamped within the Roman entrenchments in Hainault. (See Piganiol de la Force, *Description de la France*, Paris, 1754, T. IV. p. 432.)

Death of Louis III., p. 580.

The annalist of St Vedast gives the narrative which I have adopted, and the great grief which ensued: "unde ægrotare cœpit, et delatus apud Sanctum Dionysium, Nonis Augusti defunctus, magnum dolorem Francis reliquit, sepultusque est in Ecclesia Sancti Dionysii." Hincmar is silent as to the cause of the King's death. The continuator of Aimoinus, rejected by Dom Bouquet's text, but from whom an extract is given in a note (T. VIII. p. 36), adds: "vir plenus omnibus immunditiis et vanitatibus."

Arnolph's Oath, p. 583.

All these transactions are fully and accurately told by Luden, Vol. VI. Book xiii. c. 12.

Death of Carloman, p. 591.

See Ann. Vedast. (*Rec. des Hist.*) T. VIII. p. 94. This appears to be the most accurate account.

Free Friezeland, p. 595.

I have attempted a short investigation of the history of this most interesting country, to which I must here refer: (*Antient Laws and Constitutions of the Frisons, Edinb. Review*, Vol. XXII. 1819.)

Rollo's re-occupation of Rouen—Death of Ragnald, Duke of Maine, pp. 603, 604.

In Dudon de Saint-Quentin, after the landing of Rollo, the narrative is continuously pursued without a date. The notice in the Vedastine Annals of Duke Ragnald's death, with a specific date, month, and year, is one of the coincidences which enable us to chronologize Rollo's history.

"Ragnoldus vero Comes, congregato majore exercitu priore, iterum conatur eos invadere. Nortmanni autem se conglobantes strictim accubitaverunt se, ut parvissima putaretur summa eorum. Illico Ragnoldus

init bellum, suæ sorti non profuturum. Daci verò per aciem Ragnoldi inconvulse pergentes, prosternebant duris verberibus plures. Videns autem Ragnoldus suos deficere, cœpit celeri cursu fugere. Cui quidam piscator Sequanæ attributus Rollonî, obviavit ei, teloque transverberatum occidit. Ragnoldidæ suum Seniorem videntes mortuum, fugam torquentes nimium equos expetiverunt. Tunc Rollo persequens eos multos occidit, pluresque captos ad naves deduxit. Convocatisque fidelibus suis dixit: Age, nunc navigemus Parisius, civesque qui prælia fugerunt requiramus." (*Dudo de Moribus*, p. 77.)

"885. Mense itaque Julio, VIII. Kal. Augusti, Normanni Rotomagum civitatem ingressi cum omni exercitu, Francique eos usque in dictum locum insecuti sunt: et quia necdum eorum naves advenerant, cum navibus in Sequana repertis fluvium transeunt, et sedem sibi firmare non desistunt. Inter hæc, omnes, qui morabantur in Neustria atque Burgundia, adunantur, et, collectò exercitu, adveniunt quasi debellaturi Nortmannos. Sed ut congredi debuerunt, contigit ruere Ragnoldum Ducem Cinomannicum cum paucis: et hinc rediere omnes ad loca sua cum magna tristitia: nil actum utile.

Tunc Nortmanni sævire cœperunt.....Franci parant se ad resistendum: non in bello, sed munitiones construunt. Castrum statuunt super fluvium Hisam in loco qui dicitur ad Pontem Hisaræ.....Parisius civitatem Gauzlinus Episcopus munit.....Nortmanni vero dictum igne cremaverunt Castrum, diripientes omnia inibi reperta.....Hac Nortmanni patrata victoria valde elati Parisius adeunt." (Annales Vedastini, *Rec. des Hist.* T. VIII. p. 84.)

"*Parisius* sine flexu interdum pro ipsa Parisiorum urbe usurpatur" (Ducange). In the earlier writers, *Parisius* is the more common appellation.

Charles-le-Chauve's Fortifications of Paris, p. 605.

In describing the defences of Paris, I have followed Bonamy (*Mém. de l'Académie des Inscrip.* T. XVII. pp. 289—295), comparing his essay with Felibien. It is certain that before Charles-le-Chauve erected his fortifications, the Northmen entered Paris at pleasure; and equally certain that Paris was afterwards able to offer a stout resistance. For the adoption of the Carlovingian cycle of Romance by the Italians, see Panizzi's excellent Introduction to the *Orlando Innamorato*. I have adopted Ariosto as an historian of the Siege of Paris; for, once read, it is impossible to dismiss the magnificent animation of his pictures from one's mind.

The Danish Boat, p. 615.

Dug up in 1806, and described by Mongez, (*Mém. de l'Institut. Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, T. v.).

CHAPTER V.

DISMEMBERMENT OF THE EMPIRE: EUDES AND CHARLES-LE-SIMPLE. ESTABLISHMENT OF ROLLO IN NORMANDY.

A.D. 888—912.

Principal Authorities.

(I.) Abbo, having concluded the siege of Paris, becomes, in the second Book of his Poem, the historical panegyrist of King Eudes. Allowing for this avowed object, the story is told faithfully, though obscured by the perplexities of his verse. There are some few chronological difficulties, yet not greater than might have occurred if he had written in prose. The third Book of Abbo, devoted to St. Germain's miracles, remains unpublished, though probably containing historical information.

(II.) Regino continues, as before mentioned, till A.D. 906. His continuator, mainly devoted to German affairs, is, at the commencement, somewhat meagre. (III.) Not so the continuators of Rudolph, in the *Annales Fuldenses*, from whom we collect the most useful information concerning German history: they also enter largely and satisfactorily into the affairs of France. (IV.) The history of Eudes, and a considerable portion of the reign of Charles-le-Simple, would scarcely be known but for the *Vedastine Annals*. Rich and satisfactory, they increase in interest as they advance, till they bring us to the edge of the singular chasm, A.D. 900, which disappoints us during the most eventful æra in French history.

Yet we now begin to receive instruction from (V.) Frodoardus Remensis, singularly distinguished by his learning, not less so by the excellence of his character, brought into intercourse with the principal personages of his age, and furnished with materials of which he fully availed himself for the historian's task. The Cathedral archives were entrusted to his care; from these sources, and his own knowledge, Frodoardus composed the history of the Church of Rheims, deduced to his own time. In the fourth Book, the influential position maintained by the Archbishops conducts their biographer and historian amply into politics and dissensions. Archbishop Fulco was a prime mover in the political events and revolutions by which Charles-le-Simple was exalted or depressed, sometimes supporting the young monarch, sometimes opposing him; and the quarrels and dissensions between the Archbishops and the Counts of Flanders and the Vermandois render them very important personages in the general affairs of Northern Gaul.

In the Ecclesiastical history, these transactions, however, hold only a subordinate place; for Frodoardus, a very able historian, had well considered the relative proportions of the ecclesiastical and secular materials; and the matters which he excluded from his *Historia Remensis* he re-

served for his (VI.) Chronicle, the most valuable of its æra. Beginning with a fragment of the year A.D. 877, a chasm immediately occurs until A.D. 919, so the *Chronicon Frodoardi* cannot avail us in the present chapter of our history; though we shall find it of the greatest use hereafter.

The Chronicles of Eckhard, Abbot of Urangen, and Trithemius, Abbot of Hirschau, respectively contain extracts from a Chronicler not employed by any other mediæval compilers. Eckhard flourished in the twelfth century, Trithemius in the fifteenth; but no intermediate writer has the passages; and from the time of Trithemius, until very recently, all traces of the source were lost. Richerius, a monk of Saint Remi, well known by various theological and poetical compositions, whom Trithemius quotes as his authority, was an individual enjoying considerable literary eminence. Yet the Manuscript from which Trithemius made his extracts disappeared; and, though much enquired after by the learned, all attempts to recover it were fruitless. "Il est étrange," say the Benedictine authors of the *Histoire Littéraire de la France* (T. VI. p. 504), "qu'un ouvrage aussi intéressant pour notre nation, qui existait au moins à la fin du quinzième siécle, ait été tellement négligé qu'on ne le voit plus paraître nulle part."

The indefatigable research of Pertz has been happily aided by a species of fox-hound instinct, enabling him to scent out that game which, unearthed by previous sportsmen, still lurks in or between the close covers of public libraries. Thus he discerned at Brussels, for the use of the British archæologist, the long-lost Poem of Guido of Amiens, describing the Conqueror's siege of London. The same combination of luck and diligence guided his eye and hand to the Chronicle of Richerius, in the Cathedral library at Bamberg. Apart from its historical value, this Manuscript is very interesting: the Codex is the author's holograph, passages altered, inserted, corrected, expunged; yet Richerius probably considered it only as a draft, inasmuch as the last vellum page contains notes for the continuation of the Chronicle, for chapters which Richerius never completed. Death probably stayed the writer's hand. The work, thus left imperfect, and never published by the author, was not multiplied by transcribers; and the original, known only to Eckhard and Trithemius, was laid by and forgotten, till brought to light by the fortunate diligence of Pertz. His literary modesty is as praiseworthy as his acuteness. Instead of parading his discovery, he included the Chronicle of Richerius (VII.) in his great collection, Vol. VI. working upon it, as might be expected, with the utmost care. A fac-simile, which he has added, shews the original state of the manuscript in a manner which never could have been effected by printing-types. In such cases, fac-similes of manuscripts are much more than mere specimens of palæography: they are essential elements for the critical knowledge of history. The Chronicle has been reprinted by the Société Historique

(Paris, 1840). The work, consisting of four Books, opens with the accession of Eudes, and concludes just before the death of Hugh Capet. From the dethronement of Charles-le-Simple, Richerius becomes a primary authority. The earlier portion gives us valuable and authentic information concerning Eudes, and much respecting Rollo; but the first book of Richerius, like the last fragments, must be considered rather as a collection of historical notes than as a connected history. There is no attempt at chronology; and Richerius has so evidently confounded *our* Rollo with another Danish chieftain bearing the same name, that I have not attempted to reconcile him with the other authorities.

(VIII.) The transactions relating to the settlement of Normandy depend mainly upon Dudon de Saint-Quentin. Whatever inaccuracies there may be in the form or arrangement of his narrative, I do not see any just reason for distrusting his general accuracy. In fact, unless we accept Dudon, such as he is, we must abandon the history of the first three Norman sovereigns.

Berenger and Guido, p. 628.

Gibbon and Sismondi have elided these monarchs, whose reigns constitute a most stirring era. A general reference may be made to Muratori. The Monza relics are known to most travellers.

Louis, King of Provence, p. 632.

See, besides the history of Languedoc, Bouche, *Hist. Générale de Provence*, T. I. pp. 775—784.

Richard-le-Justicier, Transjurane Burgundy, p. 634.

See the Benedictine *Histoire de Bourgogne.*

Vermandois, p. 638.

See Collette.

Guido's parsimony, p. 639.

"Metensis vero Episcopus, dum cibaria ei multa secundum Francorum consuetudinem ministraret, hujusmodi responsa a Dapifero suscepit:—Si equum saltem mihi dederis, faciam ut tertia obsonii hujus parte sit Rex Wido contentus. Quod Episcopus audiens, Non decet, inquit, talem super nos regnare Regem, qui decem dragmis vile sibi obsonium præparat." (Luitprandi Hist. *Rec. des Hist.* T. VIII. p. 131.)

Battle of Montfaucon, pp. 640—644.

Montfaucon-en-Argonne is a small town or hamlet in the Rethelois, on the banks of the Meuse.

Méaux besieged by the Danes, pp. 644, 646.

"A.D. 888. Normanni Meldis Civitatem obsidione vallant," *Ann. Vedast. Rec. des Hist.* T. VIII. p. 87. The account of the siege follows.

This account enables us to date the undated narrative of Dudo, p. 87. By some historians Meldis has been confounded with Melun or even Mellent.

Ravages of the Côtentin and St Lo, pp. 645, 646.

See *Gall. Christ.* T. x. p. 857, which contains the extract from the famous Black book of Coutances, stating that divine service was intermitted for seventy-three years, in consequence of the Danish ravages. The names of the Bishops of Lisieux are wanting from A.D. 876 to 990.

Popa, or the Poppet, p. 647.

For the capture and abduction of the damsel, see Dudon, p. 77, whom all other Chroniclers have copied, or abridged, or misrepresented. That Bernard de Senlis was the uncle of her son Guillaume-Longue-Epée, is proved by the respective declarations of Guillaume and of Bernard. Dudon, pp. 95 and 118.

Storming of Evreux, p. 648.

Besides the Chronicles, and the matter in the *Gallia Christiana*, I have also employed Le Brasseur (*Histoire Civile et Ecclésiastique du Comté d'Evreux*, Paris, 1722).

Battle of the Allier, pp. 650, 651.

It is only from *Richerius*, Lib. I. c. 7—11, that we collect the details of Eudes' campaign in Auvergne, and the histories of Osketyl and Ingo. All that concerns Eudes is clear and consecutive; but I suspect some unrectifiable confusion as to Ingo.

Hunedeus, p. 662.

"A.D. 895—896. Per idem tempus iterum Normanni cum Duce eorum, Hunedeo nomine, et quinque barchis iterum Sequanam ingressi: et dum Rex ad alia intendit, magnum sibi et regno malum accrescere facit..... Normanni vero jam multiplicati paucis ante Nativitatem diebus Hisam ingressi, Cauciaco sedem sibi, nullo resistente, firmant." (*Ann. Vedast.*)

"895. Northmanni iterum cum Duce eorum, qui Rollo dictus est nomine, rursus Sequanam ingressi, jam multiplicati ante Nativitatem Domini Hisam ingressi," &c. (*Chronicon de Gestis Normannorum in Francia.* Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. S. S.* T. II. p. 530). In this Chronicle Duchesne employed two manuscripts; one reads *Rodo*, the other *Rollo*. The *Recueil des Historiens* does not at all remove the necessity of consulting Duchesne.

"896—897. Posthac Normanni usque Mosam in prædam exierunt, nullo sibi resistente. A præda verò illis revertentibus occurrit Regis exercitus: sed nil profecerunt. Verum Nortmanni ad naves reversi, timentes multitudinem exercitûs ne obsiderentur, in Sequanam redierunt: ibique

tota demorantes æstate prædas agebant, nullo sibi resistente. Karolus vero Hunedeum ad se deductum Cluninio Monasterio eum de sacro fonte suscepit." (*Ann. Vedast.*).

"896. Carolus Rex Hunedeum Regem Northmannorum baptizari fecit, eumque de sacro fonte suscepit." (Sigebertus Gemblacensis, *Rec. des Hist.* T. VIII. p. 310.)

Archbishop Fulco's Objurgations, p. 663.

See Frodoard, (*Hist. Remensis*, Lib. IV, cap. 6).

The Quarrel in Council, p. 668.

It is with this incident that the Vedastine Annals suddenly terminate, as if the pen had been struck out of the writer's hand during the dissensions.

Frederuna, p. 669.

Her dowry, Corbigny and Pontyon, is granted by Charter, dated at Attigny, 907, "anno XV regnante Domno (*i. e.* Domino) Karolo gloriosissimo Rege, redintegrante decimo" (*Rec. des Hist.* T. IX. p. 504). In this Charter he styles her "quædam nobili prosapia puella," whom he takes in marriage by the advice of his counsellors. Another Charter, granted in favour of the Church of Saint Remi, in which he notices her coronation, is dated "anno XXV regnante Karolo Rege gloriosissimo, redintegrante XX, largiore verò hæreditate indepta VI." (p. 530.)

Archbishop Hervé's Pastoral, p. 674.

This will be found, together with the letter of Pope John IX., in Dom Bessin's collection of the Norman Councils, (*Concilia Rothomagensis Provinciæ*, Rouen, 1717). Were any proof required that it is most inexpedient to sever the civil and ecclesiastical memorials of the mediæval era, it would be afforded by the circumstance that these important documents are excluded from the *Recueil des Historiens*.

Battle of Chartres, p. 676.

This event occupies a prominent position in French history. I consider Dudon de Saint-Quentin as the main source of my narrative (pp. 80, 81), engrafting, as far as is practicable, his account upon the brief chronicles of Anjou, (Dom Bouquet, T. VIII. p. 252), the fragment of French history, p. 302; *Hugo Floriacensis*, p. 318; and Benoit's metrical paraphrase vv. 5169—6004. The notice of the satirical songs by which Ebles of Poitou was defamed, is found only in Benoit. There is much uncertainty as to the exact date of the battle, but I have adopted the most probable; rejecting also those incidents which do not appear trustworthy. For the *Pré des Reculés*, see Michel's *Benoit*, Vol. I. p. 271.

The Followers of Rollo, p. 680.

I have ventured to assemble all the Danes who are in any wise recorded as founders of Norman families. The concluding Book (VIII.) of Guillaume de Jumièges, enlarged and continued by another monk of the same monastery, contains many important genealogical notices: some are scattered in Ordericus Vitalis; and Duchesne's genealogies, appended to his editions of these Historians (*S. S. Hist. Norm.* pp. 1069—1104) have paginal references to the passages upon which they are grounded.—Four folio volumes, richly adorned by armorial bearings, have been devoted to the descendants of Bernard the Dane, by the industrious gratitude of Giles André de la Roque (*Hist. Généalogique de la Maison de Harcourt*, Paris, 1662).—Some families, and in particular La Roche Tesson, are amply illustrated by M. Vaultier (*Recherches Historiques sur l'Ancien Pays de Cinglais; Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie*, 2e Serie, T. IV. pp. 1—293). The Crespin family are said to be descended from Rollo by a daughter, Crispine.

Pluquet (*Roman du Rou*, Vol. I. p. 152) has a notice concerning the family of Osmond de Cent-villes "présentement Ducs et Pairs de France." So also Goubé (*Hist. de la Normandie*, Rouen, 1815, Vol. I. p. 91). Roger de Montgomery styles himself *Normannus Normannorum*, but unfortunately he and all his contemporaries forgot to tell us the name of his ancestor. Ademar of Chavanes says (*Rec. des Hist.* VIII. p. 232) that Rollo's followers accepted him as King.

Cession made to Rollo, p. 684.

The Frankish Proceres, in urging the marriage and the cession, held out as an inducement the homage which Rollo would render:—"Rollo, Dux Northmannorum tibi amoris et amicitiæ inextricabilis, quinetiam servitii pactum. Si dederis filiam tuam, ut ei dixisti, conjugem, terramque maritimam in sempiternam per progenies progenierum possessionem, manus suas se subjugando tibi dabit fidelitatis gratiâ, tuumque servitium incessanter explebit." (Dudo, pp. 82, 83.)

Archbishop Franco makes a most energetic claim on behalf of his patron: "... non conciliabitur tibi, nisi terram quam daturus es, in sacramento Christianæ religionis juraveris, tu et Archipræsules et Episcopi, Comites et Abbates totius regni, ut teneat ipse et successores ejus ipsam terram ab Eptæ fluviolo ad mare usque, quasi fundum et allodium in sempiternum."

Duke Robert and the Prelates and Proceres equally so: "Tunc Flandrensem terram, ut ex ea viveret, voluit Rex ei dare: sed ille noluit præ paludium impeditione recipere. Itaque spondet Rex ei Britanniam dare, quæ erat in confinio promissæ terræ." (Dudo, p. 83.)

Frodoardus (*Hist. Rem.* Lib. IV. c. 24) does not make any mention of the King, but connects the transaction with the baptism of the Danes after the battle of Chartres: "fidem Christi suscipere receperunt, conces-

sis sibi maritimis quibusdam pagis, cum Rotomagensi quam pene deleverant urbe, et aliis eidem subjectis."

The exact extent of the cession made by Charles-le-Simple has been much debated by Licquet and others.

For all matters relating to the antient geography of the Duchy, we are exceedingly indebted to the labours of the late Honourable Thomas Stapleton, whose introductions to the great Rolls of the Exchequer of Normandy, as published by the Society of Antiquaries, (1840—1844), condense and almost exhaust all the information upon the subject, whilst his map brings every particular before the eye. Maps executed with such clearness and accuracy afford great aid to the study of mediæval history. Mr Stapleton's map is the most satisfactory specimen of this class hitherto produced at home or abroad.

Superiority of Britanny, p: 686.

"Emit namque Rex Francorum Karolus pacem atque amicitiam a Rollone primo Duce Normannorum, ac posteriorum parente, natam suam Gislam in matrimonium, et Britanniam in servitium perpetuum ei tradens. Exoraverunt id fœdus Franci, non valentes amplius resistere Gallico ense Danicæ securi. Exinde Comites Britannici e jugo Normannicæ dominationis cervicem omninò solvere nunquam valuerunt, etsi multoties id conati, tota vi obluctando." (*Guil. Pict.* p. 191.) It seems as if Guillaume de Poitou, the commencement of whose history is lost, had somewhat more information than we now possess.

All these Norman transactions will also be found bearing upon the *mouvance* of Britanny, that is to say, they elucidate the antient feudal dependence of Britanny, one of the most vexed questions in French constitutional history: a practical question also, for the French Legists argued that certain important privileges exercised by the Crown after the final reunion of the province by the marriage of the last heiress, Claude, daughter of the Duchess Anne with Francis the First, were to be decided thereby. A discussion, therefore, which, upon its first aspect appears to be ranked only amongst the dullest, or, as some would consider, the most useless labour of archæology,—for, if thoroughly sifted and debated, it must be taken up from Clovis and a good while beyond—acquires a living interest from its connexion with the rights and franchises of the most independent and sensitive member of the French monarchy under Louis-le-Grand.

Historical literature profited greatly by this same discussion.—The States of Britanny, in order to sustain their pretensions in the least offensive manner, sought the historical advocacy of the congregation of Saint Maur. Dom Lobineau undertook the task, actuated equally by national zeal and antiquarian enthusiasm, and the result was one huge folio of text and another huge folio of *preuves*, chronicles and legends,

and a selection from fifteen thousand deeds and charters, constituting an invaluable treasury of information.

Such was the production of the Benedictine Réligieux.—A courtly Historiograper, his opponent, celebrated for the facility with which he was accustomed to release himself from the encumbrance of authentic evidence,—*grand merci, mon siége est fait!*—took up the gauntlet, and vindicated the authority of the Louvre in a neat duodecimo. This was one of the cases in which an acute and clever superficial writer has the means of triumphing over laborious and conscientious erudition. The Benedictine replied modestly, but ineffectually. If the cause of "Dom Lobineau *versus* the Abbé Vertot" had been brought before the Académie des Inscriptions, there can be little doubt but that judgment would have been given for the defendant.—Abbé Vertot, however, though in the right, was as angry as if he had been in the wrong, and, meanly seeking revenge, he obtained a *lettre-de-cachet* against his adversary. The wisdom and moderation of the great D'Aguisseau alone saved the historian of Britanny from close, and perhaps life-long imprisonment; but such was the dread inspired by the Bastille, that, on the Breton side, the controversy was completely silenced.

Rollo's Homage, p. 686.

"—Francorum coactus verbis, manus suas misit inter manus Regis, quod nunquam pater ejus, et avus, atque proavus cuiquam fecit. Dedit itaque filiam suam, Gislam nomine, uxorem illi Duci, terramque determinatam in alodo et in fundo, á flumine Eptæ usque ad mare, totamque Britanniam de qua posset vivere." (Dudo, p. 83).

Rollo's refusal to kiss the King's foot, p. 687.

"Cumque sui Comites illum ammonerent ut pedem regis in acceptionem tanti muneris oscularetur, lingua Anglica respondit, *Ne se, bi Goth.*"—(Chron. S. Martini Turon. *Rec. des Hist.* VIII. p. 316.).

Assurance given to Rollo by the Franks, p. 687.

"Cæterum, Karolus Rex, Duxque Rotbertus, Comitesque et Proceres, Præsules et Abbates, juraverunt sacramento Catholicæ fidei Patricio Rolloni vitam suam, et membra et honorem totius Regni, insuper terram denominatam, quatinus ipsam teneret et possideret hæredibusque traderet; et per curricula cunctorum annorum successio nepotum in progenies progenierum haberet et excoleret." (Dudo, p. 84.)

Charles-le-Simple's construction of his Grant, p. 688.

In a grant to the Abbey of Saint Germain-des-prés he excepts that portion of the lands of the Abbey of the Croix Saint-Ouen—"quam annuimus Nortmannis Sequanensibus, videlicet Rolloni suisque comitibus, pro tutela Regni." (*Rec. des Hist.* T. IX. p. 536.)

Supremacy of France denied, p. 689.

Hugh the Great joins the Norman Proceres in declaring, when Louis d'Outremer threatens to invade young Richard's Duchy—"Tenet sicuti Rex Monarchiam Northmannicæ regionis.—Richardus nec Regi nec Duci militat, nec ulli nisi Deo obsequium præstat." (Dudo, p. 128.)

Was not Rollo a relapsed Pagan? p. 690.

Richerius presents us with the adventures of a Rollo, the son of Catillus, or Ketyl, who is stated to have been conquered by Duke Robert, which cannot in any wise be brought into conformity with Dudon de Saint-Quentin. Nevertheless, the narrative of Richerius (Lib. I. chapters 29, 33, 50), combined with the probability that Hunedeus is to be identified with Rollo, raises the suspicion of Rollo's relapse, which, though we may not urge its acceptance as a fact, cannot be excluded from Rollo's history.

Legends of Rollo the Lawgiver, p. 696.

See Dudon de Saint-Quentin (p. 85), Guillaume de Jumièges, Lib. II. c. 20; Wace, v. 1942—1984; and Benoit de Saint-Maur (v. 7145—7160). For the doctrines of Scandinavian jurisprudence to which I have here alluded, I may refer to an Essay written years ago (*Antient Laws of the Scandinavians, Edinb. Rev.* XXXIV. 1820).

Vestiges of the Danish Language in Norman topography, p. 700.

Depping, in his note or excursus, *Des Noms Topographiques d'origine étrangère en Normandie*, has thoroughly investigated this subject. See also De la Rue, (*Hist. de la Ville de Caen*, Caen, Vol. I. p. 56).

Rollo and Gisella, p. 706.

It is Licquet, who in his history of Normandy rejects the whole of this history of Gisella's marriage. Depping takes the reasonable side of the question.

Arnolph's Death, p. 709.

"..... profectusque in propria, turpissima valetudine expiravit. Minutis quippe vermibus, quos pedunculos aiunt, vehementer afflictus, spiritum reddidit." (Luitprandi Hist. *Rec. des Hist.* T. VIII. p. 133.)

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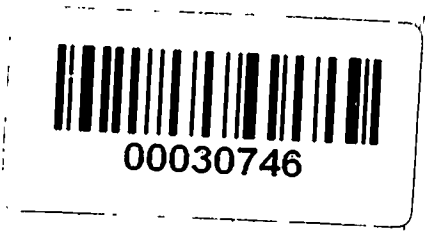
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